

# Armenian History and Some Turco-Mongolica at Internet Archive

Prepared by Robert G. Bedrosian

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[Origins of the Turks](#), in 27 pdf pages. Two fine essays on the early history of the Turks from volumes of the *English Historical Review*: E. H. Parker's "The Origin of the Turks" (*EHR*, vol. 11, 1896) pp. 431-445 and J. B. Bury's "The Turks in the Sixth Century" (*EHR*, vol. 12, 1897) pp. 417-426. Parker meticulously describes and translates portions of Chinese historical sources, while Bury discusses Greek accounts by Menander and Theophylact Simocatta.

[Attila](#), by Ludwig Schmidt, in 12 pdf pages This study appeared as Chapter 12b in Volume 1 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1911). It is a concise and well-documented scholarly account of the life and impact of Attila (406-453) and includes a description of his activities and policies in the Western and Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 12b (pp. 360-366), Bibliography for Chapter 12b (p. 665), and Chronological Table.

[The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians](#). This material is presented in fifteen very readable lectures delivered by the great historian J. B. Bury. *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians* (London, 1928) contains: 1. The Germans and Their Wanderings; 2. The Roman Empire and the Germans; 3. The Clash of Roman and Barbarian; 4. The Visigothic Entry into the Empire; 5. The Raiding of Italy and Gaul; 6. The Visigoths in Italy and Gaul; 7. Gaul, Spain, and Africa in Transition; 8. A New Menace to the Empire; 9. Attila's Attack on Gaul and Italy; 10. The Decline of Roman Power in the West; 11. The Ostrogothic Conquest of Italy; 12. Visigoths and Franks in Gaul; 13. The Reign of Clovis; 14. The Lombard Invasion of Italy; and 15. The Lombard Law. Includes five beautiful maps.

[Early Turkish Inscriptions](#), in 25 pdf pages. This download includes two articles by E. Denison Ross which appeared in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1930), pp. 861-876, and Vol. 6, No. 1 (1930), pp. 37-43. The articles are English translations of two 8th-century inscriptions (Orkhon and Tonyukuk) which are the earliest monuments of the Turkish language. Full of fascinating information about early Turkish history and culture.

[Documents sur les Tou-kiue \(Turcs\) occidentaux](#), by Eduoard Chavannes (Paris, 1903), in 400 pdf pages. Study of the western Turks from Chinese sources of the T'ang dynasty (618-907).

[The Empire of the Khazars and the Peoples of the North](#), by J. B. Bury. This study, which appeared as Chapter 13 of Bury's excellent *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), examines Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Persian, and Syriac sources on the history of the Turkic Khazar Empire (7-10th centuries). The Khazars, whose leadership converted to Judaism in the 9th century, posed a grave danger at times to Byzantium as well as to the Muslim world. "The Empire of the Khazars and the Peoples of the North" (pages 402-426) treats: 1. The Khazars; 2. The Subjects and Neighbors of the Khazars; 3. The Russians and Their Commerce; 4. Imperial Policy. The Russian Danger; 5. The Magyars. Includes Appendix 12, The Magyars (pp. 489-492), and full Bibliography (pp. 493-510).

[The \[Byzantine\] Empire and Its Northern Neighbours](#), by Charles Kadlec, in 51 pdf pages. This study appeared as Chapter 7a in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923) and covers the period from the first through the early eleventh century. Topics include: Scythians and Sarmatians; Alans, Goths, and Huns; Bulgars, Avars, and Turks; The Avars in Europe; Chazars/Khazars and Turks; Growing power of the Khazars; Relations with the Empire; Khazar institutions; Religious tolerance; The Burdas; The White Bulgars; The Magyars; Admixture of Races; Magyar customs; Patzinaks and Magyars; The Magyars migrate to Hungary; Russia: the Varangian theory; The Eastern Slavs; Trade Routes; The volosti; Settlement of the Varangians; Oleg and Igor of Kiev; Trade and Tribute; Beginnings of Christianity in Kiev; Reign of Svyatoslav; Vladimir the Great; Russia accepts Christianity; The Magyars in Hungary; The Magyar raids; The Magyars become a settled people; Christianisation of Hungary; St. Stephen. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 7a (pp. 183-215), Bibliography for Chapter 7a (p. 819-821), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table.

[Muslim Civilisation during the Abbasid Period](#), by Thomas W. Arnold, in 45 pdf pages. This study appeared as Chapter 10a in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923) and covers the 8-13th centuries. Topics include: The Abbasid Empire; Character of the Abbasid dynasty; Decline of the Abbasid Caliphate; Ascendancy of the Buwaihids; The Seljuq Empire; The Mongol Conquests; Muslim political theory; Theory of the Caliphate; Organisation of administrative machinery; The postal system; Censorship of morals: judiciary: army; The Turkish guard; Slavery: commerce; Toleration; Religious persecution; Position of Christians; Literature under the Abbasids; Exegesis: law; Dogmatic systems; Mysticism. Historical Literature; Belles lettres; The encyclopaedists and geographers; Philosophy; Medicine; Mathematics and Astronomy. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 10a (pp. 274-299), Bibliography for Chapter 10a (p. 831-835), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table.

[The Seljuqs](#), by Herbert M. J. Loewe. This study appeared as Chapter 10b in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923) and covers the 9th-13th centuries. Topics include: Importance of the Seljuqs; Decay of the Caliphate; The Shi'ites; Islam saved by the Seljuqs; The dynasty of Seljuq; Tughril Beg; The Vezier Nizam al-Mulk; Alp Arslan; Malik Shah; Intrigues of Turkan Khatun; Barkiyaruq: civil wars; Muhammad; Sanjar, the last Great Seljuq; Revolts of Atsiz of Khwarazm; The Ghuzz: death of Sanjar; The Atabegs and local Seljuq dynasties; The Seljuqs of Rum; Coming of the Crusaders; End of the Seljuq power. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 10b (pp. 299-317), Bibliography for Chapter 10b (p. 836), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table, in 34 pdf pages.

[The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World \(A.D. 1000-1217\)](#), by C. E. Bosworth, from *Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 5 (Cambridge, 1968), The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, chapter 1, pp. 1-202 and chapter bibliography, in 211 pdf pages.

[A Rare Thirteenth Century History of the Seljuqs](#), in 85 pdf pages. This article appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1902) pp. 567-610 and 849-887. It is a translation and sometimes summary of the text of a rare or unique Persian manuscript which presents a history of the Seljuqs from the beginning of the dynasty down to the author's own time, around 1197. It was written in the year 1202-3. The manuscript itself is also 13th century, dated A.H. 635 (A.D. 1238). Based on oral traditions and state archives, it includes invaluable historical and anecdotal information about the Seljuq dynasty, and concludes with a variety of unusual entries on topics such as the different forms of chess, the ethics of wine-drinking, various sports notably riding and archery, the principles of writing, calligraphy, the keeping of state accounts, etc. The author was a strong Sunni. Translation and commentary by the renowned Iranist E. G. Browne.

[The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East Down to The Mongol Epoch](#), by Robert P. Blake, from *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1937), pp. 291-328, in 39 pdf pages.

[The Mongols](#), by Herbert M. J. Loewe, in 43 pdf pages. This study appeared as Chapter 20 in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923) and covers the 12th-15th centuries. Topics include: Character of Mongol history; Extent of the Mongol invasions; Unification of Asia; Mongol and Tartar; Other tribes in the Mongol Confederation; Jenghiz Khan; Conquest of Turkestan and Khwarazm; Empire of Jenghiz Khan; Conquest of Northern China; Advance westward; Invasion of Europe; The recall of Baku saves Europe; The Papacy and the Mongols; Ogdai and Kuyuk; Downfall of the Assassins; The fall of the Caliphate of Baghdad; Defeat of the Mongols by the Mamluks, 1260; Hulegu and the Il-khans; Mangu; The reign of Kublai; Change in the Mongols; Fall of the Mongols in China; The western Mongols: Timur; Conquest of India: defeat of the Ottoman; The Golden Horde. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 20 (pp. 627-652), Bibliography for Chapter 20 (pp. 880-882), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table.

[Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans](#), by John Andrew Boyle, from *Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 5 (Cambridge, 1968), The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, chapter 4, pp. 303-421, and the chapter's bibliography, in 123 pdf pages.

[The Isma'ili State](#), by M.G.S. Hodgson, from *Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 5 (Cambridge, 1968), The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, chapter 5, pp. 422-482, in 63 pdf pages.

See also: [Isma'ilism](#), multiple authors and entries, at *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

[The Ottoman Turks to the Fall of Constantinople \[1453\]](#), by Edwin Pears, in 75 pdf pages. This study appeared as Chapter 21 in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923) and covers the 13th-15th centuries. Topics include: Infiltration of Turkish nomads into Asia Minor; Ertughril; Accession of Osman; The Catalan Grand Company; First entry of Turks into Europe, 1308; Progress of Osman; Capture of Brusa; Capture of Nicaea; Capture of Nicomedia; Orkhan styled Sultan; The Janissaries; Organisation of the army; Orkhan in alliance with Cantacuzene; Venetian versus Genoese influence; The Ottomans in Europe; Murad I; European policy of the Ottomans; Defeat of the Serbs on the Maritza, 1371; Subservience of the Empire to Murad; Battle of Kossovo, 1389; Causes of Murad's success; Bayazid the Thunderbolt; Western crusade against the Turks; Victory of Bayazid at Nicopolis, 1396; Boucicaut at Constantinople; The appearance of Timur; His capture of Aleppo and Baghdad; Battle of Angora, 1402; Timur's conquests in Asia Minor; Death of Timur and Bayazid; Civil war among the Ottomans; Mahomet I; Character of his reign; Murad II; Increasing numbers of the Ottomans; European conquests of Murad; Crusade of Vladislav and Hunyadi; Murad's victories at Varna and Kossovo; Accession of Mahomet II; Preparations for the siege of Constantinople; Western assistance for the Emperor; The besieging force; The defences of Constantinople; The dispositions of the besieged; Defeat of Mahomet's Fleet; The Turkish fleet in the Golden Horn; Preparations for a general assault; Commencement of the assault, 29 May 1453; The Janissaries force the stockade; Capture of Constantinople; Character of Mahomet II. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 21 (pp. 653-705), Bibliography for Chapter 21 (pp. 883-889), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table.

[The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks](#), by Edwin Pears (London, 1903), in 513 pdf pages.

[The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and Its Historical Background](#), by William L. Langer and Robert P. Blake, from the *American Historical Review*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Apr., 1932), pp. 468-505, in 39 pdf pages.

[Fragments de géographes et d'historiens Arabes et Persans inédit, relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie méridionale](#), in 270 pdf pages. This study by the noted philologist Charles-François Defremery (1822-1888) was serialized in *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series (Paris, 1849-1851), in volumes 13, 14, 16, and 17. It includes French translations of Arabic and Persian historical works and geographies describing the peoples, tribes, and states of the Caucasus and south Russia. Contents include extracts from: Abu al-Bekri on the

Pechenegs, Khazars, Borthas, Bulgars of the Volga and the Danube; from Ibn al-Athir and Ibn Khaldun describing conflicts involving the Armenians, Georgians, and other peoples of the Caucasus during the Turco-Mongol invasions of the Saljuqs, Khwarazmians, Mongols, Qipchaqs and others (11-13th centuries); extracts from the travels of Ibn Battuta; from Khondemir and Mirkhond about the Qipchaqs and Shirvanshahs. Includes invaluable scholarly notes by this careful historian.

[A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatāran](#), by W. B. Henning. From *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, *Studies Presented to Vladimir Minorsky by His Colleagues and Friends* (1952), pp. 501-522. A discussion of the word *khagan* and sources on early Khazar history.

[Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens; fragments traduits sur les textes originaux](#), in 192 pdf pages. This study appeared in *Journal Asiatique* 11(1858) pp. 192-255, 426-473, 481-508 and *JA* 16(1860) pp. 273-322. The author, the noted historian, Egyptologist, and Armenist, Édouard Dulaurier (1808-1881), translated extensive extracts from two invaluable Armenian historical sources of the 13th century pertaining to the Mongols: Kirakos Ganjakets'i and Vardan Arewelts'i ("the Easterner").

[Aperçu des entreprises des Mongols en Géorgie et en Arménie, dans le XIIIe siècle](#), by Julius Klaproth, from *Journal Asiatique* 12(1833), pp. 193-214, 273-305, in 60 pdf pages.

[Étude sur Thomas de Medzoph et sur son Histoire de l'Arménie au XVe siècle, d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale](#), by Felix Neve, in 62 pdf pages. This study appeared in *Journal Asiatique* V 6(1855) pp. 221-281. It is a description of the *History of Tamerlane and His Successors* by T'ovma of Metsop' (1378-1446), an Armenian cleric and historian.

[Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan et de Schah-Rokh dans l'Asie occidentale, d'après le chronique arménienne inédite de Thomas de Medzoph](#) (Brussels, 1861), by Felix Neve, in 164 pdf pages. Study, partial translation, and scholarly notes.

**Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan** (Paris, 1834-1835, reprinted numerous times), by Constantin Mouradgea D'Ohsson. This work, still one of the most substantial studies of the Mongols, has been translated into Mongolian and Chinese among other languages. In four volumes:

[volume 1](#), in 524 pdf pages.

[volume 2](#), in 665 pdf pages.

[volume 3](#), in 633 pdf pages.

[volume 4](#), in 785 pdf pages.

Also available by D'Ohsson:

[Des peuples du Caucase et des pays au nord de la mer Noire et de la mer Caspienne, dans le dixième siècle, ou Voyage d'Abou-el-Cassim](#) (Paris, 1828), in 330 pdf pages.

*Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, by W. Heyd, in two volumes: [volume 1](#) (Leipzig, 1885), in 594 pdf pages. [volume 2](#) (Leipzig, 1886), in 820 pdf pages.

[Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion](#), by W. Barthold (Oxford, 1928, 2nd edition). This is an English translation of V. V. Barthold's two-volume Russian work *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skago nashestvija* (St. Petersburg, 1898-1900), in 534 searchable pdf pages. Contents: Sources: 1. Pre-Mongol Period; 2. Mongol

Invasion; 3. European Works of Reference; Chapter 1. Geographical Survey of Transoxania; Chapter 2. Central Asia Down to the Twelfth Century; Chapter 3. Qara-Khitays and Khwarazm-Shahs; Chapter 4. Chingiz-Khan and the Mongols; Chronological Summary; Bibliography.

**History of the Mongols**, *from the 9th to the 19th Century*, by Henry W. Howorth (London, 1876), in three volumes: [volume 1](#), *The Mongols Proper and the Kalmuks*; [volume 2](#), *The So-Called Tartars of Russia*; [volume 3](#) *The Mongols of Persia*.

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Entries from *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (**partial list only**):

[Central Asia](#), multiple topics and authors.

[Altaic](#), by K. H. Menges.

[Huns](#), by Martin Schottky.

[Ġozz/OĠur/OĠuz](#), by Peter B. Golden and C. Edmund Bosworth.

[Alp-Arslan](#), by K. A. Luther.

[Malekshah](#), by David Durand-Guédy.

[Saljuq Literature](#), by Daniela Meneghini.

[Saljuq Art and Architecture](#), by Lorenz Korn.

[Saljuqs of Rum](#), by Andrew Peacock.

[Danishmend](#), by Tahsin Yazici.

[Khwarazmshahs](#), by C. Edmund Bosworth.

[Jalal al-Din Mengubirdi](#), by C. Edmund Bosworth.

[Mongols](#), by Peter Jackson.

[Chingiz-Khan](#) (1206-1227), by David O. Morgan.

[Baiju](#), fl. 1228-1259, by Peter Jackson.

[Čormaġun](#), d. ca. 1242, by Peter Jackson.

[Güyük-Khan](#), 1246-1248, by Peter Jackson.

[The Ilkhans](#), multiple authors.

[Hulāgu \(Hülegü\)](#) (1256-1265), founder of the Il-Khanid dynasty, by Reuven Amitai.

[Dokuz Kātūn](#), d. 1265, by Charles Melville.

[Abaqa](#) second Il-Khan of Iran, 1265-1281, by Peter Jackson.

[Aḥmad-Takudār](#), third Il-Khan of Iran, 1282-1284, by Peter Jackson.

[Arġūn Khan](#), fourth Il-Khan of Iran, 1284-1291, by Peter Jackson.

[Gaykāṭū Khan](#), fifth Il-Khan of Iran, 1291-1295, by Peter Jackson.

[Bāydū](#), sixth Il-Khan of Iran, 1295, by B. Spuler.

[Ġāzān Khan](#), seventh Il-Khan of Iran, 1295-1304, by R. Amitai-Preiss.

Oljeitu, eighth Il-Khan of Iran, 1304-1316, no online entry.

[Abū Saʿīd](#), ninth Il-Khan of Iran, 1316-1335, by Peter Jackson.

[Golden Horde](#), by Peter Jackson.

[Chobanids](#), 1335-1357, by Charles Melville and ‘Abbās Zaryāb.

[Elchi](#), envoy, messenger, by David O. Morgan.

[Alamūt](#), by B. Hourcade.

[Saljuq, Mongol, Ottoman Libraries](#) are described in the first part of an article entitled *Persian Manuscripts in Ottoman and Modern Turkish Libraries*, by Osman G. Özgüdenli.

[Book Illustration under the Il-Khanids](#), by Stefano Carboni.

[Historiography of the Mongol Period](#), by Charles Melville.

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[Armenia during the Seljuk and Mongol Periods](#), by Robert Bedrosian. This article was published as Chapter 10 in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, Vol.1, Richard G. Hovannisian, ed. (New York, 1997) pp. 241-271.

[The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13th-14th Centuries](#), Robert Bedrosian's Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University, 1979), in 320 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages.

[The Trade and Cities of Armenia After the Fall of the Bagratid Kingdom](#), by H. A. Manandian, Chapter 6 from Manandian's *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade* (Lisbon, 1965), English translation of the 1946 original by Nina G. Garsoian.

Also available by Manandyan:

[Սելջուկյան շրջանից մինչև Սեֆյանների հաստատումը Իրանում \(XI-XV դդ.\)](#)  
[Seljukyan shrjanits' minch'ev Sefyanneri hastatume" Iranum \(XI-XV dd.\)](#) [*From the Seljuk Period until the Establishment of the Safavids in Iran (11-15th Centuries)*] (Erevan, 1977), in 520 pdf pages. Most of this work was published originally in 1944, as part of Manandyan's *K'nnakan tesut'yun hay zhoghovrdi patmut'yan* [*Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People*]. The scan was made from Manandyan's *Erker G* [*Works III*] (Erevan, 1977), pp. 9-504.

[The Daylamites in the History of Aristakes Lastivertc'i](#), by Karen Yuzbashyan, in 7 pdf pages. This English translation of Yuzbashyan's important article appeared in the journal *Armenian Review* vol. 31 (1979) pp. 378-384. The original Russian appeared in *Palestinskii Sbornik* #7 (1962).

[Mxit'ar \(Mekhithar\) of Ani on the Rise of the Seljuqs](#), by Dickran K. Kouymjian, in 23 pdf pages. This invaluable study by the great Kouymjian appeared in the journal *Revue des études arméniennes*, 6 (1969) pp. 331-353.

Also available by Kouymjian:

[Problems of Medieval Armenian and Muslim Historiography: The Mxit'ar of Ani Fragment](#), by Dickran K. Kouymjian, from *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Oct., 1973), pp. 465-475, in 12 pdf pages.

[Միսիթար Անեցիի Ղազնավյանների և Սելջուկյանների մասին](#), by Տիգրան Գոյումճյան/Dickran Kouymjian, from *Լրաբեր Հասարակական Գիտությունների* [*Bulletin of Social Sciences*], 4(1972) pp. 74-84, in 11 pdf pages. Armenian with brief Russian summary.

[Chinese Elements in Armenian Miniature Painting in the Mongol Period](#), by Dickran Kouymjian, from *Armenian Studies: In Memoriam Haig Berberian* (Lisbon, 1986), Dickran Kouymjian, editor, pp. 415-468, in 55 pdf pages.

[Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs](#), by Richard N. Frye and Aydin M. Sayili, from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1943), pp. 194- 207, in 15 pdf pages.

[Byzance et les turcs seldjoudides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081](#), by Joseph Laurent (Paris, 1913), in 136 pdf pages.

[The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries](#), by Charles M. Brand, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 43 (1989), pp. 1-25, in 26 pdf pages.

[Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor](#), by Speros Vryonis, Jr., in 32 pdf pages. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 29 (1975), pp. 41-71.

[Nomadic Society and the Seljūq Campaigns in Caucasia](#), by Andrew C. S. Peacock, from *Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2005), pp. 205-230, in 27 pdf pages.

[Georgia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th Centuries](#), by A. C. S. Peacock, from *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 56 (2006), pp. 127-146, in 21 pdf pages.

[The Nomads and Ethnopolitical Realities of Transcaucasia in the 11th-14th Centuries](#), by Hayrapet Margarian, from *Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol. 5 (2001), pp. 75-78, in 5 pdf pages.

[Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans](#), by Osman Turan, from *Studia Islamica*, No. 1 (1953), pp. 65-100, in 37 pdf pages.

[The Ideal of World Domination among the Medieval Turks](#), by Osman Turan, from *Studia Islamica*, No. 4 (1955), pp. 77-90, in 15 pdf pages.

[The Crusades: An Eastern Perspective with Emphasis on Syriac Sources](#), by Matti Moosa, from *The Muslim World* Vol. 93 (April, 2003), pp. 249-289.

See also: [Writings of Matti Moosa](#).

[The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia](#), by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, from *A History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia, 1962), K. M. Setton, Editor-in-Chief, vol. II. Chapter XVIII. I, pp. 630-659, in 30 searchable pdf pages. Written by the great 20th-century Armenianist and art historian, Dr. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, this is a concise, scholarly survey of the Cilician Armenian kingdom's political, military, and cultural history to the early 14th century.

See also: [Writings of Sirarpie Der Nersessian](#).

[Կիլիկիայի հայկական պետությունը Kilikiayi haykakan petut'yune"](#) [*The Armenian State of Cilicia*], chapters 40-46 from volume 3 of *Hay zhoghovrdi patmut'yun [History of the Armenian People]* (Erevan, 1976), in 139 pdf pages, by M. K. Zulalyan, S. V. Bornazyan, and Kh. A. Musheghyan.

[Հայ մշակույթը XII-XIV դարերում Hay mshakuyt'e" XII-XIV darerum](#) [*Armenian Culture in the 12th-14th Centuries*], chapters 47-54 from volume 3 of *Hay zhoghovrdi patmut'yun [History of the Armenian People]* (Erevan, 1976), in 326 pdf pages. Multiple authors.

[The Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Archers by Grigor of Akanc'](#), written by Francis Woodman Cleaves, from *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 12, #3-4 (1949) pp. 400-443. This important article contains a thorough discussion with extensive bibliography of the Mongolian names and terms in a 13th-century Cilician Armenian historical source.

[A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries](#), by Francis Woodman Cleaves, from *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1951), pp. 493-526, in 37 pdf pages.

[The Historicity of The Baljuna Covenant](#), by Francis Woodman Cleaves, from *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1955), pp. 357-421, in 66 pdf pages.

[On the Titles Given in Juvaini to Certain Mongolian Princes](#), by John Andrew Boyle, from *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1/2 (Jun., 1956), pp. 146-154, in 10 pdf pages.

See also: [Writings of John Andrew Boyle](#).

[Şāhib-dīvān Šams ad-dīn Muḥammad Juvainī and Armenia](#), by Hayrapet Margarian, from *Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2006), pp. 167-180, in 15 pdf pages.

[Mongolian Princes and Their Merchant Partners, 1200-1260](#), by Thomas T. Allsen, from *Asia Major*, Third Series, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1989), pp. 83-126, in 45 pdf pages.

[Christian Wives of Mongol Khans: Tartar Queens and Missionary Expectations in Asia](#), by James D. Ryan, from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Nov., 1998), pp. 411-421, in 12 pdf pages.

[La lettre du Connétable Smbat et les rapports entre Chrétiens et Mongols au milieu de XIIIème siècle](#), by Jean Richard, from *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian* (Lisbon, 1986), Dickran Kouymjian, editor, pp. 683-696, in 15 pdf pages.

[The Letter of Smbat Constable to King Henry I of Cyprus \(around A.D. 1248\)](#), in 2 pdf pages. This is an English translation with the original Old French text, from Henry Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd ed rev H. Cordier, *Hakluyt Society* Second Series No. 38 (London, 1915) vol. I, p.162 note 1. Smbat *Sparapet* ("the Constable", 1206-1276) was Cilician Armenia's noted general, statesman, and historian. He visited the Mongol court in Qaraqorum (1248) and recorded some of his observations in this short letter in French to his brother-in-law Henry I of Cyprus.

[Documents Relating to the Mission of the Minor Friars to China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries](#), by A. C. Moule, from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Jul., 1914), pp. 533-599, in 69 pdf pages.

[Georgia in the Reign of Giorgi the Brilliant \(1314-1346\)](#), by D. M. Lang, from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1955), pp. 74-91, in 19 pdf pages.

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English translations of some Armenian historical sources important for the study of Khazar, Saljuq, and Mongol history are available on other pages of this site. Among them are:

### **7-8th Century**

[History of the Aghuans](#), attributed to Movse's Dasxurants'i

### **11th Century**

[Aristakes Lastivertc'i's History](#)

### **12th Century**

[The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians](#). This is an English translation of two 13th-century Armenian abridgements.

Especially intriguing is Michael's account of early history, not known from other sources: [The Early History of the Turks](#).

[The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa](#)

### **12-13th Century**

[Mkhitar Gosh's Colophon or The Aghuanian Chronicle](#)

### **13th Century**

[Kirakos Gandzakets'i's History of the Armenians](#)

[Vardan Arewelts'i's Compilation of History](#)

[Extracts on the Saljuqs, Shaddadids, Zakarids, and Mongols]

[Step'annos Orbelean's History of the State of Sisakan](#)

[Smbat Sparapet's Chronicle](#)

[Chronicle](#) Attributed to King Het'um II, 1296

[Grigor Aknerts'i's History of the Nation of Archers](#) [Mongols]

### **14th Century**

[Het'um the Historian's History of the Tartars](#) [The Flower of Histories of the East]

### **15th Century**

[T'ovma Metsobets'i's History of Tamerlane and His Successors](#)

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English translations of some Syriac sources for the 7th through 13th centuries at Internet Archive:

Extracts from the **Chronicle** of Michael Rabo [Michael the Syrian]:

[The 7th through Mid-9th Centuries](#)

[The 10th-12th Centuries](#)

[The Late 12th Century](#)

[Bar Hebraeus' \*Chronography\*](#), translated from Syriac by E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932). Bar Hebraeus (also Gregory Abu'l Faraj) was a prominent Syrian Orthodox cleric of the 13th century and author of works on numerous subjects. His *Chronography*, based on sources extant and lost, is an invaluable primary source for Turkish and Mongol history. It extends to the author's death in 1286 and was continued an additional ten years by his brother.

[The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the world, 1253-55](#), as narrated by himself, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine, translated from the Latin by William Woodville Rockhill (London, 1900), in 390 pdf pages. *Hakluyt Society*, second series No. IV. William of Rubruck, a French Franciscan friar who travelled to the Mongol court in Qaraqorum, and also to Armenia and Asia Minor in the mid-13th century, provides invaluable information about the Mongols, and the Armenians of the Far East and Caucasasia.

[The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle](#), by A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Jan., 1933), pp. 69-101, and No. 2 (Apr., 1933), pp. 273-305, in 68 pdf pages. The source is the Anonymous Edessan (13th century).

Also available by Tritton:

[The Tribes of Syria in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3/4 (1948), pp. 567-573, in 8 pdf pages.

A volume from the important series *Օտար աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին* *O'tar aghbyurnere" Hayastani ev hayeri masin* [*Foreign Sources on Armenia and the Armenians*] contains a modern Armenian translation of the Anonymous Edessan, a 13th-century Syriac source describing the Saljuq domination, the Crusades, the Armenian principalities of Northern Syria, and other topics.

[Ասորական աղբյուրներ Asorakan aghbyurner \[Syriac Sources\] II. Անանուն Եդեսացի ժամանակագրություն Ananun Edesats'i zhamanakagrut'yun \[Chronicle of the Anonymous Edessan\]](#) (Erevan, 1982), in 269 pdf pages. Translation, study, and scholarly notes by L. H. Ter-Petrosyan.

Also available from the same series are three volumes in the subseries *Թուրքական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի, հայերի, և անդրկովկասի մյուս ժողովուրդների մասին* *T'urk'akan aghbyurnere" Hayastani, hayeri, ev andrkovkasi myus zhoghovrdneri masin* [*Turkish Sources on Armenia, the Armenians, and Other Peoples of Transcaucasia*], dealing with later centuries. These are modern Armenian translations of Ottoman Turkish historians of the 16-

18th centuries, accompanied by scholarly introductions, notes, and lexicons. All three volumes are the work of the great Turkologist A. X. Safrastyan. Available at Internet Archive for reading online and/or downloading in various formats:

1. [Թուրքական աղբյուրները Հ. 1](#) (Erevan, 1961), in 402 pdf pages. Contents include the chroniclers Pechevi, Naima, Rashid, Chelebi-Zade, Suphi, Sami, Shakir, Sulayman-Izdi, Vassef, Ahmed Chevdet-Pasha.
2. [Թուրքական աղբյուրները Հ. 2](#) (Erevan, 1964), in 335 pdf pages. Contents include the chroniclers Gharib Chelebi, Seloniki Mustafa, Solak Zade, Shani Zade, Munejjim Bashi, Feridun Bey, Kochi Bey.
3. [Թուրքական աղբյուրները Հ. 3](#) (Erevan, 1967), in 347 pdf pages. Extracts from the writings of Evliya Chelebi (1611-1682), Ottoman Turkish officer and diplomat.

[Հայաստան իբն Բիբիի համեմատ Hayastan Ibn Bibii hamemat \[Armenia according to Ibn Bibi\]](#), from the journal *Hande's Amso'reay* 74(1960) cols. 161-177, 481-492, in 16 pdf pages. This is a modern Armenian translation of relevant parts of Ibn Bibi's *History of the Saljuqs*, a 13th-century Persian-language source which covers the period between 1192 and 1280. Translated into Armenian by P. Ter-Poghosean from *Die Seltchukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhagen 1959) H. Duda's critical edition.

[Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480](#), A Source for Middle Eastern History, by Avedis K. Sanjian (Cambridge, MA., 1969), in 470 searchable pdf pages. Colophons are additions to the ends of manuscripts, made by their copyist(s). Some contain invaluable information on local and regional events. Sanjian's translations are selections from the magisterial publications of Levon Khachikyan, and are accompanied by extensive glossaries.

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Articles on [Medieval History](#), from the journal *Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես Patma-banasirakan handes [Historico-Philological Journal]* (Erevan, Armenia), multiple topics, periods, and authors.

Articles on [Medieval History](#), from the journal *Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri [Bulletin of Social Sciences]* (Erevan, Armenia), multiple topics, periods, and authors.

Articles from the serial *Բանբեր Մատենադարանի Banber Matenadarani [Journal of the Matenadaran]*, may be downloaded from this page of the Matenadaran's website:

[Բանբեր Մատենադարանի](#).

Available for reading online and/or downloading from Internet Archive is volume III in the series *Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն Hay zhoghovrdi patmut'yun [History of the Armenian People]* (Erevan, 1976), B. N. Arakelyan, editor, a publication of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR. It is an extensive study of the period from the mid 9th through the mid 14th centuries written by renowned Armenists. **Available** here: [Հայ ժողովրդի Պատմություն, Հ. 3](#) (Erevan, 1976), in 1036 searchable pdf pages.

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[El-Mas'udi's Historical Encyclopaedia](#), entitled *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, volume 1, translated from

Arabic by Aloys Sprenger (London, 1841), in 548 pdf pages. Al-Masudi (896-956) was a renowned traveller, geographer, and historian.

***The History of the World-Conquerer*** by 'Ala ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini (c. 1226-1283), translated from the Persian text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by John Andrew Boyle, in two volumes (Cambridge, Mass., 1958): [volume 1](#), in 409 searchable pdf pages. [volume 2](#), in 422 searchable pdf pages.

[Histoire du sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti, prince du Kharazem](#), by Muhammad ibn Ahmad Nasawi, translated by O. Victor Houdas (Paris, 1895), in 518 searchable pdf pages.

[The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis](#), together with some shorter pieces translated by C. Raymond Beazley (London, 1903), in 376 pdf pages. *Hakluyt Society*.

[Mission to Asia](#), Christopher Dawson, editor (New York, 1966), in 281 searchable pdf pages. Narratives and letters of the Franciscan missionaries in Mongolia and China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Originally published in 1955 under the title *The Mongol Mission*.

***The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East***, in two volumes, translated by Henry Yule (London, 1866): [volume 1](#), Antiquity. *Hakluyt Society*, volume 36. [volume 2](#), Medieval period. *Hakluyt Society*, volume 37. Yule's extensive and thorough treatment remains unsurpassed.

[The Monks of Kubilai Khan](#), Emperor of China; or, *The history of the life and travels of Rabban Sawma, envoy and plenipotentiary of the Mongol khans to the kings of Europe, and Markos who as Maha III became Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in Asia* (London, 1928). Translated by E. A. Wallis Budge in 96 pdf pages.

[The Successors of Genghis Khan](#), by Rashid al-Din, translated from Persian by John Andrew Boyle (New York, 1971), in 377 searchable pdf pages. History of the khans from Ogedei through Temur, 1229-1307.

[The Secret History of the Mongols](#), translation, study, and scholarly notes by Francis Woodman Cleaves (Cambridge, Mass, 1982), in 342 pdf pages. Publication of this work was delayed until 1982, although the translation was completed in 1956. The core of the *History* is believed to date from the mid-13th century.

[Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols](#), by Antoine Mostaert. This important study was serialized in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1950), pp. 285-361; Vol. 14, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1951), pp. 329-403; and Vol. 15, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1952), pp. 285-404. Download includes all three parts, in 275 pdf pages.

[The Travels of Ibn Batuta](#), translated by Samuel Lee (London, 1829), in 288 pdf pages. Ibn Battuta (1304-1369) was a noted Islamic scholar, jurist, traveller, and explorer.

[Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A. D. 1403-6](#), translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1859), in 277 pdf pages. *Hakluyt Society*.

[Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols in the Fourteenth Century A.D. from the Nuzhat-al-Kulub of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi](#) (London, 1903), in 157 pdf pages. This is a study by the renowned Arabist and historical geographer Guy Le Strange (1854-1933) of relevant parts of a precious register made by the 14th-century official Hamd-Allah Mustawfi of Qazvin (also known as Qazvini). Qazvini provides priceless information about Iran, Azerbaijan, Mughan and Arran, Shirvan, Gurjistan (Georgia), Rum, Armenia, and Mesopotamia. District by district, city by city, the author usually explains what revenue had accrued from a given area both in his own day, and in past times as well, providing a vivid picture of the general decline of the Mongol Il-Khanid state in

the 14th century. In addition, Qazvini comments on the ruined condition of numerous cities and towns, the relative size and the trade of surviving cities, their noted religious sanctuaries, the types of crops grown in the countryside, and much more.

[The Geographical Part Of The Nuzhat-Al-Qulub of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi](#) (London, 1919). Le Strange's English translation of the Geographical Part of this important document studied and summarized in the previous entry. Some pages are sideways.

[The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger](#), a native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa 1396-1427, translated by J. Buchan Telfer (London, 1879), in 317 pdf pages. *Hakluyt Society*, volume 58.

**Cathay and the Way Thither** (London, 1866). English translations of Western and Eastern historical sources with scholarly notes by Henry Yule, in two volumes: [volume 1](#), in 525 pdf pages. Antiquity. *Hakluyt Society*, volume 36. [volume 2](#), in 459 pdf pages. Volume two covers the Mongol period. *Hakluyt Society*, volume 37. Yule's extensive and thorough treatment remains unsurpassed.

**Medieval Researches from East Asiatic Sources**, translated by E. Bretschneider. Sources for the study of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to 17th centuries, in two volumes: [volume 1](#) (London, 1876), in 256 pdf pages. [volume 2](#) (London, 1888), in 379 pdf pages.

Also available by Bretschneider:

[On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies, and Other Western Countries](#) (London, 1871), in 41 pdf pages.

[Armenia in Chinese Sources](#), by Ralph Kauz and Liu Yingsheng, from *Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2008), pp. 175-190, in 17 pdf pages.

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Among the most important primary sources for Turkish and Mongol history are those written in Persian. For an excellent survey, see *A Literary History of Persia*, by Edward G. Browne. Three of four volumes are available:

[volume 1](#) (London, 1909, repr. of 1902 edition), *From the Earliest Times until Firdawsi*, in 548 pdf pages.

[volume 2](#) (London, 1906), *From Firdawsi to Sa'di*, in 598 pdf pages.

[volume 3](#) (Cambridge, 1928, repr. of 1920 edition), *The Tartar Dominion (1265-1502)*, in 636 pdf pages.

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Excellent Wikipedia entry: [List of Muslim Historians](#)

Important reference materials: [Islamic Manuscripts Reference Library](#).

Alphabetical List of Open Access Historical Newspapers and Other Periodicals in Middle East and Islamic Studies:

[Access to Mideast and Islamic Resources \(AMIR\)](#)

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## Folklore and Mythology

[Turkish and Mongol Shamanism in the Middle Ages](#), by John Andrew Boyle, from *Folklore*, vol. 83, No. 3 (Autumn, 1972), pp. 177-193.

[Kashgari on the Beliefs and Superstitions of the Turks](#), by Robert Dankoff. From *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 95, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1975), pp. 68-80, in 14 pdf pages. Kashgari was an 11th-century writer.

[Dream Motif in Turkish Folk Stories and Shamanistic Initiation](#), by İlhan Başgöz, from *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1967), pp. 1-18.

[On the History of Mongolian Shamanism in Anthropological Perspective](#), by Klaus Hesse, from *Anthropos*, Bd. 82, H. 4./6. (1987), pp. 403-413.

[Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia](#), Being the Second Part of "Shamanstvo," by V. M. Mikhailovskii and Oliver Wardrop, in 74 pdf pages. This study appeared in two parts in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* vol. 24 (1895) pp. 62-100, 124-158. Both parts are included in the download.

[Mythology of All Races, volume 4](#) (Boston, 1927; repr. 1964). This volume contains two sections, both written by the distinguished ethnographer and folklorist Uno Holmberg: Finno-Ugric Mythology and Siberian Mythology. Includes notes, bibliographies, illustrations, and plates, in 722 searchable pdf pages.

[Migrations of Asiatic Races and Cultures to North America](#), by Franz Boas, from *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Feb., 1929), pp. 110-117.

[The Folklore of Northeastern Asia, as Compared with That of Northwestern America](#), by Waldemar Bogoras, from *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1902), pp. 577-683. 108 pdf pages.

[Mythology and Folk-Tales of the North American Indians](#), by Franz Boas, from *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 27, No. 106 (Oct. - Dec., 1914), pp. 374-410, in 38 pdf pages.

[Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere](#), by A. Irving Hallowell, from *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1926), pp. 1-175.

[The Early History of Felt](#), by Berthold Laufer, from *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1930), pp. 1-18, in 19 pdf pages.

[The Killing of the Khazar Kings](#), by J. G. Frazer, from *Folklore*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec. 31, 1917), pp. 382-407, in 27 pdf pages.

[An Early Mongolian Version of The Alexander Romance](#), by Francis Woodman Cleaves, from the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 22 (Dec., 1959), pp. 1-99, in 108 pdf pages.

[The Alexander Legend in Central Asia](#), by John Andrew Boyle, from *Folklore*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (Winter, 1974), pp. 217-228, in 13 pdf pages.

[Alexander and the Mongols](#), by John Andrew Boyle, from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 2 (1979), pp. 123-136.

[A Eurasian Hunting Ritual](#), by John Andrew Boyle, from *Folklore*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (Spring, 1969), pp. 12-16.

[A Preliminary Bibliography of Turkish Folklore](#), by W. D. Preston, from *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 58, No. 229 (Jul. - Sep., 1945), pp. 245-251.

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# The Daylamites in the History of Aristakes Lastivertc'i

K. N. YUZBASHYAN

*Translated from the Russian by Robert Bedrosian*

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A MAJOR SOURCE for the history of 11th century Armenia is the *History of Vardapet Aristakes Lastivertc'i Regarding the Sufferings Occasioned by Foreign Peoples Living Around Us*. Descriptions of the Seljuk invasions of Armenia make up the basic contents of this work. Written by a contemporary, and often eye-witness, to the Seljuk raids, these chapters substantially supplement our information drawn from Arabo-Persian, Byzantine as well as from later Armenian sources.

Aristakes Lastivertc'i's composition was published first by the Mekhitarists in 1844. That composite text was based on four manuscripts of the 18th century.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent publications—those of Venice (1901) and Tiflis (1912)—were reprints of the first. A French translation of the *History* appeared in 1864 in the *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies*, later printed as a separate book.<sup>2</sup> A modern Armenian translation also exists. During 1956-1958 I prepared the critical text of this composition for publication, based on 9 manuscripts housed at the State Matenadaran (Yerevan) and on 1 ms. located at the Institute for the Study of the Peoples of Asia, of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.<sup>3</sup> Utilization of a comparatively large quantity of manuscripts has permitted the introduction of a number of corrections into the text. This essay is devoted to one of these new readings, whose study is in itself of interest.

In chapter 16 of the *History*, the Seljuk invasion of 1054 on Armenia is described.<sup>4</sup> At the time of this expedition, the Seljuks, under the leadership of

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DR. KAREN YUZBASHYAN is director of the Caucasian section of the Institute of Orientology, Leningrad, USSR. He is the author of numerous scholarly articles on medieval Armenia and Byzantium. The present article was published in *Palestinski Sbornik* 7 (70), 1962, pp. 146-151. It was subsequently reviewed by M. Canard in the *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* [REA], 1966, pp. 466-469. Canard's observations are indicated here in asteriked footnotes by the translator, Robert Bedrosian, a candidate for Ph.D., at Columbia University.

Tughril-beg reached Manzikert (Manazkert) and besieged the city, but they were unable to take it. Tughril-beg turned back, pillaging enroute the town of Arcxe. During the siege of Manazkert, Aristakes Lastivertc'i relates, the Turks pulled up a colossal catapult and began striking at the city walls with volleys of enormous rocks. "Now on the next day, Ortimez, who was prince of the army, brought his troops, and came to fight with our [people]." (*isk i gal erkrord awurn Ortīmèz or zōrun ishxann ér, aṙeal zzōrs iwr ekeal mart edeal kṙuēr nd mersn*). He attempted to penetrate the city but was captured and killed, and his detachments retreated.<sup>5</sup> According to the testimony of Matthew of Edessa, this commander was the father-in-law of the sultan, named *Oskecam* (Golden-haired)—*kalan ew zanern sultanin oroy anun Oskecam eséin*.<sup>6</sup> Skylitzes-Cedrenus, finally, calls him the Khwarizmian khan.<sup>7</sup>

Commenting on this passage, the French translator of the *History* noted that under the name "Ortilmez" was concealed *Skylitzes-Cedrenus'* Koutloulmous, and Matthew of Edessa's *Kethelmousch*,<sup>8</sup> i.e., Tughril-beg's cousin and one of his generals, Kutlumush. Even assuming that the published text faithfully reproduced the original, it is impossible to accept such an identification as correct since Kutlumush did not participate in the campaign against Manazkert, for at that time internecine strife between Tughril-beg and Kutlumush had started.<sup>9</sup> The correct reading of this passage has been restored with the aid of additional manuscripts: *isk i gal erkrord awurn or Delmic' zōrun ishxann ér aṙeal zzōrs iwr ekeal mart edeal kṙuēr ðnd mersn*.<sup>10</sup> *Delmic'*—genitive of *Delmk'*—is the Armenian designation for the Daylamites, a people of Iranian nationality who lived southwest of the Caspian Sea.<sup>11</sup> Manuscripts of the geographical treatise [the *Ashxarh-ac'oyc'*,] attributed to Movses Xorenac'i (Khorenatsi) or to Anania Shirakac'i (7th century) preserve the name Daylam in the forms *Dlmunk'*, *zDilumn*.<sup>12</sup> The 10th century writer T'ovma Arcruni (Thomas Ardruni) also speaks about the invasion of the "*Delmik's*" (*delmkac'n, from delmikk*).<sup>13</sup> Matthew of Edessa recalls the "*Delumk'* king" (*t'agaworn Delumac*).<sup>14</sup> Similarly, other forms are known: *Delmastani*<sup>15</sup> (gen. of *Delmastan*), *delemenkk'*,<sup>16</sup> etc.

While the author of the *Ashxarhac'oyc'* and Matthew of Edessa give the designation Daylam in a form reminiscent of the Persian,<sup>17</sup> Aristakes Lastivertc'i has Armenized it, thus *Delmk'* "land of the Daylamites" is naturally connected with *delmik*, "Daylamite", just as, for example, *Paršk'* (Persia) is related to *parsik* (Persian). Consequently, the passage of interest to us translates: "Now on the next day, the one who was the prince of the Delmk' army brought his troops and came to fight with our [people]". The absence of a demonstrative pronoun before the relative or ["which", "who"] serving as the subject should not trouble us. In classical Armenian this is a widespread phenomenon. In fact, a similar construction is met with in Aristakes Lastivertc'i himself several lines below: *isk or i veray parsṣin ēin ... kalan zna*—"Now those who were located on the wall...seized him", etc.

Thus a philological analysis convinces us that the passage cited from the *History* deals with a military commander of Daylamites participating in the expedition of 1054 against Armenia. It was stated above, however, that when speaking about this individual, Skylitzes-Cedrenus styled him the Khwarizmian khan, while the same person figures into the account of Matthew of Edessa as the sultan's father-in-law. Subta ibn-al-Jahuzi has preserved an allusion to the death of one of Tughril-beg's sons wherein he states that the sultan's wife was by origin from Khwarizm.<sup>18</sup> It is

difficult to judge whether the Khwarezmian khan with Daylamite troops was in command, or whether Skylitzes-Cedrenus confused the Daylamites with the Khwarizmians. Possibly, further painstaking scrutiny of the Arabo-Persian sources relating to the history of the Seljuks may resolve this problem. In any case, it is clear that there are no grounds for doubting the veracity of Aristakes' information regarding the participation of Daylamites in the campaign of 1054.

The account cited above is by no means the sole reference in the Armenian sources to Daylamite invasions of Armenia.<sup>19</sup> The continuator of T'ovma Arcruni records a raid by the Daylamites.<sup>20</sup> He relates that the Daylamites seized the city of Hadamakert in the Aghbak district and departed with booty, leading young men and women into captivity. However, Armenian troops caught up with the invaders in the Anjewac'ik' district, killed 2,000 of them, retrieved the booty and returned the captives. A detailed account of this raid, however, found in Ibn-al-Athir, reduces the magnitude of the defeat inflicted by Armenian detachments on the Daylamites. According to Ibn al-Athir, this invasion of the Daylamites occurred in 326 of the *hijra* (= 8 November 937—29 September 938) and was commanded by Lashkari ibn Mardi.<sup>21</sup>

The author of the *History of [Caucasian] Albania* preserves a reference to an invasion of Armenia by the Daylamites.<sup>22</sup> "When these times had passed (earlier the text was describing the events of 914/15—K.Y.) and the Tajik (Arab) people were exhausted, another people appeared called Daylamites to whom a certain chieftain named Salar/Saghar belonged; widely extending his authority, he came to rule over the Albanians, Persians, and Armenians, and arriving at Partaw, he straightway made it his".<sup>23</sup> In Partaw (the designation given by Armenian sources to Berda'a, the capital of Caucasian Albania) a clash took place with the Ruzik' who had appeared there, that is, with Russian troops. Since the seizure of Berda'a by the Rus occurred in 332 of the *hijra* (i.e., between 4 September 943 and 25 August 944<sup>24</sup>) the Daylamite raid on Armenia may be dated approximately to that period.<sup>25</sup> The full name of the leader of the Daylamites was Salar Marzuban ibn Muhammad ibn Musafir.<sup>26</sup>

The Armenian sources preserve information about the invasion of another Salarid. In the 80's of the 10th century, continuous internecine wars were taking place between Mushegh, ruler of Kars, and king Smbat II. Attempting to overcome his adversary, Mushegh decided to ally himself with a Muslim emir. We cite the relevant passage from Asoghik. Mushegh, "called upon Ablhadj Delmestan, grandson of Salar, the Persian emir. Although he did not arrive with them, coming later, he set fire to the monastery of Hořomos and with nooses he pulled down the life-giving Cross on the cupola of the blessed Shoghakat' ". This occurred in 431 of the Armenian Era, i.e., 982/3 A.D. The passage deals with one of the last Salarids, the emir of Dvin, Abu'l Haidja, grandson of Marzuban ibn Muhammad. Asoghik states that Abu'l Haidja waged war with the emir of Goght'n, Abu Dulap', but fell into captivity and was obliged to cede to him Dvin and "all of his cities". After this, Abu'l Haidja wandered through Armenia and Iberia, visited the Byzantine emperor Basil II the Bulgar-Slayer, returned to the Caucasus and was strangled by his own slaves in the city of Uxt'ik'.<sup>27</sup> S. Shaldjyan has equated this Abu'l Haidja with the Ablhadj of Matthew of Edessa who, around 875 captured Derenik, ruler of Vaspurakan.<sup>28</sup> According to Asoghik, in 987 the Atrpatakani (Azerbaijanian) emir

Ablhadj, son of Rovd, at the head of 100,000 Persian troops fell on the afore-mentioned Abu Dulap' and took the "city of Salar" from him. He reached Dvin, seized it and demanded from the Armenians the payment of taxes for past years. King Smbat was forced to satisfy his demand, after which the emir departed. The next year, 988, he again raided Vaspurakan.<sup>29</sup> Consequently Asoghik has in mind the emir of Azerbaijan, Abu-l — Haidja ibn al-Ravvadit.<sup>30</sup> S. Shaldjyan suggested that Ablhadj was also a Daylamite since in the first place he came from Atrpatakan and secondly, seizing the lands of Salar it was as if he were declaring his right to family property.<sup>31</sup> But V. F. Minorsky asserted that there were no grounds for equating the Arabo-Kurdish dynasty of the Ravvadits with the Musafirid-Salarids of Daylamite origin, although both families might have been connected by marriage ties.<sup>32</sup> S. Shaldjyan, insisting on the Daylamite descent of the Ravvadit Abu'l Haidja, cited the curious passage in book III chapter 41 of Asoghik's *Universal History*.

Now in 998 the Atrpatakani (*i.e.*, Azerbaijani) emir Mamlan, son of the above-mentioned Abu'l Haidja,<sup>33</sup> came out against the ruler of the Armeno-Iberian district of Tao-Klardjetia, the curopalate David. The multitudinous army of Mamlan passed through Vaspurakan and consolidated itself in the Apahunik' district. It was there in Apahunik' that the battle between the united Armeno-Iberian detachments and Mamlan's troops occurred, concluding with the latter's defeat. Describing in detail the sudden changes of the battle, Asoghik states that at dawn the Persians "*Čakat patrastēin bazmakrkin yōrinuacov. řazm yōrinēin dnd eress layn dashtin delmastanean vahanap'akovn*"<sup>34</sup> N. O. Emin translated this passage as follows: "Marshalling themselves on a broad field in a multitude of detachments, (the army of Persians, protected) by Daylāmites bearing shields" advanced to the American and Iberian camp.<sup>35</sup> In the Mekhitarists' dictionary, *Nor Baġirk' Haykazean Lezwi* (where, incidentally among examples of phraseology, one also finds the passage of interest to us), the word *vahanap'ak* is translated: "a place or group covered with shields, a wall surrounded by shields". In the A. Xudobashev dictionary *vahanap'ak* is translated "protected or defended with the shield". Thus N. O. Emin somewhat oversimplified the translation, rendering *delmastanean vahanap'ak* as "Daylamite shield-bearers". The concept "soldier shield-bearer" is ordinarily expressed with the words *vahanawor*, *vahanakir*. Guided, obviously, by a similar understanding, S. Shaldjyan proposed that the passage, placed in context, contained an allusion to a special tactic characteristic of the Daylamites and employed in the battle of 998, a military method whose precise nature unfortunately we do not understand.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, it is indisputable that Daylamite detachments did participate in Mamlan's expedition.

As was mentioned before, the Daylamites are also recalled by the 12th century Armenian writer Matthew of Edessa. Speaking about the events of 971-972 he wrote: "The Delumk' king gathered an army and unexpectedly appeared in the Armenian district of Nig, close to the stronghold of Bdjni".<sup>37</sup> It was pointed out already by M. Chamchean<sup>38</sup> that an account of this raid is preserved in the *Universal History* of Vardan the Great (13th century) where Vardan correctly dated it to 470 A.E. (= A.D. 1021/22): "In the year 470, there appeared Tughril-bek whom Liparit met in Naxdjawan with 5,000 horsemen, but [Liparit] fled from the

great multitude [of the enemy]. When the Turks came to Dvin and commenced their raids, the valiant Vasak went to meet the enemy and, displaying great bravery, he returned to Serkweli".<sup>39</sup> Diverse points of view have been expressed about this information. H. A. Manandian thought that Daylamites had participated in this raid (but not Seljuks, as a number of scholars insisted). Academician Manandian, drawing on a number of other sources, suggested that Turkish horsemen had also taken part in the expedition.<sup>40</sup> In J. Markwart's opinion, "the Delmuk' king should be taken to refer to the Daylamite emir of Azerbaijan, as-Salar Ibrahim ibn al-Marzuban, or to Vahsudan ibn Mamlan".<sup>41</sup> The modern Persian historian Kasravi made an interesting conjecture. He thought that the reference to Tughril-beg was either a simple mistake, or that the leader of the attackers was a Tughril to which name Vardan added the title "bek". In 1021 the Ghuzz (Oghuz), independent of Seljuk Turkish tribes, also attacked. Shortly before these events, a significant group of Ghuzz had found refuge with the Ravvadit emir Vahsudan in Azerbaijan.<sup>42</sup> This view is even more convincing since in an inscription from Marmashen (1029) the invasion of 1021 is said to have been made by a "Turkish army".<sup>43</sup>

We see that despite their brevity, the Armenian sources on the Daylamites can be of use in reconstructing an ethnographic picture of medieval Iran.

#### FOOTNOTES TO YUZBASHYAN

(1) *Patmut'iwn Aristakeay vardapeti Lastivertc'woy* (Venice, 1844).

(2) *Histoire d'Arménie comprenant la fin du royaume d'Ani et le commencement de l'invasion des seldjoukides*, par Arisdagues de Lasdiverd, traduite pour la première fois de l'arménien sur l'édition des R.R.P.P. Mekhitaristes de Saint-Lazare et accompagnée de notes par M. Évariste Prud'homme (Paris, 1864).

(3) Translator's note: Since the publication of this article, both Yuzbashyan's critical edition and several translations of it have appeared. *Patmut'iwn Aristakisi Lastivertc'woy*, K. N. Yuzbashyan, ed. (Yerevan, 1963), to which is appended a full bibliography by H. A. Anasyan, pp. 149-153; the Russian translation was made by Yuzbashyan himself, *Povestvovanie Vardapeta Aristakesa Lastiverttsi* (Moscow, 1968); Eastern Armenian translation: V. A. Gevorgyan, *Aristakes Lastivertc'i Patmut'yun* (Yerevan, 1971); French translation with additional bibliography by M. Canard and H. Berberian, *Récit des Malheurs de la Nation Arménienne* (Bruxelles, 1973). — R.B.

(4) Basic sources: *Ibn-al-Athiri Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C. I. Tornberg, vol. IX (Lugduni Batavorum, 1863) pp. fl.-fll (Hereafter, *Ibn-al-Athir*); Russian translation: *Materialy po istorii Azerbaidzhana iz Tarikh al Kamil . . . Ibn-al-Asira* (Baku, 1940), p. 117; Matt'eos Uthaeac'i, *Patmut'iwn* (Vagharshapat, 1898) pp. 118-122 (*grabar* text); Hereafter, Matthew of Edessa; French translation: *Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse continuée par Grégoire le Prêtre*. Bibliothèque historique arménienne . . . par Édouard Dulaurier (Paris, 1858) pp. 98-112; *Cedreni Historiarum compendium*, II (Bonnae, 1839) pp. 590-593 (Hereafter *Cedreni*); C. Cahen, "Première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure," *Byzantion*, XVII, 1946-1948, pp. 16-17; H. A. Manandian, *Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People*, vol. III (Yerevan, 1952) pp. 47-49 (in Arm.); B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952) pp. 128-129.

- (5) Ar. Lastivertc'i (Tiflis, 1912) pp. 103-104; French trans., p. 99.
- (6) Matthew of Edessa, p. 119; French trans., p. 100.
- (7) Cedreni, p. 591.
- (8) *Histoire d'Arménie* . . . traduite . . . par E. Prud'homme p. 99 n.1.
- (9) Cedreni, p. 606.
- (10) State Matenadaran, Armenian Manuscript Archives #2864 p. 281b; #1482 p. 102; #4584 p. 67b; #1895 p. 42. Similarly in manuscript readings used for the publications of the *History*. In four manuscripts the relative *or* preceeding *delmic* has fallen out, see: #3160 p. 254b; #3502 p. 404b, #3070 p. 198, #6457 p. 87. #2796 p. 39b has *or delmez zōrun ishxann ēr*. The ms. of the Institute for the Study of the Peoples of Asia B-66 is a copy of #3070 and has no independent value. It should be noted that the relative pronoun *or* of the printed text, followed by *Oitilmez*, is not encountered in the manuscripts used.
- (11) See V. Minorsky, *La domination des dailamites* (Paris, 1932) Publication de la société des études iraniennes et de l'art persan, #3.
- (12) I. Markwart, *Eranshahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (Berlin, 1901) p. 10.
- (13) T'ovma Arcruni, *History of the Arcrunid House* (Tiflis, 1917) p. 492 (*grabar* text) (Hereafter, T'ovma Arcruni).
- (14) Matthew of Edessa, p. 11; French trans., p. 9.
- (15) *Universal History of Step'annos Taronec'i Asoghik*, S. Malxasyanc', ed. (St. Petersburg, 1885) p. 188 (*grabar* text). Hereafter, Asoghik; Russian trans., *Vseobshchaia istoriia Stepanosa Taronского, Asokhika po prozvaniiu, pisatel'ia XI stolet'ia*, Translated from the Armenian and with notes by N. Emin (Moscow, 1864) p. 131.
- (16) *Movsisi Kaghankatuac'woy Patmut'iwn Aghuanic' Ashxarhi* (Tiflis, 1913) p. 385 (*grabar* text). Hereafter Movses Kaghankatuac'i. The Russian trans., K. Patkan'yan, *Istoriia Agvan Moiseia Kagankatvatsi* (St. Petersburg, 1861) was based on a copy preserving the corrupt reading *gelemēkk'*; See the Archives of Manuscripts of the Institute for the Study of the Peoples of Asia of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Armenian Collection, #B 56 p. 283b (Russian trans., p. 275).
- (17) V. F. Minorsky suggested that "Daylam" which is merely the Arabic transcription of the name, in reality should have been pronounced probably Delam or even Delim (see V. Minorsky, *La domination des dailamites*, p. 1 note).
- (18) C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 17 n.1.
- (19) S. Shaldjian's article, "Deilemity i ikh habegi na Armeniiu" (*Izvestiia Armianskogo Filiala AN SSSR*, #5-6 (10-11), 1941) contains detailed information from Armenian sources on Daylam and the Daylamites. The author, not having at his disposal the critical text of Aristakes Lastivertc'i, naturally was unable to utilize the information provided by it on the question concerning us here. In his article, Shaldjian proposed that the tribe known as the Dmlik or Zaza which occupied the districts between Xnus and Balu and between Mush and Diarbekir until 1915 might be descendants of the Daylamites (see pp. 114-115).
- (20) T'ovma Arcruni, p. 492.
- (21) Ibn-al-Athir, vol. VIII, pp. 261-263; Russian trans., pp. 92-93. See Cl. Huart, "Une razzia en Arménie au X siècle", *Revue des études arméniennes*, I, fasc.4, 1921. The author of the article did not suspect that information about this raid was preserved in an Armenian source, namely in T'ovma Arcruni's continuator. See also Ios. Markwart, *Šudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen*

*und arabischen Geographen* (Wien, 1930) pp. 387-389. As Canard observed, *REA*, 1966 p. 467, important information on Lashkari ibn Mardi is also to be found in Miskawayh (cf. M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, I, 456-7 and 470-1).

(22) On this work and the author's floruit see K. V. Trever, *Ocherki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoi Albanii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959) pp. 11-16, and the bibliography cited there.

(23) Movses Kaghankatuac'i, *grabar* text, p. 385; Russian trans., K. Patkan'yan, pp. 275-276; [Translator's note: An English translation now exists, C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movses Dasxuranc'i* (London, 1961). See pp. 223-224.]

(24) A. Iakubovskii, "Ibn-Miskaveikh o pokhode rusov v Berdaa v 332 g. = 943/4g.", *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, v. XXIV, 1926, pp. 71-72; V. V. Bartol'd, "Arabskie izvestiia o rusakh", *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, v. I, 1940, pp. 31-34.

(25) S. Shaldjyan, *op. cit.*, p. 113, proposed that the Daylamite raid occurred in 914.—The dating is uncertain. See Canard, *REA*, 1966 p. 467.—R. B.

(26) See V. Minorsky, "Caucasica, IV," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1953, XV/3, pp. 514-515, and the bibliography cited there.

(27) Asoghik, pp. 188-189; Russian trans., pp. 131-132; V. Minorsky, "Musafiri", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, v. III, 1936, pp. 795-796.

(28) Matthew of Edessa, pp. 30-33; French trans., pp. 26-27; S. Shaldjyan, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

(29) Asoghik, p. 199; Russian trans., pp. 140-141.

(30) V. Minorsky, "Musafiri", p. 796.

(31) S. Shaldjyan, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

(32) V. Minorsky, "Musafiri".

(33) Mamlan was not the son but the grandson of Abu'l Haidja. See Canard, *REA*, 1966, p. 468, citing V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), p. 47 and 168.—R.B.

(34) Asoghik, p. 271; Russian trans., p. 195.

(35) Yuzbashyan does not quote other translations of this passage, such as those of Gelzer or Grousset. Canard, *REA*, 1966 p. 468.—R. B.

(36) Shaldjyan's suggestion was correct. The Daylamites were noted for their use of shields in combat. See Canard, *REA*, 1966, p. 468 citing Tabari and Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, p. 20.—R. B.

(37) Matthew of Edessa, p. 11; French trans., p. 9.

(38) M. Chamchean, *The History of Armenia*, v. II (Venice, 1785) p. 904 (in Arm.).

(39) *The Universal History of the Great Vardan Barjberdc'i*, M. Emin, ed., (Moscow, 1861) (*grabar* text); Russian trans. (not entirely accurate): *Vseobshchaia istoriia Vardana Velikogo*, with introduction and notes by N. Emin (Moscow, 1861) p. 122.

(40) H. A. Manandyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

(41) Ios. Marqwart, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

(42) See: S. A. Kasrawi, *The Forgotten Rulers (Rawwadits)*, (Teheran, 1929) pp. 40-41 (in Persian).

(43) K. Kostanyan, *Vimakan Taregirk'* (St. Petersburg, 1913) p. 16; H. A. Manandyan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

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Problems of Medieval Armenian and Muslim Historiography: The Mxit'ar of Ani Fragment

Author(s): Dickran K. Kouymjian

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*Dickran K. Kouymjian*

## PROBLEMS OF MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN AND MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE MXIT'AR OF ANI FRAGMENT<sup>1</sup>

Only the introductory portion of the *History* written by the Armenian Mxit'ar of Ani has come down to us.<sup>2</sup> However, an extensive passage on the Ghaznavids and Seljuks from the lost part of the work is quoted in the *Universal History* composed c. 1268 by Vardan Vardapet.<sup>3</sup> The content and the sources used for the compilation of this much-neglected narrative is the subject of this study.

From biographical data and the final date (1193)<sup>4</sup> in the surviving introduction,

<sup>1</sup> The article was originally presented in a much abbreviated form as a paper at the 4th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, 6 November 1970, in Columbus, Ohio. The author would like to acknowledge, with thanks, the travel grant provided by the Research and Conference Grant Program of the American University in Cairo for this purpose. The Mxit'ar of Ani fragment has already been treated in a related article: D. K. Kouymjian, 'Mxit'ar of Ani on the Rise of the Seljuqs', *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, new series, vol. VI (1969), pp. 331-53, which will henceforth be referred to as *R. E. Arm.* For the Armenian translation with Russian résumé of the original paper, see now the journal of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, Erevan, Armenian S.S.R., *Lraber*, no. 4 (352), (1972), pp. 74-84.

<sup>2</sup> Published by K. Patkanean and appended to his edition of the *History* attributed to Sebêos (St Petersburg, 1879), but with separate pagination; the text exists in a unique manuscript now no. 2678 of the collection of the Matenadaran (i.e. Manuscript Library) in Erevan, Armenian S.S.R.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. and Russian trans. by M. Emin, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1861); by L. Ališan (Venice, 1862). Despite the conclusions of J. Muyldermans to the contrary (*La domination arabe en Arménie* [Louvain/Paris, 1927], pp. 29 and 37; cf. *R. E. Arm.*, p. 333, n. 10), Ališan's edition, at least for the section containing the Mxit'ar fragment, is superior to Emin's, not only because he had access to much older manuscripts, but also because he had a better knowledge of oriental languages. To settle the debate on editions of Vardan one need only consider that when Patkanean appended the excerpt in Vardan at the end of his edition of Mxit'ar (pp. 49-52) he used Ališan's edition and not that of his fellow Russian Armenian, Emin. As for the manuscript tradition of Vardan, the four oldest - Library of the Mechitarist Congregation in Venice, nos. 516 (dated c. 1300) and 1244 (dated 1307), the Matenadaran, Erevan, no. 3074 (also dated 1307), and Museo Borgano, The Vatican, Arm. MS no. 30 (dated 1630, but probably from an original of 1274) - display no major divergencies one from the other or from the printed texts. The writer would like to take this opportunity to thank again the Research and Conference Grant Program of the American University in Cairo for a grant during the summer of 1970 which allowed him to examine these manuscripts (as well as many others) in person.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Patkanean, pp. 2, 46-8, also reproduced in G. Zarbhanalean, *The History of Ancient Armenian Literature* [in Arm.], vol. 1 (Venice, 1897), p. 725. For biographical material on Mxit'ar, in addition to works already cited in *R. E. Arm.*, p. 332, n. 6, one

the history can be safely ascribed to the last years of the twelfth century. Near the beginning of the same extant section Mxit'ar provides a list of sources he used, which for the eleventh and twelfth centuries are exclusively Armenian.<sup>1</sup> Yet we know he was able to utilize Islamic, or at least Persian, sources, for both Vardan and Mxit'ar of Ayrivank' (*Chronological History* to 1289) report that he translated a book on eclipses from the latter language into Armenian.<sup>2</sup> As will be seen later, Mxit'ar seemingly consulted both Armenian and Muslim works for the section of his history under study.<sup>3</sup>

An examination of the works of the writers of the period who are named by Mxit'ar – Aristakês (*History* to 1070), Kozeġn (*History of the Bagratids*, written c. 1050), and Samuel of Ani (*Chronology* to 1179) – reveals that the detailed information on the Ghaznavids and Seljuks presented by him did not originate from these works.<sup>4</sup> There is the further possibility that he used other contemporary Armenian authorities but neglected to cite them; these might include the

may consult P. S. Somal, *Quadre della Storia Letteraria di Armenia* (Venice, 1829), p. 106; Ališan, *Snorhali and His Time* [in Arm.] (Venice, 1873), pp. 126–8; A. Łazikean, *New Armenian Bibliography and Encyclopaedia of Armenian Life* [in Arm.] (Venice, 1909–12), vol. 1, cols. 2013–14; H. Ačaġean, *Dictionary of Armenian First Names* [in Arm.], vol. III (Erevan, 1946), pp. 369–70; G. Hovsġp'ean, 'Mxit'ar of Ani, Scribe and Miniaturist' [in Arm.], *Hask Yearbook*, vol. 1 (Antelias, 1948), esp. pp. 192–4, which discusses four different Mxit'ars of Ani living during our period, the one of the title not being the Mxit'ar of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Patkanean, p. 15, with details in *R. E. Arm.*, p. 334; the list will be found in the next paragraph of the text below.

<sup>2</sup> Vardan, ed. Venice, p. 137, ed. Moscow, p. 180; Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', ed. Emin (Moscow, 1860), p. 64. It is also mentioned by Aġakel of Tabriz, *History* (seventeenth century), ed. (Valaršapat, 1884), p. 48, and probably copied from the latter in an eighteenth-century chronology which has only recently been published, N. Polarean, 'Chronology' [in Arm.], *Banber Matenadaran*, vol. 9 (1969), p. 259. The name of the author is given as Oġiġ in older manuscripts and as Oġik'ġ in later ones as well as Aġakel and the eighteenth-century chronicle. Ačaġean, *loc. cit.*, suggests the possibility that Mxit'ar of Ayrivank' understood it as a date, i.e. 1127, and that later it was mistakenly entered in Aġakel under 1187, but this should probably be rejected, for all of the oldest manuscripts of Vardan agree exactly in understanding it as a name; Mxit'ar of Ayrivank' places the event just before 1191 and after 1181, and Aġakel and the eighteenth-century chronicle also clearly regard it as a name. On the other hand, Brosset's more reasonable, yet still problematic, suggestion that it is a poor Armenian rendering for Persian *zīj*, a book of astronomy, deserves further investigation, *Mém. de l'Acad.* vol. IV (1862), no. 9, pp. 5–6; see *R. E. Arm.*, p. 333, n. 10 for full citation. Ališan expresses the same opinion, but without reference to Brosset, *Snorhali*, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Mxit'ar actually says as a preface to the short history in the Vardan fragment, 'A great deal of effort was exerted in discovering [the history of] the sultans who were Turks, and by the grace of God I found it [to be] as follows'; ed. Venice, p. 94; ed. Moscow, p. 127. The great effort was probably research into non-Armenian as well as Armenian sources; Ališan comments much to the same effect, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Aristakês of Lastivert, critical ed. (Erevan, 1963) and Russian trans. (Leningrad, 1968), both by K. N. Yuzbašyan; Samuel of Ani, critical ed., A. Tġr-Mik'ġean (Valaršapat, 1893); for Kozeġn and a discussion about the surviving parts of his lost history see below, pp. 467–8, n. 4. It is most interesting that Ališan felt the lost history of Kozeġn contained an account of the Seljuk invasions, but unfortunately he does not say on what grounds he bases this (*Hayapatum* [in Arm.], vol. 1 (Venice, 1901), p. 90).

*History* of Hovhannês Sarkawag (d. 1129), the *Chronicle* (952–1136) of Matthew of Edessa, the *Chronicle* to 1162 of Mxit'ar Goš, and that of Vahram (type and date of work uncertain).<sup>1</sup>

But once again, none of these have any important material on the Ghaznavids or Seljuks with the possible exception of the history of Sarkawag. However, it has not come down to us. From excerpts of this work quoted by his pupil Samuel of Ani and later by Kirakos of Ganjak (*History* to 1265)<sup>2</sup> we have some idea of its general content. The first of its two parts dealt with the 'Scythians', i.e. the Turks, more probably the Seljuks, while the second part was specifically about Malikshâh son of Alp Arslan.<sup>3</sup> In a previous study (see p. 465, n. 1), by incorrectly associating the name Kozeŕn, in the oblique form 'Kozŕann', with Hovhannês Sarkawag, it was conjectured that Mxit'ar of Ani used this important history. Even now that 'Kozŕann' is clearly identified as Hovhannês of Tarôn, called 'Kozeŕn',<sup>4</sup> it is still held by this writer on the basis of contextual

<sup>1</sup> On Hovhannês Sarkawag see below in the text; Matthew of Edessa, ed. (Jerusalem, 1869) and a later edition based on a more complete text (Valaršapat, 1898), Fr. trans., E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858); Michael the Syrian, ed. (Jerusalem, 1871), Fr. trans., V. Langlois (Venice, 1868), but on the question of the various and divergent Armenian versions see J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1899 [actually pub. 1924]), pp. L–LI; Mxit'ar Goš, *Albanian Chronicle*, trans. and commentary, C. J. F. Dowsett, *BSOAS*, vol. XXI (1958), pp. 472–90; on Vahram see Ališan's comment in Vardan, ed. Venice, p. 94, n. 3, and *Hayapatum*, vol. 1, p. 92, cf. *R. E. Arm.*, p. 333, n. 12. This latter Vahram is probably not to be confused with Vahram of Edessa who wrote a rhymed history of the *Kings of Cilician Armenia* despite comments in some eighteenth-century manuscripts, for which see H. A. Anasyan, *Armenian Bibliology* [in Arm.], vol. 1 (Erevan, 1959), p. LV.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel, pp. 96–8, quoted in Ališan, *Hayapatum*, vol. II, pp. 336, 358–9, and Zarbhanalean, p. 609. Kirakos of Ganjak, critical ed. K. A. Melik'-Ôhanjanyan (Erevan, 1961), p. 84; Kirakos probably took his excerpts from Samuel rather than from Sarkawag's text directly, for which see H. Oskean, *Literary Researches* [in Arm.] (Vienna, 1926), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> On the author and the work see, Ališan, *Souvenirs of the Armenian Fatherland*, vol. II (Venice, 1921<sup>2</sup>), pp. 248–73; *idem*, *Hayapatum*, *loc. cit.*; Ačaŕean, *op. cit.* vol. III, pp. 571–2; Łazikean, *op. cit.* vol. II, cols. 107–8; A. Abrahamean, *Eight Lectures* [in Arm.] (Antelias, 1955), pp. 79–96; Zarbhanalean, pp. 609–10; Samuel, pp. 96–8; Oskean, *op. cit.* pp. 1–64, esp. 37–41.

<sup>4</sup> An additional note attached to offprint copies *only* of the writers article in *R. E. Arm.*, vol. VI, correctly identified Kozeŕn/Kozŕann with Hovhannês of Tarôn, an eleventh-century author of several works including a *History* of the Bagratids, believed to be lost. He is mentioned by a large number of contemporary and later authors. For fuller details see Ačaŕean, vol. III, pp. 566–7; Zarbhanalean, pp. 570–1, 788, is not aware that Hovhannês of Tarôn and Kozeŕn are one and the same person, probably repeating the mistake of Mxit'ar of Ayŕivank', ed. Emin, p. 23, and an eighteenth-century manuscript (Anasyan, *op. cit.* p. LIV) where the two names are listed separately. MS. no. 1775 of the Matenadaran in Erevan contains the first pages of the beginning of Kozeŕn's history (folios 8<sup>v</sup>–16<sup>r</sup>), which according to the heading in the manuscript was a history of the house of the Bagratids (f. 8<sup>v</sup>). G. Abgaryan quotes verbatim the opening paragraphs of this history, *Banber Matenadaran*, vol. 6 (1962), pp. 50–1, and again in his 'The History of Sebêos' and the Enigma of the Anonymous (Erevan, 1965), pp. 128–30, and maintains that the first chapter of the pseudo-Sebêos (the so-called *Primary History of Armenia*) belongs to the lost part of the *History* of Kozeŕn. An examination of the surviving pages of this

similarities that Mxit'ar *probably* utilized Sarkawag's *History* and that conclusions based on this premise are valid. The work seems to have existed in Mxit'ar's time, for his contemporary Samuel of Ani used it, and later writers – Kirakos, Vardan, Mxit'ar of Ayrivank' – mention it. More factually, sections of Sarkawag's work quoted by Samuel and Kirakos contain the unusual spelling 'Sarč'uk' for Seljuk, a form also used by Mxit'ar.<sup>1</sup> (On the other hand, the Mxit'ar passage uses *hijrî* dates, while normal Armenian era dating is used in the fragment of Sarkawag's work preserved by Samuel.) Unfortunately, a definitive statement on the relationship between the lost *History* of Hovhannēs Sarkawag and the passage in Vardan from the lost *History* of Mxit'ar cannot be made.

Yet it is clear that either Mxit'ar or possibly an Armenian predecessor (i.e. Sarkawag) relied on Islamic works, not only because *hijrî* dates are used exclusively in the fragment (while in other extant parts of Mxit'ar's work they are not<sup>2</sup>), but also because of (1) the relative accuracy in the rendering of Muslim names and titles, (2) the use of many Arabic and Persian words, and (3) the detailed account of certain incidents totally unrelated to Armenian history.<sup>3</sup>

What then were Mxit'ar's Muslim sources? Since the fragment, which, being written before the close of the 6th/12th century, is comparatively early, deals with details of Būyid, Ghaznavid and Seljuk history, the answer to this question is of special interest to the historiography of these dynasties as well as that of Armenia. Before entering into a discussion of this matter, a paraphrased summary of the Mxit'ar fragment on the history of the sultans of the Turks preserved in Vardan is herein presented.<sup>4</sup>

Maḥmūd son of Sebuktegin (*Sbk't'anay*), like Ardashir the Sāsānian, became great in the city of Balkh (*Bahl*) in the land of the Kuṣhans. Word of his strength reached the Caliph (*Xalifay*) who, becoming frightened, sent him presents, an insignia of office (*alam*, Arabic '*alam*'), the *laqab* (*lalap*) Amīn al-*ādil* (*Amin-adl*, read Yamin al-Dawla), and called him Sulṭān. With these honors Maḥmūd's reputation grew even greater. He

history does not reveal much of interest; beginning with Adam and Eve in Paradise and continuing about the Hebrew prophets and kings, it goes up to the birth of Christ (f. 16r). The history was to be in two parts: (1) from the beginning of the world to 887 when the first Bagratid King Ašot was crowned, (2) from the reign of Ašot to the author's own days (c. 1050). It is possible, indeed very likely, that the second part discussed the Seljuk invasions, which occurred during the author's floruit, as Ališan had himself surmised (see p. 466, n. 4 above). The author would like to thank L. Xač'ikyan, Director of the Matenadaran, and B. Č'ugaszyan, Assistant Director, for kindly making available photographs of the manuscript text of the Kozefn fragment.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel, p. 98; Kirakos, p. 84, in the variants at the foot of the page; for Mxit'ar, ed. Venice, p. 96, ed. Moscow, p. 129, the passage to be translated shortly in the text. The final section of the extant introduction of Mxit'ar's work also uses the form *azgn Turk'ac'*, *Sarč'ukik'n*, 'the nation of the Turks, the Seljuks', ed. Patkanean, p. 48. Ališan felt very strongly that Sarkawag's history began with the origin and development of the Seljuks *Hayapatum*, vol. 1, p. 95, col. 1. <sup>2</sup> Ed. Patkanean, *passim*; Zarbhanalean, pp. 725–6.

<sup>3</sup> See the passage given in the text, below, and the discussion in *R. E. Arm*, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Italicized words in parentheses indicate the Armenian spelling found in the text; when not so indicated the Armenian either has already been given or is identical or very close to the accepted form.

marched to India to the famous idol of Somnâth (*Mat'an*),<sup>1</sup> which he destroyed, and after taking much booty returned home, leaving his son Muḥammad there. Then he took Gurgân and from its ruler 400,000 gold pieces (*tahekank'*) and a treasure in the year 420/[1029] of their (i.e. the Muslim) era. He then passed to Rayy (*Rē*); the ruler of the city, Majd al-Dawla Rustam (*Maja-dawla Rstôm*), who had gathered Daylamite (*Dlmikk'*) troops three days before, advanced to meet him. Maḥmūd arrived at Sarāv (*Sraw*) with a formidable force and 250 elephants, and seeing Majd al-Dawla, he said, 'Have you read the *Shāhnāma* (*Šah namaz*)?' And the other answered, 'Yes.' Now Maḥmūd asked, 'Have you ever played chess?' The answer was again, 'Yes.' 'Then does a king enter another king's square (*tun*, lit. 'house')?' And the ruler of Rayy remained silent. Maḥmūd seized him and sent him captive to Khurāsân (*Xorasan*) and took all his possessions in Rayy. Then Maḥmūd went to Tabaristân (*Taparastan*) and Taḥabi (?)<sup>2</sup> and Sarī; he gave his son Mas'ūd (*Masxut*) Rayy, Qazwīn (*Łazuin*), and the whole of Kūhistân (*K'ohastan*).<sup>3</sup> Leaving Mas'ūd in Rayy he went to Sarāv and took 100,000 *dīnārs* (*denari*) and passed to Nīshâpūr (*Našawur*) in 421/[1030] of their era. Mas'ūd then took Hamadân (*Hamian*) and Iṣfahân (*Aspahan*) and returned to Rayy, where he heard that his *shaḥna* (*šahnays*) had been killed in Iṣfahân. He went there again, killed 4,000 men and returned to Rayy. Just at that time they brought him the sad news of his father's (i.e. Maḥmūd's) death and that his brother Muḥammad was made Sultan. Rising in revolt, Mas'ūd marched [toward Ghazna], seized his brother, blinded him, and took his sovereignty and throne.

Sometime before, Mas'ūd's father, while on his way to help Qadir-Khân Boghra-Khân (*Xtrlan-Pôrlan*) [the Qarakhânid], met an army of Turks; later, he returned on the same road and with a great victory,<sup>4</sup> he seized their *amīr* Yabghu (*Ap'alu*) and sent him captive to Khurāsân. The *amīr*'s people begged Maḥmūd, and later Mas'ūd, to release him, but neither would. Thus angered, the Turks passed across the Oxus (*Ĵahan*) with all their troops and fighting with all their might seized Nīshâpūr. Afterwards they destroyed the armies of Sultan Mas'ūd at Dandânqân (*Dadanlan*) near Marv (*Mrmn*). The sultan fled to Ghazna (*i Łazinn*) and then India, but on the way he was killed and his blind brother Muḥammad was enthroned in Ghazna (*i Łazuin [sic]*) where until today his sons rule.

As for the leader of the Turks, whose name was Mūsâ Yabghu (*Musēap'alu*) son of Seljuk (Sarč'uk'), he had five [*sic*, read two] nephews whose names were Abû Salim (*Abusalim*, read Abû Sulaymân) Dâ'ūd (*Dawut'*) Chaghri Beg (*Č'alrbek*), [and] Abû Tâlib (*Abutalip*) Tughri Beg (*Tôlril-Bék*). It was Tughri who received the authority

<sup>1</sup> Tentatively it would seem that Armenian *Mat'an* is a badly transcribed form for Arabic *manât*, 'idol', in its generic sense, but originally Manât, one of the pagan idols of the Ka'bah, which was closely, though incorrectly, associated by Muslim writers with Somnâth, especially with regard to Maḥmūd's campaign there in 416/1025-6.

<sup>2</sup> Other localities mentioned in the text are easily identifiable; Taḥabi, however, presents some problems. It would seem too far removed to be either Târâb near Bukhârâ (V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 2nd ed. [London, 1968], p. 115 n.) or Dârâb-jird in Fars (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* [Cambridge, 1905], pp. 248, 288-9), though Ališan identifies with the latter (Vardan, ed. Venice, p. 95, n. 4).

<sup>3</sup> Kūhistân in Syria, i.e. al-Jibâl, V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (London, 1937), p. 150. The author would like to thank Professors William Gohlman of Baldwin-Wallace College and William Hanaway of the University of Pennsylvania for independently suggesting the more correct reading in place of the author's Khūzistân.

<sup>4</sup> The words 'with a great victory' were inadvertently omitted from the more exact translation (of the Seljuk portion only) given in *R. E. Arm.* p. 339, but were properly included on page 342. In general, for specific questions on the Seljuks suggested by the Mxit'ar fragment one should consult the translation and commentary in *R. E. Arm.*

of the sultanate and dividing the lands of *Khurâsân*, he extended his realm for fifteen years. Later Tughrîl came to Rayy and discovered two treasures filled with gold, seized them, and sent to the Caliph asking for his blessing. The latter honored him with ambassadors, an insignia of office (*alam*), presents, he read his name from the *minbar* (*mambar*), and gave him the title Rukn al-Dawla (*Ruk'nadôvla*). And from that day he was proclaimed conqueror.<sup>1</sup>

The passage, even in its abridged form, contains a wealth of diverse information which naturally lends itself to a detailed commentary. As mentioned above (p. 465, n. 1), the Seljuk portion has already been treated in a monograph, and the section on the *Ghaznavids* will be studied thoroughly in a forthcoming article. For the present discussion, only two episodes will be singled out to help determine the sources used by Mxit'ar. They are (1) from *Ghaznavid* history, the interrogation of Majd al-Dawla by Maḥmūd of *Ghazna*, and (2) from Seljuk history, the occurrence and use of the Turkic title *yabghu*.

The dialogue between Maḥmūd of *Ghazna* and Majd al-Dawla Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawla of Rayy is best known in the version preserved in Ibn al-Athîr's *al-Kâmil fî al-ta'rîkh* (finished c. 619/1222). After the death of his capable mother Sayyida (the *de facto* ruler of Rayy) in 419/1028, Majd al-Dawla assumed the full responsibility of governing the city. We are told that being unable to control his Daylamite troops, he called on Maḥmūd for help. The latter was waiting for such an opportunity and in 420/1029 he took Rayy. Under that year Ibn al-Athîr records the following conversation. Having had Majd brought before him Maḥmūd asks, 'Have you read the *Shâhnâma*, the history of the Persians,<sup>2</sup> and the *Ta'rîkh* of al-Ṭabarî, the history of the Muslims?' Majd answered, 'Yes.' 'But your conduct was not like one who had read them,' said Maḥmūd. He continued, 'But do you not play chess?' 'Yes,' replied the other. 'And did you ever see one king approach another?' questioned Maḥmūd. 'No,' said the ruler of Rayy. 'Why then,' admonished Maḥmūd, 'did you call to your kingdom one who is stronger than yourself?' And saying that, Maḥmūd sent him captive to *Khurâsân*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The passage has been published in Armenian as follows: ed. Venice, pp. 93-7; ed. Moscow, pp. 127-31; the Venice version again by Patkanean (*op. cit.* n. 2), pp. 49-52; by Ališan again, *Souvenirs*, vol. II, pp. 353-4; and partially (the initial section on Maḥmūd of *Ghazna*) by A. Alboyadjian, *History of the Armenian Emigrations* [in Arm.], vol. II (Cairo, 1955), p. 24, n. 1. It has been translated into French, M. F. Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'histoire de la Géorgie* (St Petersburg, 1851), pp. 220-2; Russian, M. Emin (Moscow, 1861), pp. 118-21; Turkish, H. D. Adreasyan, 'Müverrih Vardan Türk Fütuhâtı Tarihi (889-1269)', *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Semineri Dergisi*, vol. 1/2 (1937), pp. 169-72; English (partial), *R. E. Arm.*, vol. VI, pp. 339-41.

<sup>2</sup> There is an added poignancy and irony to the story. Firdausî completed the *Shâhnâma* at the commission of Maḥmūd (c. 400/1009-10), but disappointed by the terms of the payment, he fled from the *Ghaznavid* court and took refuge with the *Bûyids*, specifically, according to some authorities (e.g. Ethé), at the court of Majd al-Dawla in Rayy; see E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1906), vol. II, pp. 141, 131 n.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athîr, ed. Tornberg (Leyden, 1851-76), vol. IX, pp. 261-3 (reprint, Beirut, vol. IX, pp. 371-2); the dialogue has been translated at least twice - Browne, vol. II, p.

Though Mxit'ar's account neglects to mention that fact which makes sense out of the chess episode, namely Majd al-Dawla's invitation to Maḥmūd, his version and Ibn al-Athīr's are nearly the same. Though the famous Arab historian wrote some thirty years after Mxit'ar of Ani, there is absolutely no conceivable reason to assume he could have used the Armenian as an authority. Where then did Ibn al-Athīr get his story? Of the existing *Ghaznavid* sources written before his time – 'Utbī, Bayhaqī, Gardīzī, and the anonymous *Mujmal al-tawārīkh wa'l-qiṣaṣ* – none mention the incident.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it may have been included in the lost parts of Bayhaqī's *Mujalladāt* which dealt with Maḥmūd, for the surviving section, the *Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdi*, only begins in 421/1030, just after the events related above, but there are no references to such a story in the works of later writers who had access to these lost parts.<sup>2</sup> Yet should we some day find the missing parts of Bayhaqī, or even a new Persian source, we might conjecture its use by Mxit'ar, who knew Persian, but there would still be a problem since we are not sure whether or not Ibn al-Athīr could use that language.<sup>3</sup>

Two further possibilities may help solve this historiographical question. The story may have been transmitted by the Persian 'Alī b. Zayd Bayhaqī, known as Ibn Funduq, in his *Mashārib al-tajārib*, which was written not in Persian but in Arabic, during the second half of the 6th/12th century. Though the work has not come down to us, there is reason to suppose that Ibn al-Athīr may have used it.<sup>4</sup> But once again the problem of Ibn Funduq's source would arise as well as that

160, and M. Nāzim, *The Life and Times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 82–3. For further details on Majd al-Dawla, see K. V. Zetterstéen, 'Madīd al-Dawla', *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st ed.), or *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. VII, pp. 431–2, and, G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938), pp. 171–97 *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Utbī, *al-Ta'riḫ al-Yamīnī*, written in Arabic prior to 431/1039–40, the year of the author's death, ed. (Cairo, 1869), with a Persian version by Jurbādhqānī (c. 602/1206), ed. A. Qawīm (Teheran, 1955). The *Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdi* of Abū'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī (385/995 to 470/1077) comprises only some five of the supposed thirty-volume history, the *Mujalladāt*; the section preserved covers the years 421/1030 to 433/1041. The *Zayn al-akhbār* of Gardīzī was written before 444/1053 and contains events to 432/1041. The anonymous *Mujmal* was written in 520/1126 according to the unique manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The author would like to thank Prof. C. E. Bosworth of the University of Manchester for sending photocopies of the sections from Gardīzī, ed. Nāzim (Berlin, 1928), pp. 90–1, and the *Mujmal*, ed. Bahār (Tehran, 1939), pp. 403–4, used to check this statement.

<sup>2</sup> An examination of the second and revised edition of the Russian translation of Bayhaqī, A. K. Arends (Moscow, 1969), which contains in the appendix 19 excerpts from the lost parts of the *Mujalladāt* quoted by later authors, shows no mention of the episode; of course this does not absolutely exclude the possibility of its being preserved in the still-missing parts of the work.

<sup>3</sup> 'For, much as we may admire on the one hand the breadth of his documentary researches, nothing, on the other hand, indicates that he knew Persian' (Cl. Cahen, 'The Historiography of the Seljuqid Period', *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. Holt [London, 1962], pp. 65–6). Contrariwise, his brother Diya al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr seemingly knew Persian (see G. Von Grunebaum, *Islam, Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* [London, 1961], pp. 109, n. 9 and 178), and therefore one might conjecture that Ibn al-Athīr himself could in fact use Persian sources. The reference to Diya al-Dīn was supplied by Prof. Gohlman.

<sup>4</sup> Cahen, *ibid.* p. 66.

of Mxit'ar's access to it.<sup>1</sup> A second alternative might be that some caliphal or Baghdādī chronicle, in this case probably written in Arabic, may have included the tale. A likely candidate is the *History* (a narrative to 447/1055) of Hilāl al-Šābī, of which only the years 388/998 to 393/1003 have been preserved, but which was used and partially transmitted in Ibn al-Jawzī's *al-Muntaẓam* (6th/12th century), Šibt Ibn al-Jawzī's *Mir'ât al-zamân* (7th/13th century), and an anonymous chronicle in the Munich State Library dated 644/1246–7, all three of which expressly used Hilāl's work.<sup>2</sup> In the *Muntaẓam* we do in fact have preserved the *Fathnâma* actually issued by Maḥmūd of Ghazna and sent to the Caliph after his conquest of Rayy; but again, though Ibn al-Jawzī's work is quite detailed, it has no mention of the confrontation with Majd al-Dawla.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, it would seem that the absence of our story from the rather full account of Ibn al-Jawzī, who relies on al-Šābī, would also exclude its existence in Šibt Ibn al-Jawzī or the Munich anonymous, though a check through the manuscripts of both authors must be made before a definitive negative statement is possible.

A final supposition that the story may have been totally fabricated around the turn of the 6th/12th to 7th/13th century seems improbable in view of its existence in two completely unrelated works. Therefore, we are back where we started without a very encouraging probability as to its origin. At the end of this study

<sup>1</sup> Of course the lost part of the *Mujalladât* comes to mind: however, another possibility is the work of the Bûyid vizier Abû Sa'd Maṣṣûr b. al-Husayn al-Ābī, which is named by the anonymous *Mujmal* as one of its sources. On Abû Sa'd see C. E. Bosworth, 'On the Chronology of the Ziyârids in Gurgân and Ṭabaristân', *Der Islam*, vol. 40/1 (1964), p. 30, n. 10; the author again expresses his thanks to Prof. Bosworth for this suggestion and a copy of the article. As for the question of Mxit'ar's use of Ibn Funduq or other Arabic sources, we have no definite evidence that he did not know and use Arabic, only positive proof that he was able to use Persian (p. 466, n. 2 above). Ališan's statement that the translation of the astronomical work already cited (p. 466, n. 2 above) was made from an Arabic book, *yArab dprut'enê (Širak* [in Arm.] [Venice, 1881], p. 95, col. 2), must be considered an unintentional slip, for in the same work (p. 100, col. 2) he quotes the source of our information directly from his edition of Vardan (p. 137), '*i parsik lezuê*', 'from the Persian language'. Nevertheless, Arabic as well as Persian, Georgian and other languages, Eastern and Western, were common in the city of Ani at that time (Ališan, *ibid.* p. 96). A detailed linguistic analysis of the non-Armenian vocabulary in both the surviving introduction and the Vardan fragment needs to be made to determine if such words were borrowed from Arabic rather than Persian texts.

<sup>2</sup> *al-Muntaẓam*, partially published (including the years under discussion), vol. v–x (Hyderabad, 1938–1941, with a recent reprint); *Mir'ât al-zamân*, still unpublished for the years under consideration, but a later section on the Great Seljuks has recently been published, A. Sevim, *Mî'râtü 'z-Zeman fî Tariḥ ü'l-Ayan 447/1056–479/1086* (Ankara, 1968), on which see Cl. Cahen, 'A propos d'une édition...', *Arabica*, vol. xvii/1 (1970), pp. 82–91; the Munich anonymous has not been published, but reference to the manuscript and its contents will be found in M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad 334/946–447/1055* (Calcutta, 1964), p. 216 and *passim*. A discussion of Hilāl al-Šābī's history will be found in Cahen, 'Historiography', pp. 60–4.

<sup>3</sup> This *Fathnâma* (*al-Muntaẓam*, vol. viii, pp. 38–40) has been translated in extenso by Bosworth, 'The Imperial Policy of the Early Ghaznavids', *Islamic Studies*, vol. 1/3 (1962), pp. 70–2.

something will be said about one final possibility, the work of a contemporary to the fall of Rayy, one Ibn Ḥassūl.

Our second example, taken from Mxit'ar's *History*, concerns the identity of the Seljuk Yabghu. The title goes back at least as early as the eighth-century Kōk Turkic Confederation, being used in the Orkhon inscriptions to designate the office next after the Qaghan, the King. After the breakup of the Kōk Empire, the Oghuz Turks, who were an integral part of it, kept the title *yabghu* and used it to designate their leader. By the end of the 4th/10th century, when the Seljuk Turks broke away from the Oghuz Yabghu, whose capital was at Yengi-Kent on the lower Syr Darya, or shortly after this, Arslan-Isrā'il b. Seljuk took the title *yabghu* as an act of defiance as well as a sign of his family's increasing power. The title was normally held by the eldest male member of the family and Arslan-Isrā'il was at the time senior to Mūsā, Seljuk's only other surviving son.<sup>1</sup>

Whether or not 'Yabghu, leader of the Oghuz', mentioned by Gardîzî as aiding a Sāmānid ruler in 393/1003 against the Qarakhānids, was Arslan or the Oghuz Yabghu himself is still not clear,<sup>2</sup> but certainly by 416-17/1025-6, when Arslan was captured and imprisoned by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, he definitely held the title *yabghu*, for not only does the *Akḥbār al-dawlat al-Saljuqiyya* (early 7th/13th century) refer to him as 'Arslan Yabghu called Isrā'il',<sup>3</sup> but Mxit'ar of Ani confirms this by calling the captured leader (*amīr*) of the Turks only by his title: Yabghu (*Ap'ahu*). Since Mxit'ar wrote at least a quarter of a century before the *Akḥbār* was composed, his source is independent of it and provides a link with an earlier and now lost source, perhaps in this case the *Maliknāma*.<sup>4</sup>

Further along in the Armenian text, around the events associated with the battle of Dandānqān (431/1040), we find that now it is Mūsā b. Seljuk who has the title *yabghu* and even more that he is clearly identified as the leader of the Turks.<sup>5</sup> Of the early sources which have anything to say about Mūsā, only Mxit'ar and Zahīr al-Dīn Nishāpūrī in his *Saljuqnāma* (second half of the 6th/12th century) correctly identify him as both the Seljuk Yabghu and the uncle of Tughril and Chaghri Begs.<sup>6</sup> Thus, though Mxit'ar's subsequent testimony makes

<sup>1</sup> A further discussion with full references to the literature will be found in *R. E. Arm*, pp. 337-8.

<sup>2</sup> Gardîzî, ed. M. Nāzim, p. 64; in addition to the citations in *R. E. Arm*, pp. 338-9, nn. 42-5, see also Cahen, 'Arslān b. Saldjûk', *EI*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Turkish trans., N. Lugal (Ankara, 1943), pp. 2-3 and *R. E. Arm*, p. 342, n. 75.

<sup>4</sup> On which see the indispensable study by Cl. Cahen, 'Le Malik-nāmeḥ et l'histoire des origines seljukides', *Oriens*, vol. 11 (1949), pp. 31-65; cf. *R. E. Arm*, p. 332 and *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Further confirmation of this point is found in Mxit'ar of Ayrivank' (p. 2, n. 2 above; this point not presented in *R. E. Arm*), who, probably using Mxit'ar of Ani, places Mūsā Yabghu (*Musep'ayloy*) at the head of his dynastic list of Seljuks, ed. Emin, p. 22. He again mentions Mūsā in the chronological part of his work after the year A.D. 901 [*sic!*], '... the Turkman (*T'urk'man*) Seljuk (Salčuk') and Mūsā Yabghu (Musē P'āloy) and Tughril Beg (Dōlābēk)... etc.', p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> There is an almost literal version of the *Saljuqnāma* preserved in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (end of 6th/12th century) by al-Rāwandī, quoted here in the ed. by M. Iqbal (London, 1902), pp. 102, 104; cf. *R. E. Arm*, pp. 336, n. 34, p. 346, n. 91.

it evident that Tughrīl was the most powerful member of the Seljuk family in the post-Dandânqân period – although he never took the then seemingly honorary title *yabghu* – it is also evident that we must not regard his uncle Mûsâ as simply ‘far from dynamic’.<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious that in our second episode neither the *yabghu* question nor the many other details about the Seljuks contained in the fragment allow us to be as precise in discussing Mxit‘ar’s authorities for this section as we were in considering those for the *Ghaznavid* one. We have nothing as pronounced as the events centered around the capture of Rayy to pin-point the Islamic sources on the Seljuks which Mxit‘ar may have used. Nevertheless, generalizations about early Armenian historical works made with regard to *Ghaznavid* history are equally valid for Seljuk history (see above, pp. 465–8). All we can say is that the pattern which develops out of the Armenian account seems more related to the *Zahîr al-Dîn* group of Persian sources (which are independent of the reconstructed *Maliknâma*) than to the *Maliknâma* itself, this despite certain similarities between the latter work and Mxit‘ar’s.<sup>2</sup> The problem still remains very unsatisfactorily resolved.

We are left to speculate that there was yet another early Seljuk source, perhaps now lost, which was used either by Mxit‘ar or his predecessor Hovhannês Sarkawag as well as later Muslim authors. As has been suggested elsewhere (*R. E. Arm.*, vol. vi, pp. 348, 352–3, and above, p. 473), a distant possibility is a supposed late 5th/11th century *Chronicle* about the early Seljuks by Abû‘l-‘Alâ’ Muḥammad b. Ḥassûl (d. 450/1058), a vizier of Majd al-Dawla, who subsequently worked in Rayy as a bureaucrat for the *Ghaznavids* and later for the Seljuk conqueror of the city, Tughrīl Beg.<sup>3</sup> Beside the fact that Ibn Ḥassûl was employed by all the major figures in both the episodes cited above, what makes him particularly interesting from the point of view of the Armenian sources is that in another existing work of his, a *Risâla* which was to have been a preface to the same *Chronicle*, he shows, like Mxit‘ar but unlike the pro-*Chaghri* *Maliknâma*, a strong bias towards Tughrīl,<sup>4</sup> and, more importantly, again like Mxit‘ar and Sarkawag, he uses the rare form (at least for Muslim sources) of Sarjuk (*s.r.j.k*) for Seljuk (normally spelt *s.ljûq*).<sup>5</sup>

To add further support to this supposition, a *Ta’rîkh* by one Abû-‘l-‘Alâ-i-

<sup>1</sup> C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), p. 20; see the more detailed discussion in *R. E. Arm.*, pp. 346–7.

<sup>2</sup> For details, *R. E. Arm.*, pp. 352–3.

<sup>3</sup> C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 59; Cahen, ‘Le Malik-nâme’, pp. 36–7.

<sup>4</sup> *Risâla*, ed. ‘A. ‘Azzâwî with Turkish trans. by Ş. Yaltkaya, *Belleten*, vol. iv (1940), pp. 250–66 and 51 pages of Arabic text; a thorough discussion of the work and its author is given by Cahen, ‘Le Malik-nâme’, pp. 37–8.

<sup>5</sup> *Risâla*, text p. 49, trans. p. 265. This section of the *Risâla* has been translated into English by D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), p. 259; cf. Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, p. 220, and *R. E. Arm.*, p. 348, n. 103. For the Armenian usage see above, p. 468, n. 1, and the text, and *R. E. Arm.*, p. 347, nn. 98–9.

Aḥwal is in fact cited by the early 8th/14th century Persian historian Hamdullāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī in the introduction to the section on the Seljuks in his *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*.<sup>1</sup> Claude Cahen believes that by a simple orthographic correction this personage is almost certainly to be identified with Abū'l-'Alā Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥassūl and one and the same as the author of the *Risāla*.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, if we can believe a note in H. Raverty's translation of Jūzjānī's *Ṭabaqat-i Naṣīrī*, this *Ta'rīkh* of Abū'l-'Alā-i-Aḥwal (now to be read Abū'l-'Alā ibn Ḥassūl) states that Seljuk had four sons named 'Isrā'īl, Mīkā'il, Mūsā-i-Beghū (*sic*, to be read Mūsā-Yabghū)... and Yūnus'.<sup>3</sup> Since Raverty claims to have actually used this *Ta'rīkh*,<sup>4</sup> a manuscript of Ibn Ḥassūl's work may in fact still exist. Of course, like the vizier's other work, the *Risāla*, it would probably have been written in Arabic and would raise again the question of Mxit'ar's use of it. Yet if we can take Raverty's statement referring to such a manuscript at face value, there would seem to be good reason for less caution about the existence of such a history, which, since Ibn Ḥassūl worked for the Ghaznavids in Rayy, might have contained information on the capture of the city by Maḥmūd and, not unlikely, even the story about the author's former employer, the Būyid Majd al-Dawla. If this proves to be true, then Ibn Ḥassūl's *Ta'rīkh* could have served very well as the foundation for the details on both the Ghaznavids and Seljuks found in Mxit'ar's report as well as the original source for the Muslim accounts.<sup>5</sup>

No matter how one may react to the myriad speculations presented above, it is clear that Mxit'ar of Ani's short history of the sultans of the Turks as preserved in Vardan is a well-informed and detailed account which, when more thoroughly examined, may help us to understand better some of the important aspects of Muslim and Armenian historiography of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th century.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. (facsimile) and abridged trans., E. G. Browne, 2 vols., *GMS* (London, 1910-13), facsimile p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> 'Le Malik-nāmeḥ', pp. 37-8, for a complete discussion.

<sup>3</sup> H. G. Raverty, *The Ṭabaqāt-i Naṣīrī* (London, 1881-99), pp. 116-18, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Raverty, p. 117, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Bosworth likewise comments (letter of 10 October 1970): 'This leaves rather a mystery, and I can't, offhand, suggest any obvious solution, unless al-Ābī [p. 472, n. 1 above] or Ibn Ḥassūl are possible relaters of the anecdote.'

(1972). Լրաբեր Հասարակական Գիտությունների 4 . pp. 74-84.

## ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ԱՆՆՑԻՆ ՂԱԶՆԱՎՅԱՆՆԵՐԻ ԵՎ ԱՍԼՋՈՒԿԱՆՆԵՐԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ՝

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ ԳՈՅՈՒՄՋՅԱՆ (Քեյրուք)

ԺՔ դարի հայոց պատմիչ Մխիթար Անեցու պատմությունից պահպանվել է ընդամենը մեկ պատահական<sup>1</sup> Սակայն չքացած մասից մի ստվար հատված մեջ է բերում «Տիեզերական պատմության» հեղինակ Վարդանը (մահ. 1271)<sup>2</sup> Սույն հոդվածի նյութը կազմում են այդ անտեսված հատվածի բովանդակության և հնարավոր աղբյուրների հետ կապված հարցերը:

Ելնելով Մխիթարի կենսագրական տվյալներից և պահպանված հատվածում նշված վերջին թվականից (1193 թ.)<sup>3</sup> աշխատությունը կարելի է վստահորեն վերագրել ԺՔ դարի վերջին տարիներին: Հատվածի սկզբում Մխիթարը

<sup>1</sup> Սույն հոդվածը, ամփոփ ձևի մեջ, նախագես ներկայացվել է The Middle East Studies Association-ի 4-րդ տարեկան հանդիպման, որը կայացվեց 6 նոյեմբերի, 1970 թ. ԱՄՆ-ի Օհայո նահանգի Կոլումբուս քաղաքի մեջ: Սույն հարցերին հեղինակը արդեն առիթ է ունեցել անդրադառնալու՝ D. K. Kouymjian, „Mxlt'ar of Ani on the rise of Seljuqs“, *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, VI (1969), pp. 331—353 (հետախու՝ REArm):

<sup>2</sup> Պատմություն Սեբեոսի եպիսկոպոսի ի Հերակլե և սկիզբն նորագիտ պատմութեան Մխիթարայ Անեցայ, ի լոյս ած Ք. Պատկանեան, ս. Պետրբուրգ, 1879, էջ Ա—Բ—71: Բնագիրը պահպանվել է մեկ ձեռագրով (Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարան, № 2678):

<sup>3</sup> Մեծին Վառդանայ Բարձրաբերդայ պատմութիւն տիեզերական, ի լոյս ընծայեաց Մկրտիչ էմին, Մոսկվա, 1861, Թարգմ. Всеобщая история Вардана Великого, перевел М. Эмин, Москва, 1861: Հավաքումն պատմության Վարդանայ վարդապետի լուսարանեալ, Վենետիկ, 1862 (հրատ. Ղ. Ալիշան), Հակառակ Միդերմանսի կարծիքին (տե՛ս J. Muyldermans, *La Domination Arabe en Arménie*. Louvain/Paris, 1927, էջ 37 և 29, հմտ. REArm էջ 333, ծան. 10) Ղ. Ալիշանի հրատարակությունը, համեմայնդեպա Մխիթար Անեցուն վերաբերող մասը, ավելի բարձր է, քան էմինինը՝ ոչ միայն այն պատճառով, որ Ալիշանի ձեռքի տակ եղած ձեռագրերն ավելի հին են, այլ շնորհիվ այն հանգամանքի, որ վերջինիս գիտելիքները արևելյան լեզուների ասպարեզում ավելի լայն էին: Որպեսզի այլևս շանդրադառնանք հրատարակությունների հարցին, նշենք որ Ք. Պատկանյանը, Վարդանի մոտ պահպանված հատվածը (էջ 49—52), կցելով Մխիթար Անեցու հրատարակությանը, օգտվել է Ալիշանի հրատարակությունից և ոչ էմինի: Ինչ վերաբերում է ձեռագրերի ավանդությանը, ապա չորս հնագույնները՝ Վենետիկի Մխիթարյանների Մատենադարան, № 516 (շուրջ 1300 թ.), № 1244 (1307 թ.) և Վատիկանի գրադարան, Museo Borgano, հայկ. ձեռագիր № 30 (1631 թ.), բայց գուցե 1274 թ. հին օրինակից, Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարան, № 3074 (1307 թ.) և քիչ են տարբերվում մեկը մյուսից և հրատարակություններից: Օգտվելով առիթից, հեղինակը իր շնորհակալությունն է հայտնում Կահիրեի Ամերիկյան համալսարանի Research and Conference Grant Program հանձնաժողովին, որը 1970 թ. հնարավորություն տվեց անմիջապես ուսումնասիրել ինչպես վերահիշյալ, այնպես և այլ ձեռագրեր:

<sup>4</sup> Հրատ. Պատկանյանի, էջ 2, 46—48, վերադարձված է՝ Գ. Զարբանյան, Հայկական երեք դարերի պատմություն, Վենետիկ, 1897, էջ 725: Կենսագրական նյութեր Մխիթարի վերաբերյալ, բացի REArm, VI, էջ 332, ծան. 6, նշված աշխատություններից տեսնել նաև Հ. Աճառյան, Հայոց անձնանունների քառաբան, Գ, Երևան, 1946, էջ 369—370, Գ. Հովսեփյանի հոդվածը՝ Հասկ (Տարեգիրք), I (1948), հատկապես էջ 192—194, P. S. Somal, *Quadro della Storia Letteraria di Armenia*, Վենետիկ, 1829, էջ 108:

տալիս է իր օգտագործած աղբյուրների ցանկը, որոնք ԺԱ—ԺԲ դարերի համար առանց բացառության հայկական են<sup>5</sup>։ Մեզ հայտնի է, սակայն, որ նա ի վիճակի էր օգտվել նաև իսլամական, հատկապես պարսկական սկզբնաղբյուրներից, քանի որ համաձայն և՛ Վարդանի և՛ Մխիթար Այրիվանեցու հաղորդումների, Մխիթար Անեցիի թարգմանել էր պարսկերենից հայերեն մի գիրք՝ «զպատճառս խաւարման արեգական և լուսնի»<sup>6</sup>։ Ինչպես ցույց կտրվի ստորև, Մխիթարը խնդրո առարկա հատվածը շարադրելիս դիմել է և մահմեդական սկզբնաղբյուրներին<sup>7</sup>։

Երբ մենք դիմում ենք այն հայ հեղինակներին, որոնց անունները նշում է Մխիթարը, այն է՝ Արիստակես Լաստիվերտցի («Պատմութիւն», 1000—1071), Հովհաննես Կոզեռն («Բազրատունյաց պատմութիւն», մոտավորապես 1050, այժմ կորած է) և Սամվել Անեցի («Ժամանակագրութիւն», հասցված է մինչև 1179), ապա տեսնում ենք, որ նրանցից և ոչ մեկը չի հաղորդում այն տվյալները Ղաղսավայանների և Սելջուկյանների մասին, որոնք առկա են Մխիթար Անեցու մոտ<sup>8</sup>։ Հարկավոր է քննության առնել նաև այն հնարավորությունը, որ Մխիթարը կարող էր օգտագործել այլ ժամանակակից հայ հեղինակների, շնչելով նրանց հանվանի-նրանց թվին են պատկանում Հովհաննես Սարկավազը (մահ. 1129, դրած է եղել մի «Պատմութիւն»), Մատթեոս Ուռհայեցին («Ժամանակագրութիւն», 952—1136), Միքայել Ասորին (ասորերենից թարգմանված մի ժամանակագրութիւն, մինչև 1196), Մխիթար Գոշ («Ժամանակագրութիւն», մինչև 1162) և Վահրամ (աշխատության եղանակը և ժամանակը անորոշ)<sup>9</sup>։ Սակայն նրանցից և ոչ մեկը չի պարունակում որևէ կարևոր նյութ

<sup>5</sup> Հրատ. Պատկանյանի, էջ 15, մանրամասնություններ REArm, VI, p. 334:

<sup>6</sup> Հաւաքումն պատմութեան Վարդանայ, Վենետիկ, էջ 137. Մխիթարայ Այրիվանեցայ Պատմութիւն ճոյց ի լոյս ընծայեաց Մ. Էմին, Մոսկվա, 1860, էջ 64, Ալիշան, Շնորհալի և պարագայ իւր, էջ 127, ԺԷ դարու ժամանակագրութիւն, Ն. Պողարեան, «Ժամանակագրութիւն (XI—XVIII դդ.)», Բեռլին Մատենադարանի, 9 (1969), էջ 259, հեղինակի անունը տված է «Ոճիէ» ձևով (ի բացառյալ ժամանակագրութիւնից, որ «Ոճիէ» գրված է), որը մինչ այժմ նույնացված չէ։ 2. Անադյանի կարծիքով, «Եւսճիէ պարսկի» դարձվածքը կարելի է կարդալ կամ հասկանալ 1127 թ. (կամ 1187 թ.), սակայն այդ տեսակետը անընդունելի է, քանի որ չորս հնագույն ձեռագրերը ճշտվել այն իրրե անձնանուն են հասկանում։ Ավելի հավանական է Բրոսեի կարծիքը. իբր այստեղ պետք է տեսնել պարսկ. *سج* 21]— «Գիրք աստղաբաշխությանը», որը, սակայն, ենթակա է հետագա ուսումնասիրության. տե՛ս *Mém. de l'Acad.*, IV (1862), no. 9, էջ 5—6, հմմտ. REArm, VI, էջ 333, ծան. 10:

<sup>7</sup> «Յուլով աշխատեալ եղէ գտանել զորպէսն սուլտանացն՝ որ ի թուրքաց, և գտի շնորհօքն Աստուծոյ այսպէս...», ասում է Մխիթար Անեցիի իր շարագրութիւն սկզբում։ Վարդան, Վենետիկ, էջ 94։ Հեղինակի պրպտումները հայ և այլալեզու աղբյուրներում իրոր որ մեծ ջանքեր պահանջեցին։

<sup>8</sup> Պատմութիւն Արիստակիսի (լատիվերացւոյ, աշխատասիրութիւն մ. 4. Ն. Յուզբաշյանի, Երևան, 1963 և թարգմ. Նորից 4. Ն. Յուզբաշյանի «Повествование Бардана Арцтакеца Ластивертца», Москва, 1968: Կոզեռնի մասին, որը հայտնի է նաև Հովհաննես Տարոնացի անվամբ, տե՛ս էջ 3, ծան. 12, Սամուել Բաճեալի Անեցու ճառքումն ի բոց պատմագրաց... հրատ. Ա. Տեր-Միքայելյանի, Վաղարշապատ, 1893: Խիստ հետաքրքրական է, որ Ալիշանը կասկած ունի թէ Կոզեռնի կորած պատմութիւն մեջ Սելջուկյան արշավանքի մասին փաստեր կան, տե՛ս Հայագրութիւն (Վենետիկ, 1901), էջ 90:

<sup>9</sup> Հովհաննես Սարկավազի մասին տես ստորև. Մատթեոս Ուռհայեցի, Ժամանակագրութիւն. Վաղարշապատ, 1898 (նախորդի համեմատութիւն մ. Երուսաղեմ, 1869, որակով ավելի բարձր, բանի որ օգտագործվում է ամբողջական քնագիր), ֆր. թարգմանեց է. Դյուլորիեյ, Փարիզ, 1858, Միքայել Ասորի, Երուսաղեմ, 1871, ֆր. թարգմ. Վ. Լանզլուա, Վենետիկ, 1868. Խմբագրութիւնների մասին տեսնել J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 1.

Հաղնավյանների և Սելջուկյանների վերաբերյալ, հնարավոր բացառությամբ Հովհաննես Սարկավազի, «հնարավոր» որովհետև նրա պատմությունը մեզ չի հասել, նրա աշակերտ Սամվել Անեցու և հետագայում Կիրակոս Գանձակեցու («Պատմություն» մինչև 1265)<sup>10</sup> կողմից բերված քաղվածքներից կարելի է միայն ընդհանուր պատկերացում կաղմել Սարկավազի աշխատության վերաբերյալ, Առաջին քաղվածքը առնչվում է «Սկուտացիների», այն է սելջուկների հետ. իսկ երկրորդում խոսվում է հատկապես Մելիքշահ իրն Ալի-Արսլանի մասին<sup>11</sup>, իմ նախորդ աշխատության մեջ (REArm, VI, էջ 334, 350—51) Կողեռն անունը («Կողռանն») սխալմամբ նույնացվել է Հովհաննես Սարկավազի հետ և եղրակացություն է հանվել, իբր Մխիթար Անեցին օգտվել է այդ կարևոր աղբյուրից, Սակայն այժմ, երբ «Կողռանն» անունը պարզորոշ կերպով վերաբերում է Հովհաննես Տարոնացի Կողեռնին<sup>12</sup>, առանձին հատվածների նմանությունը գալիս է ցույց տալու, որ Մխիթարը հավանորեն օգտվել է Սարկավազից, իսկ այն եղրակացությունները, որոնք արվել են այդ ենթադրության հիման վրա, զուրկ չեն ուժից, Սարկավազի աշխատությունը գոյություն ունի Մխիթարի ժամանակ, քանի որ վերջինիս ժամանակակից Սամվել Անեցին օգտվել է նրանից, իսկ հետագա գրողները՝ Կիրակոս Գանձակեցին, Վարդանը, Մխիթար Այրիվանեցին՝ հիշում են այն, Սամվել Անեցու և Կիրակոսի մոտ՝ հաստատապես Սարկավազից կատարված մեջբերումներում՝ պահպանվում է (Paris, 1899, (իրականում 1924), էջ L—LI, Մխիթար Գոյ, Թարգմ. C. J. F. Dowsett, «The Albanian Chronicle of Mxitar Gos» BSOAS, XXI/3 (1958), pp. 472—490, Վահրամի մասին՝ տե՛ս REArm, էջ 333, ծան. 12: Ա. Գ. Արրահամյան, Հովհաննես Խմատուսերի մտնեագրությունը, Երևան, 1956,

10 Սամվել Անեցի, էջ 96—98 և Գ. Զարբանյան, էջ 609, Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, Պատմությունը ճայոց, աշխատասիրությամբ Կ. Ա. Մելիք-Օհանջանյանի, Երևան, 1961, էջ 84,

11 Գ. Զարբանյան, էջ 609—610. Սամուել Անեցի, անդ, հիմա, REArm, էջ 334, № 18,

12 Հողվածիս առանձնատիպերին ավելացված հատուկ նոթի մեջ Կողեռնը ճշտվել նույնացվում է Հովհաննես Տարոնացու հետ (ԺԱ դարի հեղինակ), նրա աշխատությունների մի մասը, ի թիվս սրանց նաև Բագրատունյաց պատմությունը համարվում է կորած, Հովհաննես Տարոնացուն հիշում են ինչպես ժամանակակիցները, այնպես էլ հետագա հեղինակները, Ավելի մանրամասն տեսնել Հ. Աճառյան, Անձնանունների բառարան, Գ, էջ 566—567, Միշան, Յուշիկ, II, (երկրորդ տպագր., Կենտոկ, 1921), էջ 267—268, և Գ. Զարբանյան, էջ 570—571. վերջինս զանազանում է Կողեռնին և Հովհաննես Տարոնացուն (էջ 788) հավանաբար կրկնելով այն սխալը, որը կատարվում է նաև Մ. էմինի՝ Մխիթար Այրիվանեցու հրատարակության մեջ. այստեղ հիշված են առանձին առանձին Հովհաննես Կողեռն վարդապետ և Հովհաննես Տարոնեցի վարդապետ (էջ 23), Մատենադարանի № 1775 ձեռագրին մեջ կան Կողեռնի կորսված պատմության սկզբի էջերը (թուղթեր 8բ—16ա), որը կը հայտնե՛ որ այն կը բովանդակե շարադրութիւն պատմութեան տան Բագրատունեաց ի վ[երայ] Հայաստանեաց...» (8բ) և կը շարունակե (9ա). «Եի սկսանել ի շարադրութիւն պատմութեան յաղագս թագաւորութեան տոհմին Բագրատունեաց ի վերայ[] Հայաստան ազգիս... [ժամանակաց զնի ի սկզբանց անտի մինչև յերեք հարիւր ԼԶ ամն թուականութեանս հայոց յորում ամի առաջին թագաւորեաց բարէպաշտն Աշոտ, զոր յիւրում տեղուչն զորպէսն գրեցուք, և անտի յառաջի կարգի զայլն ամէնայն մինչև յաւուրս մեր, զթագավորութիւն տոհմին Բագրատունեաց մի ըստ միողէ կարգաւ և արդ ասացուք այսպէս»։ հիմա. Գ. Աբգարյան, Բանբեր Մատենադարանի. 6 (1962), էջ 50—51 և նույն հեղինակի «Մեքիսի պատմությունը» և Անանունի առնչվածը. (Երևան, 1965), էջ 128—130. Ապա պատմության մեջ կհիշվի Ադամի և Նվալի պատմությունը դրախտում, կը խօսի հրեաների առաջին մարգարեների և թագավորների մասին և կանդ կառնէ (16ա) Քրիստոսի ծնունդին, Հավանական է, որ երկրորդ մասում խօսված լինի Սելջուկյան արշավանքի մասին, ինչպես ենթադրել է Ալիշան (տեսնել ծան. 8), որովհետև Կողեռն երկը գրել է շուրջ 1050 թ. Հեղինակը կուզէ շնորհակալության խօսք ասել Մատենադարանի տնօրինությանը, որը ռառճ եղաւ իրեն հայթայթելու Կողեռնի ձեռագրի լուսանկարները:

Սեւրուկ անվան արտասովոր մի ձև՝ «Սարչուկ»։ այդ ձևը տալիս է նաև Մխիթարը<sup>13</sup>։ Սակայն փոխառության դեմ էլ կարելի է նշել մի հանգամանք՝ Մխիթարի հատվածներում կիրառվում է հիշրեթե թվագրություն, մինչդեռ Սամվել Անեցու կողմից բերված Սարկավագի հատվածում թվագրությունը հայկական տոմարով է։ Դժբախտաբար Սարկավագի կորած պատմության և Վարդանի մոտ բերված Մխիթար Անեցու կորած պատմության առնչության վերաբերյալ վերջնական կարծիք կազմել ներկայումս անհնարին է։

Այսպիսով պարզ է, որ կամ Մխիթարը, կամ նրա հնարավոր հայ նախորդը (այսինքն՝ Սարկավագը կամ գուցե Կոզեոն) օգտագործել են իսլամական երկերը. գա բացահայտվում է ոչ միայն հիշրեթե կիրառման մեջ (մինչդեռ աշխատության մյուս մասերում այդ հանգամանքը բացակայում է)<sup>14</sup>, այլև նրանում, որ Մխիթարը համեմատաբար ճշգրիտ ձևով է վերարտադրում մահմեդական անուններն ու տիտղոսները, օգտագործում է բազմաթիվ արաբական և պարսկական բառեր և հաղորդում մանրամասն տեղեկություններ մի շարք միջադեպերի մասին<sup>15</sup>։

Որո՞նք էին Մխիթար Անեցու մահմեդական աղբյուրները։ Հարցի պատասխանը կարևոր է Բուլյանների, Ղազնաժյանների և Սեւրուկյանների պատմագրության համար, քանի որ Մխիթարը, գրելով իր երկը ԺԲ դարի մայրամուտին, համեմատաբար վաղ սկզբնաղբյուր է։ Նախքան այդ հարցին անցնելը, հարկավոր է տալ մեր հեղինակի՝ թուրք սուլթաններին նվիրված համառոտ շարադրության ամփոփումը։

Մահմուդ իրն Սեբուկտեգինը (Սբքթաւայ) Արտաշիր Սասանյանի նման, զորացավ Բալք (Բաճլ) քաղաքում, Քուշանների երկրում։ Նրա զորեղության համբավը հասավ խալիֆային, որը երկյուղածության մեջ ուղարկեց նրան ընծաներ և պատիվներ (ալամ և լաղապ՝ Ամինաղլ)<sup>16</sup> և անվանում է նրան սուլթան։ Մահմուդի հեղինակությունը աճում է, նա ճանապարհ է բռնում դեպի Հնդկաստանի հուշակավոր կուռք Սոմնաթը (Մաթաւայ)<sup>17</sup>, որը և ավերում է ու ռազմավարով վերադառնում տուն, թողնելով այնտեղ իր որդի Մուհամմադին (Մահմատ)։ Ապա գրավում Գուրգանը, վերցնելով 400.000 դահեկան և զանձ, նրանց (այսինքն մահմեդականների) 420 [1029]թ.։ Անցնում է դեպի Ռեյյի, քաղաքի տերը՝ Մաշդ ալ-Դավլա Ռուստամը (Մաշա-դաւա Ռուստամ) հավաքած է լինում դելմիկ զորականներ և դուրս է գալիս նրա դեմ։ Մահմուդը, ունենալով հսկայական զորք և 250 փիղ, հարցնում է Մաշդ ալ-Դավլային. «Շահնամա գիրքը կարդացել ես»։ «Այո՛», պատասխանում է նա։ Մահմուդը կրկին հարց է տալիս. «Ծրեկից է շախմատ (նաուրկուզ) խաղացել ես» և նորից պատասխանում է՝ «Այո՛»։ «Թագավորը թագավորի տուն մտնո՞ւմ է, թե՞ ո՛չ»։ Իսկ նա լռում է և ոչինչ չի ասում։ Այն ժամանակ Մահմուդը գերեզմարելով ուղար-

<sup>13</sup> Մխիթար, հրատ. Պատկանյան, էջ 48 և 51 (Վարդանից), Սամվել՝ էջ 98, Կիրակոս՝ էջ 84։

<sup>14</sup> Հրատ. Պատկանյանի, ամենուր, Գ. Զարհանալեան, էջ 725—726։

<sup>15</sup> Տես բնագրի ստորև բերված ամփոփումը և բանավեճը, REArm, VI, էջ 351։

<sup>16</sup> Այսինքն, արաբերեն ալամ, լաղապ և տիտղոսը՝ Ամին ալ-Ազիլ, որ պիտի լինի Յամին ալ-Դավլա։

<sup>17</sup> Կարելի է ենթադրել, որ հայերեն մաթան՝ անհաշող տառադարձված արաբերեն՝ ماثن، մաճաթն է, ընդհանրապես կուռք, բայց սկզբնապես Քաաբայի հեթանոս կուռքերից մեկը, որին մահմեդական գրողները սերտորեն (չնայած և սխալմամբ) կապում են Սոմնաթի հետ, նկատի ունենալով հատկապես Մահմուդի արշավանքը այնտեղ 418/1025 թ.։

կում է նրան խորասան, իսկ երկիրը գրավում։ Այնուհետև Մահմուդը անցնում է դեպի Տարաքիստան, Տարաքիս<sup>18</sup> և Սարի։ Իր որդի Մասուդին տալիս է Ռեյյը, Ղազվինը և ամբողջ Քուհիստանը։ Թողնելով Մասուդին Ռեյյում, նա գնում է Սարավ, վերցնում 100.000 դինար և անցնում Նիշապուր նրանց թվագրության 421 [1030]-ին։ Այնուհետև Մասուդը գրավում է Համագանը և Իսպահանը և վերադառնում Ռեյյի, որտեղ իմանում, որ իր ներկայացուցիչը (շահնալ)՝ սպանել են Իսպահանում։ Դարձյալ գնում է այնտեղ, ոչնչացնում 4000 հոգի և վերադառնում Ռեյյի։ Հենց այդ պահին նրան հասցնում են նրա հոր (այսինքն Մահմուդի) սպանության գույժը և այն, որ իր եղբայր Մուհամմադը դառել է սուլթան։ Մասուդը ապստամբում է, շարժվում Ղաղնայի ուղղությամբ, ձերբակալում ու կուրացնում եղբորը և վերականգնում իշխանությունն ու զահը։

Մի առ ժամանակ այդ դեպքից առաջ Մասուդի հայրը երբ շարժվում էր Ղարախանյան Քադիր-խան Բողրա-խանին (խարզան-Պողղան) օգնության, հանդիպում է թուրք մի բանակ, քիչ անց նա վերադառնում է այնտեղ և մեծ հաղթանակ տանելով, ձերբակալում նրանց ամիր Յադուին (զԱփադու) և ուղարկում նրան խորասան։ Ամիրի մարդիկ աղաչում են Մահմուդին և ապա Մասուդին բաց թողնել նրան, բայց ապարդյուն։ Այն ժամանակ զայրացած թուրքերը անցնում են Զահան դետը և գրավում Նիշապուր քաղաքը։ Հետագայում նրանք ջախջախում են սուլթան Մասուդի զորքերը Դանդանականի (Դադանդան) մոտ, ոչ հեռու Մերվից (Մրմն)։ Սուլթանը փախչում է Ղաղնա, ապա՝ Հնդկաստան, բայց ճանապարհին սպանվում, իսկ նրա կույր եղբայր Մուհամմադը գահ է բարձրանում Ղաղնայում, ուր նրա որդիները իշխում են մինչ օրս։

Ինչ վերաբերում է թուրքերի առաջնորդին, որի անունն է Մուսա Յադու (Մուսեփադու) իբն Սելչուկ (Սալչուֆ), ապա նա ուներ հինգ [sic, կարդա երկու] եղբորորդի՝ Աբու Սալիմ (Աբու Սուլեյման պիտի լինի) Դաուդ Չադրի բեգ [և] Աբու Թալիբ Տուղրիլ բեգ (Աբուսալիմ, Դաուդ, Չադրեկ, Աբուսալիփ. Տուղրիլ-բեկ)։ Տուղրիլն էր, որ ստացավ իշխանությունը և բաժանելով խուրասանի երկրները, մնաց իշխանության գլուխ 15 տարի։ Հետագայում Տուղրիլը եկավ Ռեյյի և հայտնաբերեց երկու շտեմարան՝ լքված ոսկիով, գրավեց այն և ուղարկեց խալիֆին։ Վերջինս պատվեց նրան՝ ուղարկելով դեսպաններ, պատիվներ և ընծաներ, նրա անունը ընթերցվեց մինբարից և նա ստացավ Ռուկն ալ-Դավլա տիտղոսը։ Եւ այդ օրվանից նա հռչակվեց աշխարհակալ<sup>20</sup>։

<sup>18</sup> Հիշված տեղանուններից դժվարությամբ է որոշվում միայն Տարաքին. դա կարող է լինի կամ Տարաք Բուխարայի մոտ (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 3rd ed., London, 1968, էջ 115, ծան.) կամ Դարաք-Ջիրգե՝ Ֆարսի մեջ. տե՛ս Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 248, 288-289.

<sup>19</sup> Արաբերեն՝ شاهنشاه (շահնալ)։

<sup>20</sup> Սուլեյ հատվածը, որը քաղված է Վարդան պատմիչից, հրապարակվել է հայերեն շրջանում. Վենետիկ, էջ 93—97, Մոսկվա, էջ 127—131, Ալշան, Յուշիկ, II, էջ 353—354, Վենետիկի տարբերակը վերարտադրված է Պատկանյանի մոտ, էջ 49—52, Ռուսերեն թարգմ. (Մ. Էմին), էջ 118—121, Ֆրանս. M. F. Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1851), pp. 220—222, Թուրքերեն, H. D. Andreasyan, *Milverrih Vardan Türk Fütuhatl Tarihi* (889—1269). Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Semineri Dergisi, 1/2 (1937), p. 169—172, անգլերեն (մասնակի). *REArm*, էջ 339—341.

Բերված հոգվածը պարունակում է տարբեր աղբյուրներից եկող հարուստ տեղեկություններ, որպիսի հանգամանքը ինքնին պահանջում է մանրամասն մեկնաբանություն: Ինչպես ասվեց, Սելջուկյաններին վերաբերող մասը քննություն է առնվում հատուկ հոգվածում (ծան. 1), իսկ Ղազնավյանների հետ առնչվող հարցերը պիտի լուսաբանվեն առաջիկայում: Ներկա աշխատության մեջ բերված են ընդամենը երկու միջադեպ, որոնք պիտի օգնեն մեզ որոշելու Մխիթար Անեցու գրավոր աղբյուրները: Խոսքս Մաջդ ալ-Դավլայի հարցաքննության մասին է՝ Ղոզնավյանների պատմությունից և յլարդուա թուրք տիտղոսի՝ Սելջուկյանների պատմությունից:

Մահմուդ Ղազնավյանի և Մաջդ ալ-Դավլա Ռուստամ իբն ֆաթր ալ-Դավլայի զրույցը լավ հայտնի է իբն ալ-Ասիրի՝ ալ-Կամիլ ֆի ալ-տաթիխից (ավարտվել է 619/1222 թ.), իր Սայիդա մոր վախճանից հետո (մայրը Ռեյյի քաղաքի իսկական տերն էր) Մաջդ ալ-Դավլան ստանձնեց քաղաքի իշխանությունը: Ինչպես ասվեց, ի վիճակի չլինելով զսպել իր դավլամի շոկատներին, նա օգնություն խնդրեց Մահմուդից: Վերջինս հենց նման առիթի էր սպասում 420/1029 թ. և գրավեց Ռեյյի քաղաքը: Այդ թվականի տակ իբն ալ-Ասիրը հաղորդում է հետևյալ զրույցի մասին: Մահմուդուն պահանջում է բերել իր առջև Մաջդին և հարց է տալիս նրան. «կարդացե՞լ ես, արդյոք, Շահնամե<sup>21</sup>»։ պարսիկների պատմությունը և Տաբարիի քաթիխը՝ մահմեդականների պատմությունը: «Այո՞», պատասխանում է Մաջդը, «բայց քո վարվելակերպը չի սաղում մեկին, որ կարդացած լինի այդ գրքերը», ասում է Մահմուդը և շարունակում՝ «բայց դու խաղո՞ւմ ես շախմատ»: «Այո՞», պատասխանում է խոսակիցը, «իսկ երբեկից տեսե՞լ ես, որ թագավորը մոտենա թագավորին», հարցնում է Մահմուդը: «Ո՛ր», պատասխանում է Ռեյյի իշխանը. «Հապա ինչո՞ւ, — նախատում է Մահմուդը, — կանչել քու թագավորությունը մեկին, որ քեզինից ուժեղ է» և ասելով այդ, Մահմուդը աքսորում է նրան Խորասան<sup>22</sup>:

Չնայած Մխիթարի պատմվածքում բացակայում է այն փաստը, որը իմաստ է տալիս այդ միջադեպին, այսինքն Մաջդ ալ-Դավլայի հրավերը՝ ուղղված Մահմուդին, այնուամենայնիվ այդ հաղորդումը նույնն է, ինչ որ և իբն ալ-Ասիրի շարադրությունը: Բայց հակառակ նրան, որ իբն ալ-Ասիրը գրում է Մխիթարից մոտ երեսուն տարի հետո, ոչ մի հիմք չկա ենթադրելու, որ նա, իբր, օգտագործել է հայ հեղինակին: Այդ դեպքում որտեղից է քաղել իբն ալ-Ասիրը իր պատմվածքը: Նրանից առաջ գրված Ղազնավյան աղբյուրներից և ոչ

<sup>21</sup> Վերոհիշյալ պատմության մեջ կա սուր հեղնանք. Ֆիրդուսին ավարտել է Շահնամեն շուրջ 400/1009—1010 թթ.: Ներկայացնելով այն Մահմուդի կազմած հատուկ հանձնաժողովին, ըստ բավարարված չլինելով վճարով, բանաստեղծը լքում է Ղազնավյանների արքունիքը և ապաստան գտնում Բուլանների մոտ: Որոշ գիտնականների կարծիքով (օրինակ, Ethé) նա մնում է Ռեյյի, Մաջդ ալ-Դավլայի արքունիքում, տե՛ս E. J. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1906), II, էջ 141, 181 ծան.:

<sup>22</sup> Հրատ. Tornberg (Leyden, 1851—76), IX, էջ 281—283, վերստին տպված Պէյրուս, IX, էջ 371—372, դիտելը առնվազն երկու անգամ թարգմանվել է. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, II, p. 160 և M. Nāzım, *The Life and Times of sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 82—83

Վերև հիշատակված գրականությունից անկախ, Մաջդ ալ-Դավլայի մասին հավելյալ տեղեկությունների համար տե՛ս K. V. Zettersteen, «Madjd al-Dawla», *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed կամ Թուրքերեն *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, VII, pp. 431—432, և G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938), pp. 171—197 passim.

մեկը (խոսքս Ուտրի, Բայհաքի, Գարդիղի և անանուն Մուշմալի մասին է)<sup>23</sup> չի հիշատակում այդ դեպքը: Այն կարող էր մտցված լինել Մահմուդի մասին խոսող՝ Բայհաքիի «Մուշալլադատի» մեջ, քանի որ մեղ հասած բաժինը՝ «Մասուդի պատմությունը», սկսվում է միայն 421/1030 թ., սակայն հետագա հեղինակների մոտ, ցավոք, բացակայում են վկայակոչումներ, որոնք հնարավորություն կտային ներթափանցել կորցված մասերը<sup>24</sup>, Բայց եթէ երբեք է հայտնաբերվեն Բայհաքիի չքացած մասերը կամ անդամ մի նոր պարսկական աղբյուր՝ այդ դեպքում ևս պիտի եզրակացնենք, որ օգտագործողը Մխիթար Անեցին է և ոչ իրն ալ-Ասիրը, քանի որ վերջինս, այնպես կթվի, որ չգիտեր պարսկերեն<sup>25</sup>,

երկու այլ ենթադրություն կարող են օգնեն լուծելու սույն պատմագրական հարցը: Այդ պատմվածքը կարող էր պահպանել Ալի իբն-Ջալդ Բայհաքի պարսիկը (որը հայտնի է իբն Ֆանդուք անվան տակ)՝ իր «Մաշարիբ ալ-տաշարիբ» գրվածքում, որը գրված է եղել արաբերեն՝ ԺԲ դարի երկրորդ կեսում: Չնայած այդ աշխատությունը մեղ չի հասել՝ հիմք կա ենթադրելու որ նրանից օգտվել է իբն ալ-Ասիրը<sup>26</sup>, Բայց այդ դեպքում անմիջապես հարց է ծագում իբն Ֆանդուքի աղբյուրի, ինչպես նաև վերջինիս երկը Մխիթար Անեցու կողմից օգտագործման մասին<sup>27</sup>, երկրորդ հնարավորությունն այն է, որ խալիֆայական կամ Բաղդադի արաբերեն ժամանակագրությունը կարող էր պարունակած լինել մի

<sup>23</sup> Ութրի, ալ-Բառիխ ալ-Յամինի, գրված արաբերեն, նախքան իր մահը (431/1039—1040), հրատ. (Կահիրե, 1869), պարսկերեն թարգմանությամբ Զուլբազանի (Ե. 602/1206, հրատ. A. Qawim (Tehran, 1955). Արուս-Ֆադլ Բայհաքի (385—470/995—1077) Թաթիխ-ի Մասուդին կը պարունակէ հազիվ հինգը ենթադրաբար 30 հատորնոց պատմության, Մուշալլադատէն, պահպանված մասը կընդգրկէ 421/1030—433/1041, Գարդիղիի Զայն ալ-Ախպարը գրված էր 444/1053 թ. առաջ ու դեպքերը կը հասցնէ մինչև 432/1041, Անանուն Մուշմալը գրվել է 520/1126 թ., համաձայն Փարիզի Ազգային Մատենադարանում պահպանված միակ ձեռագրին, շեղինակը շնորհակալություն է հայտնում պրոֆ. Ս. է. Պոսվերտի (Մանչեստրի շամալսարան), որը Գարդիղիի երկերից (հրատ. Մ. Նազիմ, Բեքլին, 1928, էջ 90—91) և Մուշմալի (հրատ. Պահար, Թեհրան, 1939, էջ 403—404) մասերի նկար-պատճենները ղրկեց:

<sup>24</sup> Քննություն մը Բայհաքիի ռուսերեն թարգմանությանը՝ երկրորդ և մշակված հրատարակության (ed. A. K. Arends, Moscow, 1969), որի հավելվածի մեջ կան Մուշալլադատի կորսված մասերից 19 հատված, որոնք հետագայում մեջբերված են այլ հեղինակների կողմից, ցույց կտա, որ դեպքի մասին ոչ մի ակնարկություն չկա:

<sup>25</sup> C. Cahen, «The Historiography of the Seljuqid Period», *Historians of the Middle East*, edited by B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (London, 1962), pp. 65—66. Ամեն պարագայի, կը թվի թե զորավոր աղացույց կա, որ իբն ալ-Ասիրի եղբայրը՝ Տիյա ալ-Տին գիտեր պարսկերեն (տես G. Von Grunebaum, *Islam, Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, London, 1961, pp. 109 n. 9 և 178), և հետևաբար, կարող է պատահել, որ իբն ալ-Ասիրն ալ գիտենար:

<sup>26</sup> Cahen, *ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>27</sup> Անշուշտ Մուշալլադատի չքացած մասը միտք կիլինա, բայց այլ կարելիություն է Պուլիտ Վեզիր Աբու Սա'դ Մանսուր իբն ալ Հուսեյն ալ-Աբի, որին անանուն Մուշմալը հիշատակել է որպես աղբյուրներից մին, Արուս Մա'դի մասին տե՛ս Bosworth, «On the Chronology of the Ziyarids in Gurgan and Tabaristan», *Der Islam*, 40/1 (1964), p. 30, n. 10. Գալով Մխիթարի կողմից իբն Ֆանդուքի կամ արաբական այլ աղբյուրի օգտագործման հարցին, մենք չունենք փաստացի ապացույց, որ նա չգիտեր արաբերեն, ունենք դրական փաստ, որ նա հեշտորեն կարող էր օգտագործել պարսկերենը (*supra*, n. 6): REArm-ի մեջ լռելայն եզրակացվել է, որ Մխիթարը հավանորեն օգտագործել է պարսկական աղբյուրներ այս ամփոփ պատմության համար: Ամեն պարագայի, հարցը դեռևս ամբողջությամբ եզրակացված չէ և կրնա պատահել, որ նա նմանպես օգտագործել է արաբական աղբյուրներ:

պատմվածք, հատկապես Հիլալ ալ-Սարիի «Պատմությունը» (հասցնում է մինչև 447/1055 թ.), որից պահպանվել է միայն մի մասը, 388—393/998—1003 թթ. վերաբերող: Այդ երկը օգտագործել են և մասամբ պահպանել Իբն ալ-Ջաուզին («Ալ-Մունտազամ», 6/12 գ.), Սիբտ Իբն ալ-Ջաուզին («Միրաատ ալ-զաման», 7/13 դ.), և անանուն մի ժամանակագրություն (644/1246—7 թ.) Մյունխենի պետական գրադարանում<sup>28</sup>, Իբն ալ-Ջաուզիի երկում կա նաև այն Ֆաթնաման, որը կաղմել է տվել Մահմուդը և Ռեյյի քաղաքի գրավումից հետո ուղարկել Խալիֆին<sup>29</sup>: Չնայած շարագրությունը շատ մանրամասն է, սակայն չի հիշատակվում ընդհարումը Մաշդ ալ-Դավլայի հետ: Կարող է թվալ, որ մեղ հետաքրքրող միջադեպի բացակայությունը Իբն ալ-Ջաուզիի մոտ (որը հարում է ալ-Սարիին) բացատրում է այդ դեպքի առկայությունը նաև Սիբտ Իբն ալ-Ջաուզիի կամ Մյունխենի Անանանի մոտ. վերջնական եզրակացություն կարելի է անել միայն այդ երկու հեղինակների ձեռագրերը մանրամասն ուսումնասիրելուց հետո:

Վերջին ենթագրությունը, իբր այդ պատմվածքը կարող էր ամբողջությամբ հորինված լինել ԺԲ—ԺԳ դարերի արանքում, թվում է անհավանական, քանի որ այն առկա է երկու մեկը մյուսից բոլորովին անկախ հեղինակների մոտ: Այսպիսով մենք վերադառնում ենք մեր ելակետին՝ առանց համոզիչ տեսակետ հայտնելու այդ միջադեպի ծագման վերաբերյալ:

Մխիթարի երկից մեր երկրորդ օրինակը վերաբերում է Սելջուկ Յազդուի նույնացմանը: Այդ տիտղոսը գալիս է առնվազն Ը դարից, պատկանում է Քյոք թուրքական համամիությունը, հիշատակվում է Որխոնի արձանագրություններում և վերաբերում է այն պաշտոնին, որը գալիս է «Քաղանից»՝ արքայից անմիջապես հետո: Քյոք պետական միավորման քայքայումից հետո, Օղուզ թուրքերը, որոնք այդ միավորման բաղկացուցիչ տարրերից մեկն էին, պահպանում են այդ «յաբդու» տիտղոսը և սկսում են այդպես անվանել իրենց առաջնորդին: 4/10 դ. վերջերին, երբ Սելջուկ թուրքերը անջատվում են Օղուզ յաբդուից, վերջինիս մայրաքաղաքը գտնվում էր Յենգի-կենտում, Սիր-Դարյա գետի ներքին հոսանքում, Արսլան-Իսրայիլ (որդի Սելջուկի) յուրացնում է յաբդու տիտղոսը, ասես մարտի հրավիրելով իր երբեմնի դաշնակիցներին և միաժամանակ շեղտելով իր տոհմի աճող զորեղությունը: Այդ տիտղոսը սովորաբար կրում էր տոհմի ավագ արու անդամը, և Արսլան-Իսրայիլը այդ ժամանակ իրոք որ ավելի մեծ էր տարիքով քան Մուսան, Սելջուկի երկրորդ կենդանի մնացած որդին<sup>30</sup>:

28 Ալ-Մունտազամ, մասնակիորեն հրատարակված (Հայտարարատ, 1938—1941): Մի-րադ ալ-Ջաման, ցարդ որի միայն Մեծ Սելջուկների վերաբերող մասն է հրատարակվել, տե՛ս M. Ali Sevîm, *Mî'râtü 'z-Zeman fî Tarih ü'l-Ayan* 447/1056-479/1086 (Ankara, 1968), որին քննարկել է C. Caheh, „A propos d'une édition," *Arabica* XVII/1(1970), pp. 82—91: Մյունխենի անունը չի հրատարակվել, սակայն ձեռագրին ու նրա բովանդակության մասին ակնարկություն կարելի է գտնել՝ M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad* (334/946—447/1055), (Calcutta, 1946), p. 216, and *passim* չիլալ ալ-Սապիի պատմութեան քննարկում մը կարելի է գտնել Գահենի երկին մեջ, էջ 70—72:

29 Սույն Ֆաթնաման (ալ-Մունտազամ, VIII, էջ 38—40) լրիվ թարգմանվել է Պոսվորտի կողմից՝ „The Imperial Policy of the Early Ghaznavids", *Islamic Culture*, 1/3 (1962), էջ 70—72:

30 Այս մասին հավելյալ տեղեկություն, նյութին վերաբերյալ լրիվ գրականությամբ, կարելի է գտնել REArm-ի մեջ, էջ 337—338:

Դեռևս պարզ է, արդյո՞ք Օղուզների առաջնորդ Յարղուն, որին հիշատակում է Գարգիղին որպես 391/1003 թ. Ղարախանյանների դեմ դուրս եկած Սամանյան իշխան՝ Արսլանն էր թէ ինքը՝ Օղուզ Յարղուն. այսպես թե այնպես<sup>31</sup>, 416—7/1025—6 թ., երբ Արսլանը դերի ընկավ Մահմուդ Ղաղնավյանի ձեռքը. նա կրում էր այդ տիտղոսը, Դա հայտնի է ոչ միայն «Աքբար ալ-Դավլաթ ալ-Սալուկիյա» աղբյուրից (7/13 դ. սկզբից), որի մէջ կականարկվի նրան որպէս «Արսլան Յարղու որ կուի Իսրայել»<sup>32</sup>, այլ և նույն Մխիթար Անեցուց, որը անվանում է նրան Ափաղու, այն է Յափղու Քանի որ Մխիթարը գրել է իր պատմութիւնը «Աքբարից» մի քարտորդ դար առաջ, այդ աղբյուրը անկախ է և միաժամանակ կապ է հաստատում ինչ-որ ավելի վաղ և այժմ կորած աղբյուրի, թերևս «Մալիկնամեի» հետ<sup>33</sup>:

431/1040 թ. դեպքերի նկարագրութիւններից մենք իմանում ենք, որ Մուսա իբն-Սելջուկը կրում էր Յարղու տիտղոսը: Հեղինակը պարզորոշ կերպով նրան դրսևորում է որպես թուրքերի առաջնորդ<sup>34</sup>: Վաղ աղբյուրներից, ուր հիշատակվում է Մուսան, միայն Մխիթար Անեցին և «Սելջուկնամեի» հեղինակ (6/12 դ. երկրորդ կես) Զահիր ադ-դին Նիշապուրին<sup>35</sup> են որ ճշտիվ նուշնացնում են նրան ինչպես Սելջուկ Յարղուի, այնպես էլ Տուղրիլ բեգի և Զադրի բեգի հորեղբոր հետ: Մխիթարի հաջորդ շարադրութիւնից պարզ երևում է, որ նա դիտում է Տուղբիլին իբրև հետ-Դանդանականի շրջանի Սելջուկյան տոհմի ամենից զորեղ անդամ: Այնուհանդերձ նա երբեք չի անվանում նրան Յարղու, ուստի պարզ է, որ մենք չպիտի դիտենք Մուսային իբրև մեկին, որին կարելի է «աշխույժ չորակել»<sup>36</sup>:

Ի հարկե, խոսելով Յարղու տիտղոսի և սելջուկներին վերաբերող այլ մանրամասնութիւնների մասին, մենք չենք կարող նույնչափ ճշտորեն ապացուցել Մխիթարի հեղինակութիւնը, ինչպես դա հնարավոր է լինում, երբ մենք վերադառնում ենք Ղաղնավյանների պատմութիւնը: Սակայն, այն ընդհանուր եղրակացութիւնները, քննելով հնագույն հայ տեղեկութիւնները Ղաղնավյանների վերաբերյալ, տարածվում են նաև Սելջուկյանների վրա: Թվում է, թե այն պատկերը, որը ներկայացնում է հայկական տեղեկութիւնը Սելջուկյանների մասին, ավելի համապատասխանում է պարսկական աղբյուրների Զահիր ալ-Դին խմբին (այդ աղբյուրները անկախ են վերականգնված «Մալիքնամեից») քան իբրև՝ «Մալիքնամեի», չնայած նմանութիւն կա այդ վերջին երկին և հայկական տեղեկութիւն միջև<sup>37</sup>: Հարցի լուծումը մնում է դեռևս անբավարար:

<sup>31</sup> Հրատ. Մ. Նազիմ, էջ 64. REArm-ի ծանոթութիւններից (էջ 338—339, ծան. 42—45) բացի տես նաև՝ Cahen, „Arslan b. Saldjuk, E. I. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Թուրքերեն թարգմ., N. Lugal (Ankara, 1943) էջ 2—3 և REArm, էջ 342, ծան. 73.

<sup>33</sup> Տես Cahen, „Le Malik-nameh et l'histoire des origines seljukides“, *Oriens*, 11 (1949), էջ 31—63, REArm-ի բնագրում, էջ 332 և *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> Հավելյալ մի կետ (REArm-ի մեջ չէ հիշատակվել) է այն պարագան, որ Մխիթար Այրիվանեցին (էջ 22), ելնելով հավանաբար Մխիթար Անեցու տվյալներից, տեղավորում է Մուսա Յարղուին (Մուսեփաղոյ) Սելջուկյան հարստութիւն ցուցակի սկզբում: Բուն ժամանակագրութիւն մեջ (էջ 55) 901 թ. հետո [sic] նա նորից է հիշում Մուսա Յարղուին՝ «... և զօրացաւ Թուրքմանն Սալլուքն և Մուսէ Փաղոյն և Դողլարէկն»:

<sup>35</sup> Երկին գրեթէ բառացի թարգմանութիւնը կարելի է հանդիպել ալ-Ռավանդիի Ռահմալ-Սուրուրում (6/12 դ. վերջերին), հրատ. M. Iqbal (London, 1902), էջ 102, 104. cf. REArm, էջ 336, ծան. 34 և 346, ծան. 91.

<sup>36</sup> Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), էջ 20, և REArm, էջ 346—347.

<sup>37</sup> Մանրամասնութիւնց համար տես REArm, էջ 352—353.

Կարող է այն տպավորությունը ստացվի, իբր, գոյություն է ունեցել վաղ շրջանի այլ սելջուկյան սկզբնաղբյուր, այժմ կորած, որից կարող էր օգտված լինել կամ Մխիթարը, կամ իր նախորդ Հովհաննես Սարկավազը, գուցե և Կոզեռնը: Ինչպես ասվեց այլ տեղ (REArm, vī, pp. 348, 352—353 և վերը՝ էջ 11) այդպիսին կարող էր եղած լինել Արուս-Ալա Մուհամմադ իբն Հասսուլի, Մաջդ ալ-Դավայի վեզիրի (մահ. 450/1058) «Ժամանակագրությունը», որը 420/1038 թ. հետո Ղազնավյանների, իսկ հետագայում Տուղրիլի պաշտոնյան էր Ռեյյի բազաբում<sup>38</sup>, Հայկական սկզբնաղբյուրների տեսակետից իբն Հասսուլը հետաքրքիր է շնորհիվ այն հանգամանքի, որ իր մյուս գոյություն ունեցող աշխատության մեջ՝ «Ռիսալայում», որը պիտի լիներ «Ժամանակագրության» նախաբանը, նա Մխիթարի նման ցուցաբերում է (բայց հակառակ Զագրի-բեգին փառաբանող «Մալիքնամայի») ինչ-որ համակրանք Տուղրիլի նրկաամամբ<sup>39</sup> և, որ ավելի կարևոր է, սելջուկի համար Մխիթարի և Սարկավազի նման նա օգտագործում է հազվագեղ (խսլամական աղբյուրների համար) «Սարջուկ» (سرجك) և ոչ Սելջուկ (سلجوق)՝ ձևը<sup>40</sup>: Նաև, եթե պիտի հաւատանք Ռավերթի Զյուղջանիի «Թաբաթաթ-ի Նասիրի» թարգմանությանը մէջ երեցած նոթին, ուր ըստ Արուս-Ալա Ահմադի (կարգալ՝ Հասսուլ) «Պատմությանը», Սելջուկ ուներ շորս որդիներ՝ Բարայիլ, Միքայիլ, Մուսա-ի-Բեղու (sic, կարդալ Մուսա-Յարդու)... և Յունուս<sup>41</sup>: Իրականում, «Պատմությունը» հիշատակվել է Համտալլա Մուստաֆի Քազվինիի կողմից, նրա «Թարիխ-ի Կյուզիդե» գործին Սելջուկյանների նվիրված բաժնի առաջաբանում (8/14 դ. առաջին կես)<sup>42</sup>: Իբն Հասսուլի «Պատմության» ձեռագիրը կարող է դեռևս գոյություն ունենա, քանի որ Ռավերթի հիշատակում է օգտագործած լինելը<sup>43</sup>, Անշուշտ որ երկը գրված լինելու է արաբերենով, ինչպես իբն Հասսուլի «Ռիսալան» և անշուշտ կրկին հարց պիտի լինի Մխիթարի արաբերենի ծանօթ լինելը: Եթե կարելի է հավատք ընծայել Ռավերթի գրություններին, որոնց մեջ նա կը հավաստիացնէ «Պատմությունը» տեսած լինելը, այդ ժամանակ ավելի հավանական կը դառնա «Պատմության» գոյությունը (գուցե պարսկական պատշաճեցումը) ընդունելը: Եւ ուրեմն, քանի որ իբն Հասսուլը պաշտոնավարել էր Ղազնավյանների մոտ Ռայյում, կրնա ըլլալ որ այս «Թարիխում» տեղեկություն լինի Մահմուդի կողմից քաղաքի գրաման մասին և, անհավանական չէ,

<sup>38</sup> Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 59.

<sup>39</sup> Հրատ. Ա. Ազգավի, Թուրքերեն թարգմանությամբ Շ. Յալքալայի, *Belleten*, IV (1940), էջ 250—266 և 51 էջ արաբերեն տեքստից: Հեղինակին ու գործին մասին լրիվ քննարկում մը տեսնել Գահենի մոտ, «Le Malik-nāme», էջ 37—38:

<sup>40</sup> Ռիսալա, տեքստ էջ 49, թարգմ. էջ 265: Ռիսալայի սույն մասը անգլերենի թարգմանել է D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), p. 259; cf. Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, էջ 220 և REArm, էջ 348, ծան. 103: Հայերեն օգտագործման համար տես վերը, էջ 2 և K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1968), էջ 26:

<sup>41</sup> H. G. Raverty, *The Tabakat-i Nasiri* (London, 1881—1899), էջ 116—116, ծան. 3:

<sup>42</sup> Հրատ. (նմանագիր—facsimile) և համառոտ թարգմ., GMS (London, 1910—1913), էջ 434: Հիմնական հարցը իբն Հասսուլի Պատմությանը բացարձակապես վստահ ըլլալուն, հաւաստեցումն է Համտալլա Մուստաֆիի հիշատակած անուան, այսինքն՝ Արուս-Ալա Ահմադ, Արուս-Ալա Մուհամմադ իբն Հասսուլի հետ, տե՛ս Cahen, «Le Malik-nāme», էջ 37 38:

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, էջ 117, ծան. 3:

նույնիսկ հեղինակի նախորդ տիրոջ՝ Մաշդ ալ-Տավլայի մասին եղած պատմությունը, Այսպիսի պարագայում, Իբն Հասսուլի «Պատմությունը» կարող էր մեծապես ծառայել որպես հիմք Մխիթարի Ղազնավյանների ու Սելջուկյանների մասին տված տեղեկություններին<sup>44</sup>:

Ինչպես էլ ընթերցողը վերաբերի վերոհիշյալ հետևություններին, կասկածից վեր է, որ Մխիթար Անեցու շարադրությունը թուրք սուլթանների մասին՝ բովանդակալից և վստահելի աղբյուր է և այն եթէ ուշադիր քննարկման ենթարկվի կարող է պարզաբանել որոշ հարցեր ոչ միայն հայկական, այլև իսլամական պատմագրության վերաբերյալ:

## МХИТАР АНИЙСКИЙ О ГАЗНЕВИДАХ И СЕЛЬДЖУКАХ

ТИГРАН ГОЮМДЖЯН (Бейрут)

### Р е з ю м е

Из «Истории» Мхитара Анийского сохранился лишь один фрагмент, но в «Космической истории» Вартана Аревельци приводится пространственный отрывок из нее, посвященный Газневидам и Сельджукам. Исходя из биографических данных Мхитара Анийского и заключающей отрывок даты (1193 г.), «Историю» его следует датировать концом XII в.

Использование в означенном отрывке мусульманского лунного календаря, верное прозвание имен и титулов, подробные сведения о ряде событий свидетельствуют о том, что автор «Истории» пользовался мусульманскими, особенно персидскими первоисточниками, среди которых «Муджалладат» Баяхаки и «История» Ибн-Хассула.

Дополнительность сведений, сообщаемых Мхитаром Анийским, придает его труду важность при выяснении некоторых вопросов армянской и мусульманской историографии.

<sup>44</sup> Պոսվորտ նույնպես կը մեկնաբանէ (նամակ 10/X/70). «Այս հարցը առեղծված կը մնա, և ես կարող չեմ առաջարկել որեւէ ակներե լուծում, բացի նրանից, որ ալ-Արիկ [supra, ծան. 28] կամ Իբն Հասսուլը անհկտոտին հավանական պատմողներն են»:

*From Armenian Studies: In Memoriam Haig Berberian* (Lisbon, 1986),  
Dickran Kouymjian, editor, pp. 415-468.

# CHINESE ELEMENTS IN ARMENIAN MINIATURE PAINTING IN THE MONGOL PERIOD

DICKRAN KOUYMIJIAN

For more than fifty years, coinciding with the second half of the thirteenth century, the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia had friendly relations with the Mongols, even concluding an alliance several times renewed (1). From the journey to Mongolia of Smbat (1247-1250), Constable of Armenia and brother of the ruling king Het'um (2), to the death of Ghazan Khan (1304), Armenian princes and kings (3) traveled to the Great Mongol court at Qaraqorum or to the various residences of the Mongol rulers of Iran, the so-called Il-Khanids (4),

(1) This study is a revision and expansion of a paper delivered in November 1977 for a panel on «Patronage and Symbolism in Medieval Armenian Art» sponsored by the Society for Armenian Studies during the XIth Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association in New York. It had the title, «Far Eastern Influences in Armenian Miniature Painting in the Mongol Period» and was distributed in mimeographed form. At the time certain points provoked a lively debate. On Armenian-Mongol relations see, A. G. Galstyan, «The First Armeno-Mongol Negotiations», *PBH* (1964), no. 1, pp. 91-105 (in Armenian).

(2) On Smbat's journey, see the article of Jean Richard, «La lettre du Connétable Smbat et les rapports entre Chrétiens et Mongols au milieu du XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle», which is published later in this volume, pp. 683-696.

(3) On the famous journey of Het'um, see Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Universal History*, critical ed. K. A. Melik'-Öhanjanyan, Erevan, 1961, pp. 364-372, and the translation of this section with commentary, J. A. Boyle, «The Journey of Het'um I, King of Little Armenia, to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke», *Central Asia Journal*, vol. IX, no. 3 (1964), pp. 175-189.

(4) The most convenient treatment of the Il-Khanids is found in J. A. Boyle, «Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khāns», *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, *Seljuk and Mongol Period*, London, 1968, pp. 303-420. For the Armenian background see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, «The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia», *A History of the Crusades*, vol. II, ed. by K. M. Setton, R.C. Wolff and H. W. Hazard (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 630-659, reprinted in *idem*, *Etudes Byzantines et Arméniennes*, *Byzantine and Armenian Studies* (hereafter *Etudes*), 2 vols., Louvain, 1973, pp. 329-352;

especially under Hulagu (1256-1265) and his son Abaqa (1265-1282). During these visits, the sources mention the exchange of gifts and honors between the Armenian aristocracy and the Mongol rulers. Though no such gifts have either survived or been textually described, some of them were undoubtedly of Chinese manufacture or inspiration since China had already been partially conquered by the Mongols. This study will analyze the few direct consequences on Armenian art of this relationship and the channels through which Chinese motifs passed into Armenia. It will also consider the long term effects of Far Eastern influences on Armenian art and contrast these with their impact on Islamic art.

The defeat of the Seljuk Turks in Anatolia by the Mongol armies in 1243 was the prelude to the conquest of the eastern Islamic world by Hulagu Khan—the brother of the future Great Mongol Khan, Qubilai—and the destruction of the 'Abbāsid caliphate and its capital Baghdad by him in 1258. The heartland of the Muslim world found itself under the direct occupation of an unsympathetic, non-Islamic empire whose homelands were further to the east than any permanent penetration of Islam, and whose conquest and rule of China and southeast Asia were more significant to it than hegemony over the Near East (5).

The Mediterranean world and the Near East always had commercial contacts with the Far East (6); Chinese silks and ceramics were popular trade items long before the arrival of the Mongols. However, Mongol suzerainty over the area created an arrangement whereby the overlords of Iran, Iraq, Armenia, and Anatolia were part of the same family, the same dynasty, which ruled Central Asia and China too. Genghis Khan (d. 1227) had himself conquered northern China; by 1230 Peking was part of the Mongol domain and in 1260, shortly after he succeeded his brother Möngke as Great Khan, Qubilai had established his capital there. By the time his other brother Hulagu had conquered Baghdad, Qubilai was already spending much of his time in China. At this moment the Near East was theoretically in direct contact with China and, thereby, with Chinese art, its conventions and iconography, that were borrowed and assimilated into the Islamic art of the area for the next three centuries.

also more recently, T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, New York, 1978, pp. 25-29.

(5) The best work on the period is Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, trans. J. Jones-Williams, London, 1968; a revised French edition has been announced.

(6) Discussed in W. Heyd, *L'Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1885-6, 2nd ed., reprint, Leipzig, 1936, pp. 1-128.

Armenia, at least Cilician Armenia, was also to have access to Chinese art through the Mongol contact. By the 1280s, a decade before the first timid borrowings of Chinese modes began to appear in neighboring Islamic art, a repertory of chinoiserie is found in the illuminations of certain Armenian religious manuscripts. These Armenian examples are the central subject of this study.

The entire corpus of unmistakably and direct Chinese elements in Armenian art is limited to miniature paintings in two manuscripts executed for members of the royal court of Cilicia in 1286 and 1287. The latter of the two, a Gospel manuscript (Erevan, Matenadaran no. 197), was copied and illuminated at the monastery of Akner for archbishop John (Yovhannēs). It contains on folio 341<sup>v</sup>, in a miniature depicting a scene of ordination (7), a single, almost haphazard motif of a Chinese dragon (Figs. 1a-b). The full-page painting is framed by a very delicate floral design. The personages to the right are rendered with very mannered features. Archbishop John, portrayed as an old man, is shown laying his left hand on the head of a youth being ordained. In the lower left corner of the miniature on the archbishop's cope is a Chinese dragon woven or painted in gold with red outlines (Fig. 1b). The head of the dragon is raised vertically in profile while the neck, body, and tail wind upward. It appears to have four feet (three are clearly visible) each with four claws. In front of its open mouth is a leaf-like object, perhaps intended to be a flaming pearl. It is difficult to tell from the miniature if this Chinese silk is a separate item of clothing or simply a piece of textile sewn onto the garment as Sirarpie Der Nersessian has suggested (8). Bishop John was the younger brother of king Het'um I and Smbat the Constable, both of whom had been received by the Mongol khans in Central Asia. This piece of Chinese silk may have been a gift which one of the brothers of John brought back to him.

The other Armenian manuscript, executed a year earlier in 1286

(7) This example of Chinoiserie was over-looked in my original paper of 1977. I would like to thank Sirarpie Der Nersessian for having brought it to my attention. For illustrations of the miniature (our Fig. 1), see Lydia Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, New York, 1961, p. 113; S. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, London, 1969, fig. 72; Tania Velmans, «Maniérisme et innovations stylistiques dans la miniature cilicienne à la fin du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle», *REArm*, 14 (1980), fig. 10; Gérard Dédéyan, ed. *Histoire des Arméniens*, Toulouse, 1982, illustration [16].

(8) S. Der Nersessian, *L'Art Arménien*, Paris, 1977, English edition *Armenian Art*, London, 1978, p. 160, all references in this article will be to the English version.

(Erevan, Matenadaran no. 979), is a *Lectionary* containing a more organically integrated group of chinoiserie. Though neither the name of the scribe nor artist are preserved, we know the manuscript was commissioned by prince Het'um, son of the reigning king, Leo II, grandson of Het'um I, and himself to be raised to the royal dignity

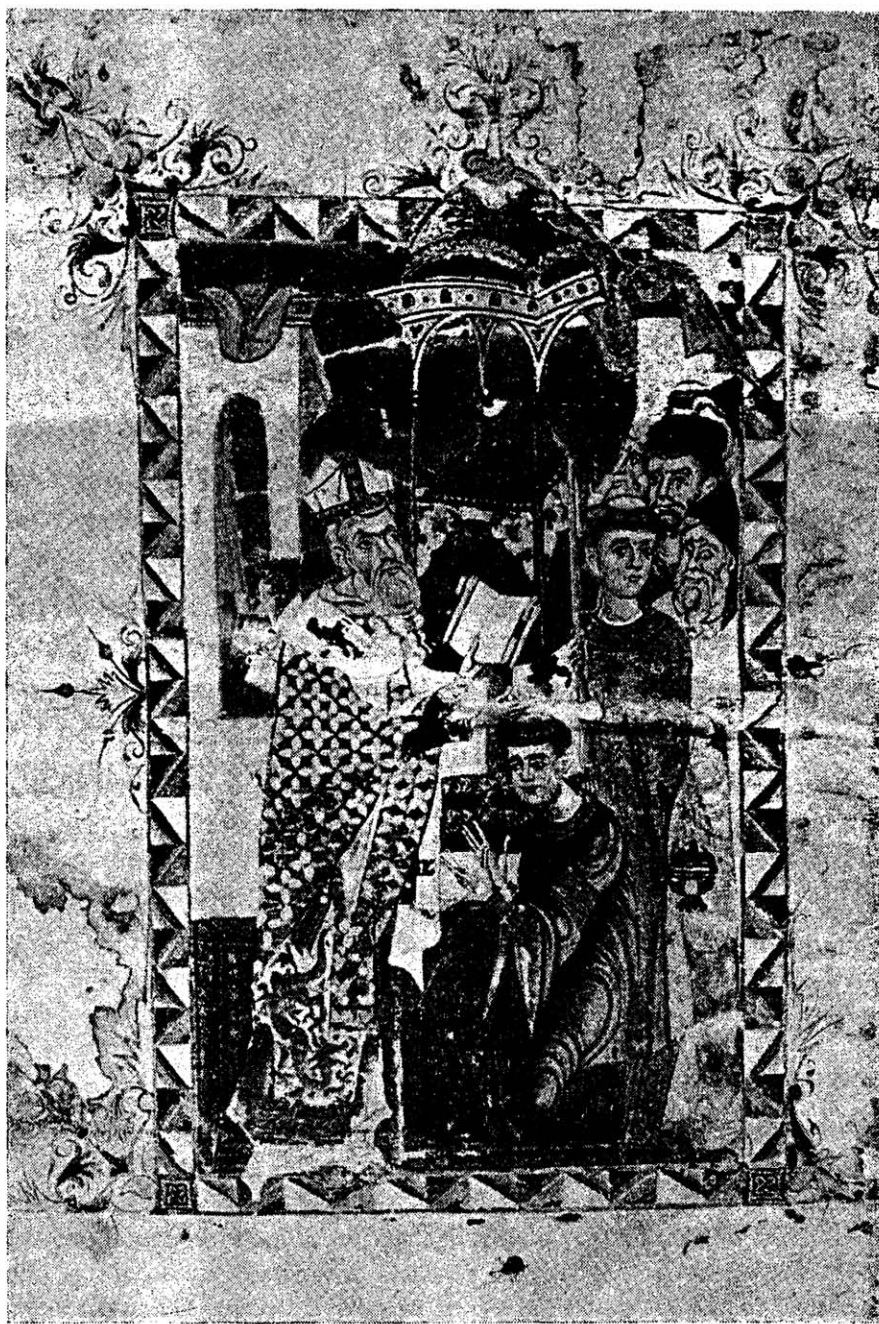


FIG. 1a. Gospel of 1287. Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 197, fol. 341<sup>v</sup>. Ordination.  
Photo Matenadaran.

in a couple of years. Like the Gospel of 1287, it has never been fully published nor described (9). It is one of the most profusely and luxuriously decorated Armenian codices with over 700 separate illuminations, some ten of which are large miniatures of both Old and New Testament scenes.



FIG. 1b. Gospel of 1287. Detail showing dragon of bishop John's cope.

(9) However, this and the other manuscripts treated in this article have been discussed by Der Nersessian (works cited in the following note); Levon Azaryan, *Kilikyan manrankarč'ut'yunə, XII-XII dd. (Cilician Miniature Painting, XII-XIII Centuries)*, Erevan, 1964; Dournovo, *Hin haykakan manrankarč'ut'yun (Ancient Armenian Miniature Paintings)*, album in Russian and Armenian with color plates, Erevan, 1952; *idem*, *Armenian Miniatures*, a reduced album with color

Distinct Chinese elements are found in the decoration of two chapter headings. The first, on folio 294 (Figs. 2a-c), has been reproduced often (10). The upper half of the page bears a wide decorative band centered around a beardless bust of the Youthful Christ, a feature found in other Cilician Armenian manuscripts. It is placed within a roundel contained in a rhombus-like frame of rainbow colored rectangles. Above and below its extremities are triangular shaped decorations, symmetrically placed on either side. The entire band is perfectly balanced, one side a near mirror image of the other. To the left of the page extending from top to bottom is a thin Armenian letter («ini»), formed of elongated animals and birds surmounted by a naturalistically rendered rooster. Vertically to the right, an extremely dense floral band of birds and animals culminates with a three-headed human bust on which rests an eagle.

On each side of the bust of Christ are gray colored, Chinese inspired animals in an upright position, probably lions with bodies in profile (Figs. 2b-c). There is a suggestion of movement toward the center, though the heads are turned frontally. Each animal's mouth and nose is highly stylized forming a trilobed leaf motif, and from the top of the head, sharp, flame-shaped crops of hair point upward. Just below the frame under these «lions» is another pair of like animals of a bright blue color, crouching on all fours (Figs. 2c-d). They display the same tight curls of hair, bushy tails, ears, but somewhat different faces. Their tails also seem shorter. It is difficult to be sure whether they are intended to represent the same animals as above, since they are depicted in both a different posture and color. Just below the hind

plates in English and French versions; L. Dournovo and R. G. Drampyan, *Haykakan manrankarč'ut'yun/Miniatures Arméniennes*, Erevan, 1967 and 1969, text in Armenian, French and Russian, an expanded version of the other albums; Bezalel Narkiss, ed., in collaboration with Michael Stone, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1979; Velmans, «Maniérisme», *op. cit.* The *Lectionary* was first discussed by Garegin Yovsēp'ean in *Anahid* (1911).

(10) Arménag Sakissian, «Thèmes et motifs d'enluminure et de décoration arméniennes et musulmanes», *Ars Islamica*, vol. VI (1939), pp. 66-87, reprinted in *idem*, *Pages d'art arménien*, Paris, 1940, pp. 59-86, fig. 38, references in this article to *Pages*; Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, pp. 126-7; Dournovo/Drampyan, pl. 43; Azaryan, *op. cit.*, fig. 134; S. Der Nersessian, «Miniatures ciliciennes», *L'Oeil*, no. 179 (November, 1969), pp. 2-9, 110, fig. 22, reprinted in *idem*, *Etudes*, pp. 509-515, fig. 261; John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 139, pl. 259; Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, p. 155, fig. 116; *Hay Endanik* (1982), nos. 11-12, p. 35.

quarters of these blue beasts, in the lower extremity of the triangle-shapes they form part of, are violet colored monsters with mouths open nearly 180 degrees revealing long whip-like serpentine tongues projecting out of their centers (Figs. 2c, e). This detail, along with



FIG. 2a. *Lectionary of Het'um II, 1286. Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 979, fol. 293. Decorated chapter heading. Photo Matenadaran.*



FIG. 2b. *Lectionary* of Het'um II. Detail of upright lion on left side

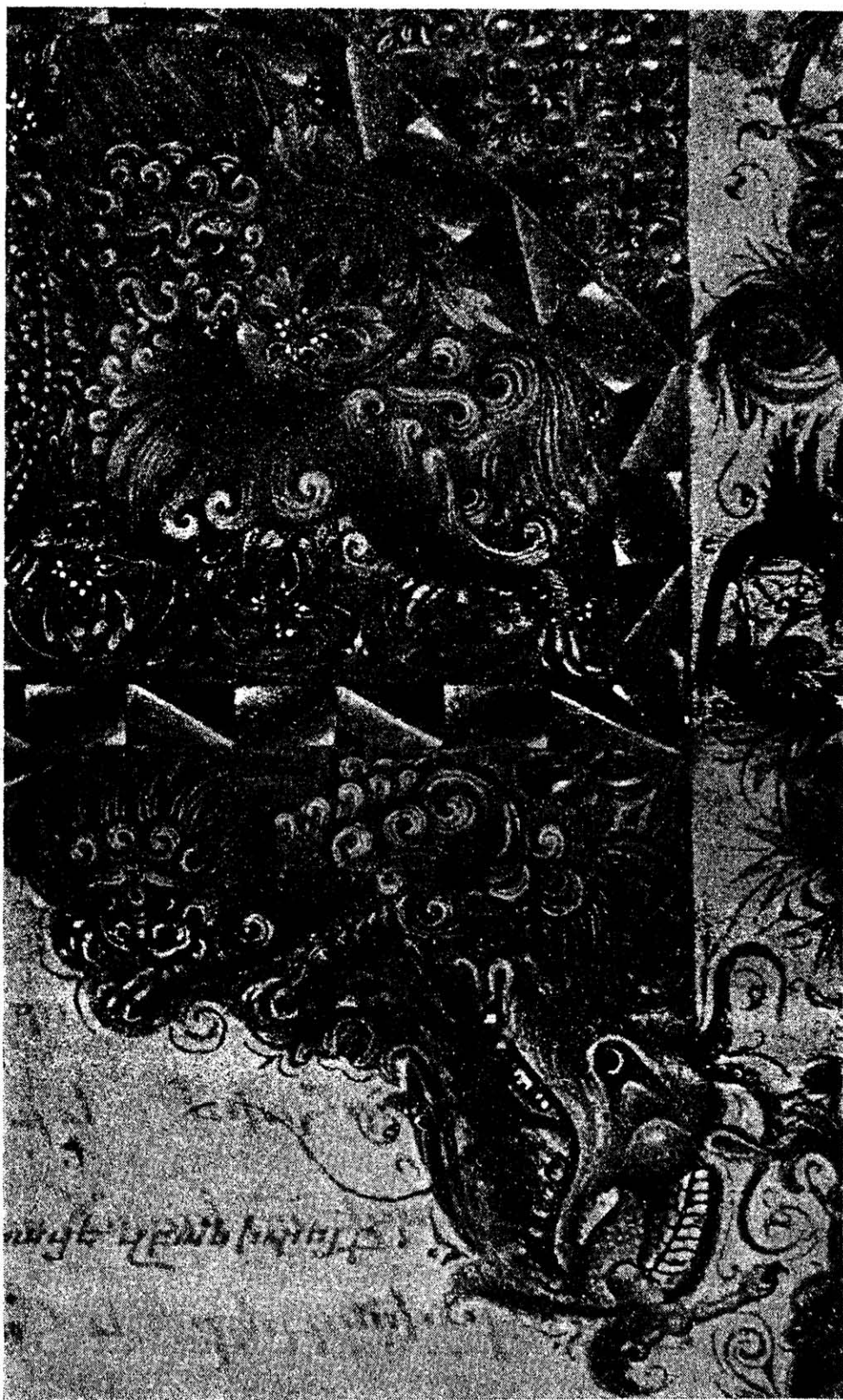


FIG. 2c. *Lectionary* of Het'um II. Detail showing the three animals on the right.

the neat rows of white teeth visible on the jaws, adds a menacing aspect to these animals shown in profile. Their heads have pointed ears and two octopus-like tentacles at the top. Each has a truncated serpentine or fish body, marked by accordion elements ending in a strange light



FIG. 2d. *Lectionary* of Het'um II. Detail of croaching lion on the left.

violet colored base. They must certainly represent dragons, but a legless, reptile variety. In the right hand band two similar violet dragons with prominent heads can be seen (Fig. 2a), one at the bottom, interposed with two other animal heads, but with no body, and another midway up with open mouth facing toward the feet of a monkey.

Above the bust of Christ are three pairs of birds. The largest pair with wings spread out as though about to fly shares a vague Chinese quality with another pair gracefully hovering at the top. (A third one is located in the decoration to the right below the three headed

figure). Flying birds are common to Chinese art of the period, whether ducks, cranes, or the fabulous phoenix. Though several birds with wings spread about to fly or land are depicted in late twelfth and thirteenth century Armenian canon table decorations (11), they lack the naturalistic quality of those of the *Lectionary*. Generally in



FIG. 2e. *Lectionary* of Het'um II. Detail of open mouth dragon on the left.

the art of the Middle East up to the Mongol period, birds are never shown in flight (12), but rather static, like the lower pair in this same

(11) Baltimore, Walters Gallery of Art, MS no. 538, Gospel executed in 1193 at Połoskan, Cilicia, fols. 5, 7, 11, S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Gallery of Art*, Baltimore, 1974, figs. 28, 30, 32; Venice, Mekhitarist Congregation, MS no. 1635, Gospel of 1193, Cilicia, fols. 4, 7<sup>v</sup>, S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII<sup>e</sup>, XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles de la Bibliothèque de Pères Mekhitaristes de Venise*, 2 vols., Paris, 1936, II, figs. 42-3; Baltimore, MS, no. 539, Gospel of 1262 executed by T'oros Roslin at Hromkla, fols. 4, 9<sup>v</sup>, 383<sup>v</sup>, Der Nersessian, *ibid.*, figs. 46, 51, 132.

(12) «Before the spread of Mongol taste about 1300 birds in Near Eastern

headpiece. Finally, in the top center of the composition is an eight petalled or eight pointed lotus-like rosette, reminiscent of the Buddhist wheel of the law.

The second decorated chapter heading from the *Lectionary* of Het'um, folio 334 (Figs. 3a-d), is less well known (13). Its formal arrangement is similar to the other, with a complex vertical decoration to the right, surmounted by a cross and finished at the bottom by an artistically twisted feline creature, perhaps a panther. The center of the headpiece is an empty trilobed arch, the flanking spandrels of which contain identical scenes: a Chinese dragon and phoenix in combat (Fig. 3b). From the viewer's position the dragon is given preference. It is seen clearly with tail and body moving up along the outer frame toward the top with the head curved back around facing toward the outside lower corner of the page. The under body of each dragon is rendered in a somewhat deeper violet than the dragon heads in the previous headpiece. The scales of the body are painted in alternating white and blue sections or stripes; their blue heads with white highlights are shown with open mouth, nose turned up, both eyes visible and directed toward the viewer; a short red tongue jets out and the long tufts of hair above the eyes end in red tips. The animal has four legs (only three are visible) ending with paws of four claws spread out like pinwheels.

Confronting the dragons are phoenixes with brown bodies and heads, and blue wings, the tips of which end in soft, pink, flared feathers. The brown feathered body highlighted in white is rendered in two parallel rows; the forward part has sharply pointed blue feathers. Both birds are rendered vertically by the requirements of the space and composition with the head of each, beak open, pointed directly into the open mouth of the dragon. Only one open eye is evident, since the head is in profile. The body, however, is spread out in aerial view. From the head long streamers of hair can be seen, two flowing in the air and another along the neck ending in a double curl. From the chin or lower beak of the phoenix on the right

art never convincingly fly, at most they stand in profile with wings raised, or in the heraldic frontal stance with wings displayed», Arthur Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, London, 1959, p. 12. This is certainly the case with most of the Armenian examples. See also Richard Ettinghausen, «On Some Mongol Miniatures», *Kunst des Orient*, vol. III (1959), pp. 44-65.

(13) Dournovo, *Hin haykakan manrankarč'ut'yun*, pl. 35; Azaryan, fig. 134.

is a floral like motif. The characteristic tails with long flowing flyers are lacking probably due to the exigencies of space.



FIG. 3a. *Lectionary of Het'um II, 1286. Erevan, Matenadaran MS 979, fol. 334. Decorated chapter heading. Photo Matenadaran.*

In the center of the decorated band above the arch is a single, almost heraldically placed Chinese phoenix (Fig. 3c). Its coloring of brown and blue is the same as that of the other phoenixes. However,

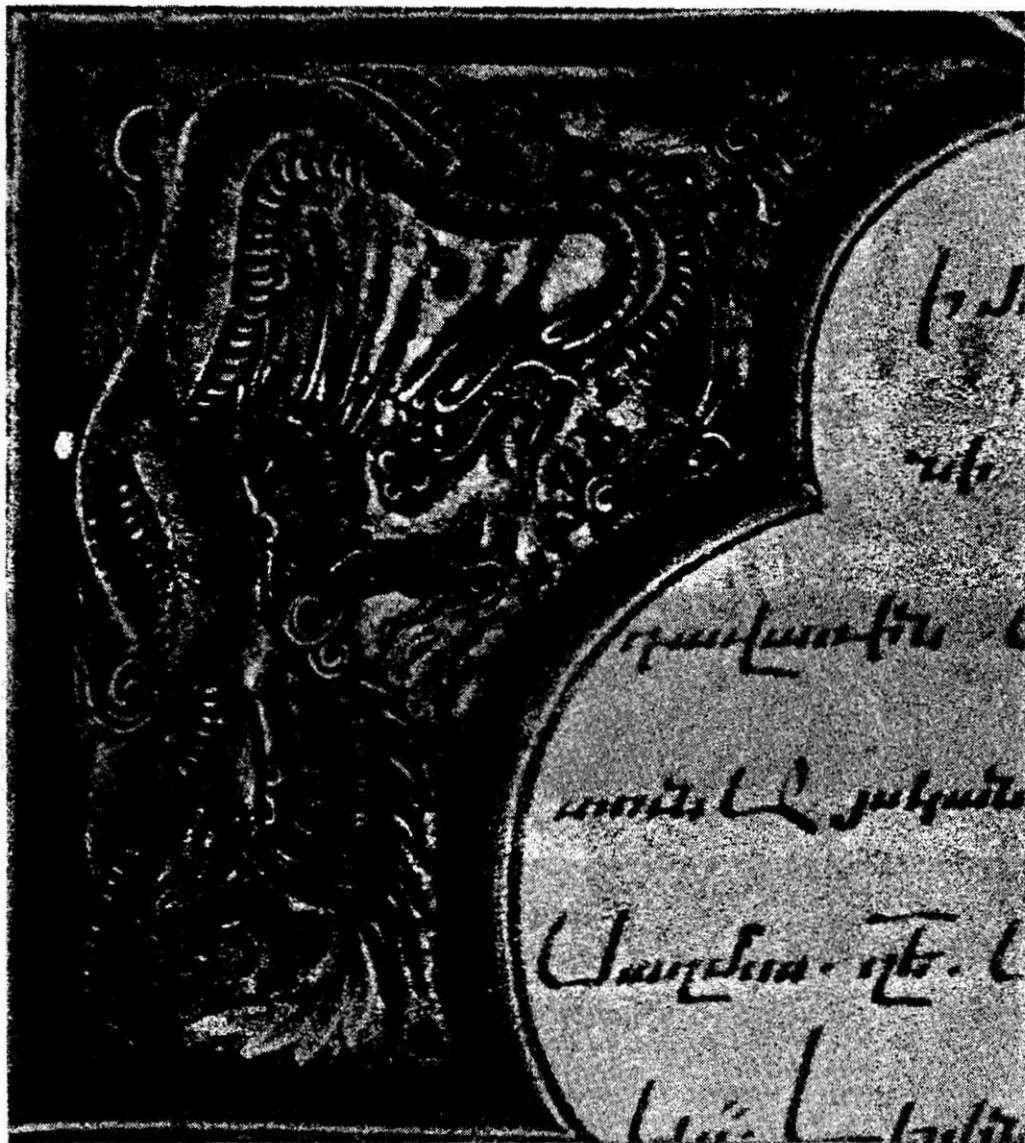


FIG. 3b. *Lectionary* of Het'um II. Detail of dragon and phoenix in left spandrel.

its much longer neck seems to be twisted from left to right in a loop with the head and beak intended to be shown upside down. From this view point the larger part of the head is clearly inverted, though its eye is faint or lacking. However, a row of teeth on the lower inverted part of the beak is clearly seen. The whole bird is visible, reveal-

ing fine, soft, furry tufts of feathers in blue below the brown wings and the expected long streamer tails, four in number and brown in color. The entire form is rendered extremely gracefully and with well understood proportions.

Floating above and to each side of this phoenix are a pair of eight pointed lotus like rosettes (Fig. 3a) similar in form and color to the central one in the earlier headpiece, perhaps again a Buddhist element. Just next to the lower part of the horizontal headpiece in the vertical band to the left can be seen another, open mouth dragon (Fig. 3d) similar to the four in the other miniature (Fig. 2c) and with the same violet colored head. The body is rendered more clearly in this example; it ends in a long tail. In the middle of this vertical decoration is a human head with two faces which, like the pair of deer in the upper corners of the central decoration, is found in other Cilician manuscripts. They, as well as scores of other animals and motifs in the ornamentation of these and other pages of the *Lectionary*, are not inspired by Far Eastern art and are not of direct concern to this study.

Thus, the complete catalogue of Chinese items in these three miniatures is four lions or dog-like animals, one pair prone and the other upright; three phoenixes; three Chinese dragons, two of which have four claws and the other on the textile, with three; five other birds rendered in a vaguely Chinese style, of which two are in flight; and three stylized lotus leaf rosettes. Little doubt can be cast on their Chinese borrowing or inspiration. In addition to these «bits» from Chinese art, there may have also been more general aesthetic influences. Near the end of this paper there will be a discussion, more a hypothesis, concerning the possible influence of Chinese landscape painting on the miniatures of these and a related group of Armenian manuscripts. But some practical questions must be considered first.

\* \* \*

Through what channels and in what media did Chinese art come into Armenia? What was the effect of this art on Armenian painting? How was it similar or dissimilar to the effect of Chinese art on Islamic painting in the same, Mongol, period? What relationship is there between the Armenian and Muslim reaction to this Far Eastern artistic incursion?

One group of motifs in these miniatures seems to be copied with almost no modification from Chinese models. It includes the heraldic phoenix (Fig. 3c) and the dragon-phoenix motif (Figs. 3a, b) of the

second *Lectionary* headpiece, and the single dragon (Fig. 1b) on bishop John's garment. In the latter case, it is assumed we are confronted by a genuine piece of Chinese gold embroidered or painted silk cloth, faith-



FIG. 3c. *Lectionary* of Het'um II. Detail with phoenix at center top.

fully copied by the Armenian miniaturist as it appeared on the garment. It is less likely a fabric produced in Armenia with a Chinese motif, though Armenia was known for its fine textile industry, and contemporary miniatures display the rich apparel worn by Armenian aristocracy (14). The single phoenix in the headpiece is rendered in such

(14) A manuscript of 1268-9 attributed to Rōslin in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., MS no. 32.18, p. 535, shows Christ wearing such a garment

a way that it too must have been copied from some piece of Chinese decorative art. The dragon-phoenix motif is well known from Chinese ceramics, bronze mirrors, later lacquers, and could have been portrayed on textiles, including honorary robes presented as gifts. The dragon design is particularly appropriate for members of the Armenian royal court — like bishop John and prince Het'um — since the animal, as a four legged creature of the sky, was associated with the ruler and his family. The Chinese emperor himself sat on a dragon throne and wore robes with dragons, while emblems with dragons were common for his courtiers. The four clawed dragon was used by princes, while the five clawed imperial dragon was iconographically reserved for the emperor himself (15). As a compliment, the phoenix represented the empress; her crown had on it the fabled bird, the Fêng Huang, not really a phoenix, but assimilated to the animal of Greek mythology from early times (16). The single phoenix in the center of the second headpiece seems to have the same function in this miniature, though more symbolic to be sure, as does the bust of Christ in the first. In China the Fêng Huang-phoenix (the dragon too) was one of the four animals representing the cardinal directions. It ruled over the southern parts of heaven and, therefore, represented warmth, summer, the sun, and was said to appear and glorify a successful ruler and a peaceful reign. Its dominant position on folio 334 of the royal *Lectionary* is clearly parallel to that of Christ, the King of peace and justice, on the other headpiece, folio 293.

Unlike the dragon-phoenix headpiece, which has never been adequately discussed and only rarely reproduced, the beardless Christ

when he appears to the Disciples after the Resurrection, Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington, 1963, fig. 165, color reproduction in *idem*, *Armenian Art*, p. 135, fig. 98. There are many other such examples, as in the costumes of prince Leo and princess Keran, a manuscript executed in 1262 at Hromkla by T'oros Roslin, Erevan, Matenadaran, MS no. 10675, fol. 288, formerly Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, no. 3627, for color illustration see, [C. F. J. Dowsett], *Catalogue of Twenty-three Important Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, Sotheby auction catalogue, London, 1967, lot no. 1.

(15) Any standard handbook of Chinese mythology offers this information; for a recent one, see Hugo Munsterberg, *Dictionary of Chinese and Japanese Art*, New York, 1981, p. 186, «Lung-Dragon». This is considered the most powerful of Chinese dragons and inhabits the sky.

(16) *Ibid.*, «Phoenix». The dragon and phoenix motifs were already used in the Han dynasty and reached their highest point of popularity in Chinese art under the Sung (960-1279).

minature (Figs. 2a-e) has been published by A. Sakissian, L. Dournovo (twice), L. Azaryan, and S. Der Nersessian (twice) (17). The animals in



FIG. 3d. *Lectionary* of Het'um II. Detail of open mouth dragon in right margin.

it have been variously identified. They have given rise to questions simply because it is harder to find the direct correspondences in surviving Chi-

(17) See the references as given in *supra*, note 10.

nese or other Far Eastern art as was the case with the dragon and phoenix motif. All Armenian scholars have interpreted the pair of animals flanking the bust of Christ (Fig. 2b) as Chinese or Chinese inspired (18). Yet specialists of Chinese art who have examined the miniature fail to see any Far Eastern, especially Chinese, inspiration, but rather view them as heraldic animals of an Iranian or, in any case, from the Chinese point of view, a western tradition (19). However, there is nothing similar to them in either Armenian, Byzantine, or Islamic art, although the stylized flame like projections from the tops of quadrupeds' heads have been used in Armenian art, not just in the wings of angels, but in association with a lion rampant in a Cilician miniature of T'oros Roslin of 1262 (20). Lions in Chinese art up to the Yuān or Mongol dynasty

(18) Sakissian, *Pages*, p. 65: «...sur le fronton même, deux lions chinois fantastiques, à tête et crinières stylisées, qui flanquent le médaillon central. Ils se rattachent aux influences extrême-orientales transmises par les Mongols»; Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 126: «On either side of the portrait bust gray and blue dogs stand guard in Heaven and repel dragons with open jaws...the dragons are indeed Iranian in origin, the celestial dogs, Chinese»; Dournovo/Drampyan, p. 230: «des chiens célestes gris et bleu protègent les icônes contre des dragons iraniens aux gueules ouvertes, menaçants, ramassés en noeud. Les chiens bleus fixant les dragons ont un regard expressif. On peut voir là la preuve que T'oros Roslin (sic) connaissant parfaitement l'art chinois»; Der Nersessian, *L'Oeil*, p. 110: «Dans la tête de chapitre, des lions à la crinière dressée rappellent des bronzes chinois»; *idem*, *Armenian Art*, p. 157: «However, the appearance of the lions and the dragons' heads or even that of the birds flying above the headpiece evoke Chinese art»; Nicole Thierry, «L'éclosion artistique des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles», in Dédéyan, *Histoire des Arméniens*, p. 337: «...on note de nombreuses créations venues de Chine ou d'Asie centrale comme les chiens bleus volants, les dragons aux lèvres retroussées, les grands échassiers aux ailes recourbées, les nuages flottants». Though Dournovo accepted the *Lectionary* and other manuscripts of the group as works of T'oros Roslin, few scholars hold to this view any longer. As will be shown below, the wide mouth dragons are Iranian as Dournovo suggested. On the other hand, there is almost no discussion or even reference to the dragon-phoenix motif in these same sources.

(19) Jacques Giés of the Musée Guimet and the C.N.R.S. in Paris pointed out that Chinese lions as guardians of Buddha were never shown in motion or standing on all fours, but rather static. He observed that there was little that appeared Chinese in these animals. Jean-Paul Desroches, Conservator of Chinese Art at the Musée Guimet, was even more emphatic, saying that at first view there was nothing Chinese in the dog-lion animals, either upright or crouching, and certainly not in the open mouth dragon of the headpiece with the bust of Christ. However, quite to the contrary, he viewed the other headpiece with the dragon-phoenix motif as being completely Chinese in feeling. I would like to formally thank both scholars for the time and suggestions they gave me on these illuminations.

(20) Baltimore, Walters Gallery of Art, Gospel of 1262 illustrated by T'oros

are common, but they are usually seated with front legs erect and hind quarters on the ground. Those in the Armenian manuscript seem to be in movement toward Christ. Certainly they are totally erect and on all fours.

The lion is not indigenous to China; it made its way into Chinese art through Buddhism imported from India. The animal was sacred to Buddha, who was considered a lion among men, and it was generally regarded as a symbol of power. Just as lions are often represented guarding Buddha's throne, so too they kept watch over temples and, more importantly for our purposes, they protected images or icon-like objects on which they are portrayed. Dournovo already suggested this function as the reason for their presence on each side of the image of Christ (21). In later Chinese art of the Ming and especially the Ching period, these guardian lions are often confounded with dogs, so-called Fu or celestial dogs, also associated with Buddha (22), and several times those in this miniature have been anachronistically so identified (23).

It is reasonable to conclude that our animals, though in an upright position, represent the Chinese guardian lions. The tight curls and even the nose and mouth stylization are more characteristic of Chinese artistic language — despite the protest of experts in that domain — than anything in the Middle East or the West. A Chinese example in bronze of such an upright lion (Fig. 4) is known from a previous dynasty. Similar lions were moulded or incised on ceramics and depicted on textiles. Another sculpted ceramic lion also from the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 5), seated but with head turned up, even has a nose with a trilobed leaf configuration similar to that shared by our lions (24). A somewhat earlier painted flaxen textile from Central Asia in the Musée Guimet in Paris (Fig. 6) shows a symmetrically placed pair of winged lions (perhaps qilin/ch'i-lin) in association (but

Roslin, MS no. 539, fol. 131, first page of Gospel of St. Mark, with a lion as part of the large ornamented initial letter of the text, Der Nersessian, *Walters*, pl. 62, fig. 89.

(21) Dournovo/Drampyan, p. 230, see *supra* note 18.

(22) Jacques Giés first pointed this out to me. It is confirmed in the standard works, for example Munsterberg, *op. cit.*, under «Fu Dog», p. 80.

(23) Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 126, see *supra* note 18 for full text.

(24) For the bronze lion, late T'ang or perhaps Liao, see *The Mount Trust Collection of Chinese Art*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1970, p. 40, fig. 42; or the porcelain lion see, Mario Pradan, *La poterie T'ang*, Paris, 1960, pl. 15, from the Sung dynasty.

not in combat) with a pair of phoenixes surrounding a luxurious incense burner (25).

The other pair of blue creatures (Fig. 2d) also raises questions of identity and origin. It has been suggested that their crouched position facing toward the threatening open mouth creatures in the corners shows them as protectors against evil. For this period, these must also be regarded as lions, the change of color reflecting decorative considera-



FIG. 4. Lion, gilt bronze. Late T'ang or Liao dynasty. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo after *Mount Trust Collection of Chinese Art*, London, 1970, no. 42.

tions or their actual coloring on the object from which they were copied. Chinese art historians again find them to be far removed from anything they know. But once more they are clearly not western. And a contemporary (thirteenth century) Chinese stone carving from excavations near Peking conducted in 1966 shows two phoenixes in combat and below them two crouching qilin/ch'i-lin or lion-like animals with curly or at least shaggy manes (26). The models for these crouching

(25) A middle or late T'ang painted textile on which the animals flank an incense burner; from the mission of Paul Pelliot, *La route de la soie*, exhibition catalogue, Musée Guimet, Paris, 1976, p. 60, no. 302.

(26) The ch'i-lin is a fabulous leonine creature, often with wings, considered a good omen and signifying longevity. The crouching ch'i-lins with shaggy manes were found in 1966 in excavations near the walls of the city of Peking. The stone slab is dated to the Yuän dynasty and has been published in *Vestige archéologique*

lions must have come through textiles, for ceramics and bronzes of the period seldom show these animals.

Unlike the imperial Chinese dragons of the headpieces, open mouth dragons, like the serpentine creatures of these miniatures (Figs. 2e, 3d), are unknown in Chinese art. There is at least one parallel in early Armenian art of animals with such truncated bodies. Several pairs of them are found in the decoration of a headpiece (Fig. 7a) of the

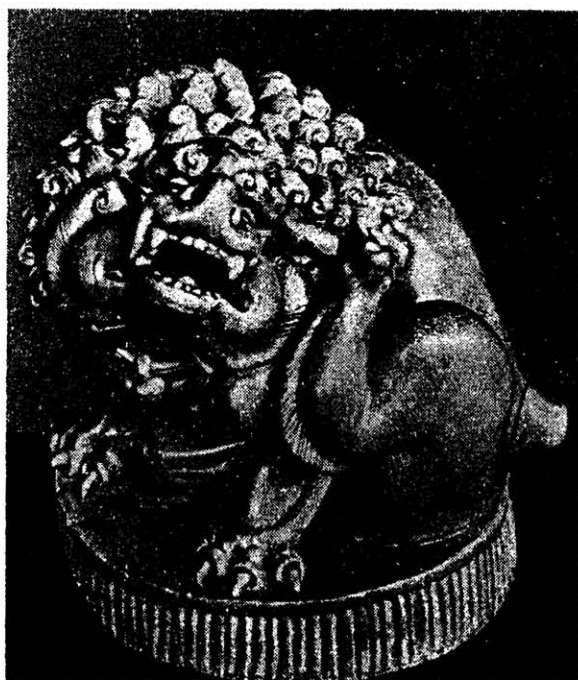


FIG. 5. Lion, ceramic. Sung dynasty. Photo after Pradan, *La poterie T'ang*, Paris, 1960, pl. 15.

Gospel of St. Luke in a manuscript also executed in Cilicia in 1274 now in the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York (27). These heads

*ou des nouvelles fouilles durant le revolution*, Peking, 1972 (in Chinese), no. 82. Jean-Paul Desroches brought this example to my attention, though, once again, he saw little similarity between the Chinese and Armenian examples.

(27) New York, Morgan Library, MS no. 740, executed in Sis in 1274, fol. 148; Frédéric Macler, «Quelques feuillets épars d'un Tétraévangile arménien», *REArm*, VI/2 (1926), pp. 169-176, fig. 4; Sakissian, «Thèmes», in *Pages*, pl. IV, fig. 7; Avedis Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1976, no. [130], pp. 582-596. It was executed for marshall Ōšin; presumably the manuscript could have been known to the artist of the *Lectionary*. Such intertwining arabesques were common at the time, but are normally not composed of dragons' heads. A somewhat different

sprout out of stems of vines (Fig. 7b) which make up the arabesque-like decoration of the chapter heading. They lack bodies (28). But open mouth dragons with very long serpentine bodies are known in Armenian art from both manuscripts, the Gospels of 1197-1199 in the Lvov/-Lemberg Armenian archbishopric, and as decorative motifs on churches such as Alt'amar, Sanahin, and Ani (29). In Islamic art such dragons were common, especially in the thirteenth century, on metal work

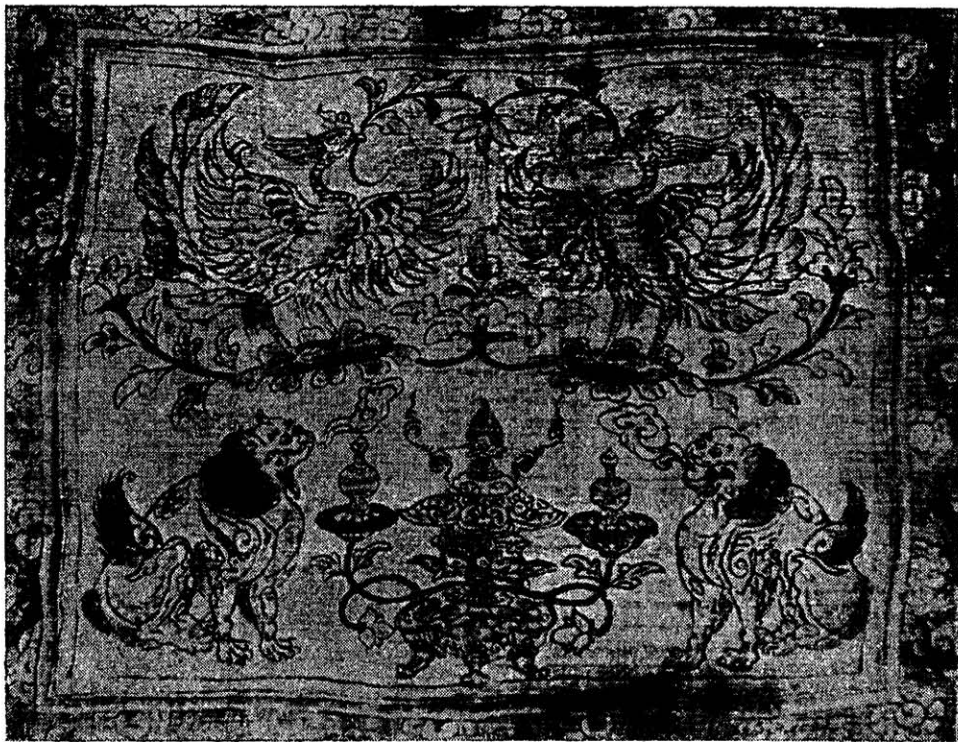


FIG. 6. Buddhist altar cloth showing winged lions and phoenixes around an incense burner. Middle or late T'ang. Paris, Musée Guimet. Photo after *La route de la soie*, Paris 1976, no. 302.

and earlier twelfth century example (Erevan, Matenadaran MS no. 379) was published by Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Le Moyen Age Fantastique*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1981, p. 107, fig. 75. Baltrušaitis offers an elaborate discussion of zoomorphic arabesques and rinceaux of heads, pp. 100-114; cf. also Sakissian, «Thèmes», *passim*.

(28) On the general question of monsters with head and feet but no body, Baltrušaitis, *ibid.*, pp. 9-17, especially fig. 5.

(29) Nersēs Akinean, *Das Skevra-Evangeliar von Jahre 1197, Materialien zur Geschichte der armenischen Kunst, Paläographie und Miniaturmalerei*, vol. II, Vienna, 1930, in Armenian with German résumé, p. 7, fig. 1. The dragons are in the decorated headpiece of the Eusebian letter and show the characteristic knotted tail of this variety often used almost heraldically; for examples from sculptural decorations, Sakissian, «Thèmes», *Pages*, figs. 32-34, illustrates a few in stone from Alt'amar

and in other media. Most famous are the pair of dragons dated 618/1221 once on the Talisman Gate of Baghdad which were photographed early in this century before their destruction (30). A knot in the body is characteristic of many of the dragons of this type in both Armenian and the Islamic tradition. Another example, slightly after our period, but in the same tradition, is the dragon with fully open mouth in the miniature of the *Shāhnāma* of ca. 1330 now in Istanbul (31). But

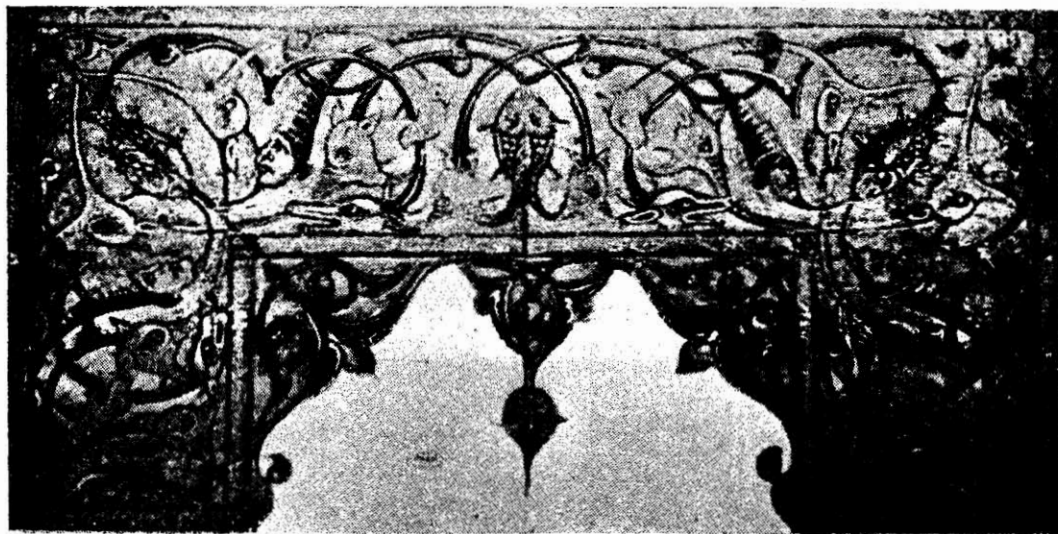


FIG. 7a. Gospel of 1274. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS 740, fol. 148. Headpiece of the Gospel of St. Luke. Photo after Macler, *REArm*, VI/2 (1926), fig. 4.

(915-921), Sanahin (1061), and Ani (thirteenth century context). Another is used as an animal letter in a late thirteenth century Cilician manuscript, Erevan, Matenadaran, MS no. 7651, Heide and Helmut Buschhausen, *Armenische Handschriften der Mechitaristen-congregation in Wien, Katalog zur Sonderausstellung in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, 1981, pl. 33, fig. d; another in a late thirteenth century Cilician canon table is in the Vienna Mekhitarist collection, H. and H. Buschhausen, *The Illuminated Armenian Manuscripts in the Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna*, Vienna, 1977, German, English, and Armenian editions, MS no. 278, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>, pl. 35, fig. 79.

(30) The winged dragons are often illustrated, most recently in Michael Rogers, *The World of Islam*, London, 1976, p. 46. The terracotta decorations and the gate itself were destroyed in 1917. For an earlier photographic reproduction see Gaston Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2 vols., Paris, 1927, vol. I, p. 266, fig. 93; other thirteenth century examples of this motif are on an Artukid marble in the Arab-Islamic Museum in Cairo, Migeon, p. 265, fig. 92, and the Ayyūbid citadel of Aleppo, Rogers, *ibid*.

(31) Istanbul, Topkapi Saray, Hazine MS no. 1479, fol. 144, reproduced in M. Ş. Ipşiroğlu, *Painting and Culture of the Mongols*, translation of the 1965 German edition, London, 1967, fig. 3. The creature has legs.

these examples, at least the Armenian ones, are different in feeling and less menacing than our dragons. It is not fortuitous that the closest parallel to our non-Chinese open mouth dragons is from the earlier Morgan Cilician Gospel frontispiece which is not only decorated in a fashion similar to the beardless Christ miniature with a large capital letter «ini» to the left and an elaborate arabesque rinceau to the right,



FIG. 7b. Gospel of 1274. Detail of headpiece showing dragon-headed arabesque.

but the crowning eagle at the top of this band is iconographically almost identical to and in the same position as the eagle in the *Lectio-*  
*ary* headpiece.

The notion that these non-Chinese dragons were intended to look threatening — representations of evil that were to be kept at a distance from Christ and the Christian community of His church by the blue lions — may have confirmation from western sources. Jurgis Baltrušaitis in his *Le Moyen Age fantastique* has already discussed the use of the wide open mouth of a beast to represent evil and perdition. One of his examples (Fig. 9) is a western miniature of the Descent into Hell dated after 1235 showing such a head with legs, but no body. Tania Velmans, in a recent study on the style of the *Lectio-*  
*ary* of Het'um and a related group of Armenian manuscripts, published

another European example in which an open mouth dragon serves as Hell (32). She used it to point out the iconographic parallel between the dragon and the whale depicted in the scene of Jonah being spat out of the whale in another illumination of the same *Lectionary* of Het'um (33); the employment of this monster in our miniature is closer to its original significance in western examples.

It is no coincidence that in Armenian art these fantastic animals are depicted in decorative headpieces of manuscripts. Frontispieces,



FIG. 8a. *Shāhnāma* of 1330. Istanbul, Topkapı Saray, Hazine MS 1479, fol. 141a. Isfandiyār and the dragon. Photo after İpşiroğlu, *Painting and Culture of the Mongols*, London, 1967, fig. 3.

and the illumination of canon tables and the Eusebian letter at the beginning of the Gospels, all served as vehicles for the representation of secular life, including fabulous or imaginative creatures (34). As is

(32) For the Gothic manuscript of post-1235, Baltrušaitis, *op. cit.*, fig. 5, cf. *supra* note 28. Velmans, «Maniérisme», *op. cit.*; her article was originally presented as a communication at the Second International Symposium on Armenian Art, Erevan, September 1978, and published in the *Acts*, 4 vols., Erevan, 1981, vol. I, pp. 67-81, pls. 12-18. Madame Velmans' reference to my article (note 32) is cited from the mimeographed version of 1977.

(33) The whale in Het'um's *Lectionary*, at least in the second of two scenes, the one vomiting out Jonah (Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, p. 153, fig. 114), has, along with the treatment of the water, affinities to the Chinese carp, which probably served as a model for the whale of the Jonah story in the Edinburgh manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, fol. 25b, T. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, London, 1928, reprint New York, 1965, pl. XXXVI.

(34) Decorative headpieces, first pages, chapter headings, canon arcades (in Armenian *xoran*, 'altar') were often the vehicle by which secular motifs entered

well known, Armenian painting through the medieval period is preserved almost entirely through illustrated Gospels and a few liturgical texts. The subject matter of Gospel miniatures is limited perforce to symbolic or narrative interpretations of the life of Christ. Very little opportunity was available artistically to depict components of everyday life. Nevertheless, very early in the history of Armenian manuscript illumination, already in the oldest complete and decorated Gospels, the so called *Mlk'ē* Gospels of 851-862, now in the Mekhi-

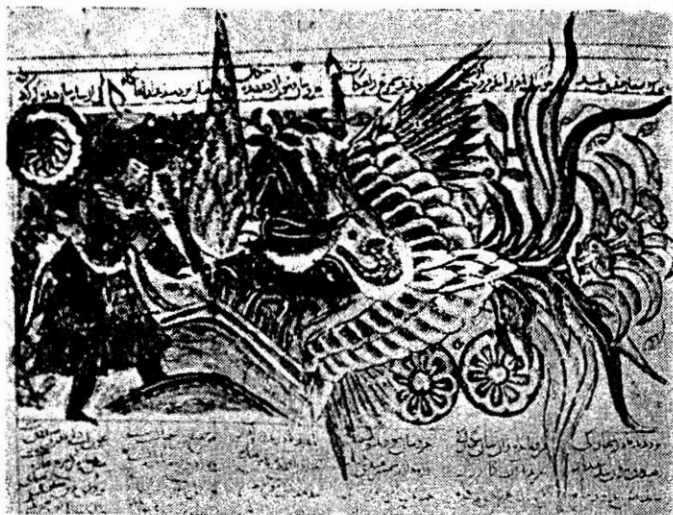


FIG. 8b. *Shāhnāma* of 1330. Fol. 155a. Isfandiyār and the simurgh.  
Photo after Ipşiroğlu, *Painting and Culture of the Mongols*, fig. 4.

tarist collection of San Lazzaro, the pages reserved for the Eusebian letter and the canon tables are decorated with non-religious images — personages, animals, birds — some of which are symbolic to be sure, but others with little relationship to Christianity (35). Even

a religious context. Everyday life, objects and genre scenes, as well as fabulous creatures were allowed in the illuminated headpiece because of the latter's non-specific nature and the apparent lack of injunctions as to what was deemed inappropriate. Actual Gospel scenes were proscribed by a rigid iconography and the sanctity of the representation itself and, therefore, could not themselves serve as convenient or flexible idioms for the introduction of foreign or fantastic items. I have already discussed these notions in a public lecture entitled «The Secular in the Sacred: the Decoration of Armenian Canon Tables», presented in December 1977 to the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research (NAASR) in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

(35) Mesrob Janashian, *Armenian Miniature Painting of the Monastic Library of San Lazzaro*, vol. I, San Lazzaro, Venice, 1966, pls. II-III; for full bibliography on

phoenixes and dragons, of a non-Chinese variety, appear in canon tables and Eusebian letter ornaments in Cilician manuscripts of the late twelfth century (36). The earlier use of such motifs helps us to understand better how the dragon-phoenix and the creatures surrounding the breadless Christ were so harmoniously incorporated into the Armenian artistic tradition.

We have already mentioned that Islamic art was greatly influenced by Chinese art during the Il-Khanid period and after (37). Dragons, phoenixes, and other birds in flight became common elements in miniature painting and ceramics. The effect of Far Eastern influences on Islamic art especially under Mongol Il-Khanid patronage will be discussed later in this article. As for the relationship to Armenia of the art of neighboring Islamic countries and the question of borrowing of the chinoiserie under discussion from an intermediary Muslim source, for the moment, it is enough to point out that there is a chronological problem. Surviving Islamic miniatures reflecting Chinese traces are later in date than the Armenian ones (38). Animals such as the Chi-

the *Mrk'ē* Gospels and other early illustrated Armenian manuscripts, D. Kouymjian, *The Index of Armenian Art*, Part I, *Manuscript Illumination*, Fascicule I, *Illuminated Armenian Manuscripts to the Year 1000 A.D.*, Fresno-Paris, 1977, pp. 3-4, figs. 6-10.

(36) In addition to the Lemberg Gospels of 1197-1199 already cited in *supra* note 27, phoenixes are found in Venice, Mekhitarist Library, MS no. 1635 of 1193, fols. 5<sup>v</sup>-6 as part of canon table decorations, Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés*, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9, pls. XXII-XXIII.

(37) The original mimeographed text of this paper contained a fuller discussion of the development of Chinese influences in Islamic art. Though there has been no monographic treatment of the subject, the articles listed below are those most pertinent to the present study: Max Loehr, «The Chinese Element in Istanbul Miniatures», *Ars Orientalis*, I (1954), pp. 85-90; Richard Ettinghausen, «An Illuminated Manuscript of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in Istanbul», *Kunst des Orient*, II (1955), pp. 33-44; Basil Gray, «Chinese Influence in Persian Painting: 14th-15th Centuries», *The Westward Influences of Chinese Arts, A Colloquy Held 26-29 June 1972, David Percival Foundation*, London, 1972, pp. 11-19; Margret Medley, «Chinese Ceramics and Muslim Design», *Westward Influences*, pp. 1-10; *idem*, «Islam, Chinese Porcelain and Ardabil», *Iran*, 13 (1975), pp. 31-37; Daphne Lange Rosenzweig, «Stalking the Persian Dragon: Chinese Prototypes for Miniature Representations», *Kunst des Orient*, XII/1 (1978-9, published 1980), pp. 150-176, which is unfortunately not as promising as the title suggests.

(38) The first version of this paper referred only to the *Manāfi' al-hayawān* executed in Maragha later in the 1290s now in the Pierpoint Morgan Library, for which see note 79 *infra*. Earlier traces are found in a manuscript dated 1290 of the *History of the World Conqueror* of 'Aṭā Malik al-Juvainī now in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, on which see note 78 *infra*.

nese dragon and phoenix only appear in the first half of the fourteenth century save for a single example from the 1290s (39). Thus, Islamic miniatures may be ruled out as the immediate source for the *Lectionary* of Het'um II. Islamic ceramics might have also been dismissed without discussion except for the bird in flight motif (40) and a special group



FIG. 9. Manuscript of Wolfenbüttel, post-1235. Descent into Hell. Photo after Baltrušaitis, *La Moyen Age Fantastique*, Paris, 1981, fig. 5.

(39) In the Morgan *Manāfi'* there is a Chinese phoenix in the pose of a rooster, note 80 *infra* for details. The first convincing examples of Chinese animals in Islamic miniature painting are found in the *Shāhnāma* of 1330, a dragon (our Fig. 8a) and a phoenix (our Fig. 8b), as cited in note 86 *infra*. Perhaps the most famous of the fourteenth century Muslim manuscripts to contain Chinese elements is the Demotte *Shāhnāma* on which there is much literature, but especially Ivan Stchoukine, «Les peintures du Shah-Nameh Demotte», *Arts Asiatiques*, V (1958), and D. Brian, «A Reconstruction of the Miniature Cycle in the Demotte *Shah Namah*», *Ars Islamica*, 6 (1959), pp. 97-112.

(40) Ducks on the neck of a jar in the Havermeier Collection dated 681/1282, Arthur Udham Pope and Phyllis Ackermann, eds., *Survey of Persian Art*, 6 vols., London and New York, 1938, fig. 759; birds on a blue glazed jar, Freer Gallery of Art, dated 683/1284, Pope, *Survey*, fig. 760; and others of somewhat later date in the British and the Victoria and Albert Museums, Pope, *Survey*, nos. 780A and B. In the early fourteenth century such birds, including phoenixes, are found on ceramic bowls, such as the often reproduced Louvre piece, Section islamique no. 8177, three flying phoenixes with heads much like that of the heraldic phoenix

of Il-Khanid tiles recently come to light which requires a detailed discussion.

These are a series of polychrome tiles in square, hexagonal, octagonal, and star shapes. Though undated, they have been uncovered in excavations suggesting a context a few years before the Armenian miniatures under study. They were found at Takht-i Sulaymān in northwestern Iran at the summer palace supposedly built by the second Il-Khanid, Abaqa (1265-1282), on the site of a former Sasanian palace. Abaqa was the son of Hulagu and of course had as uncles the Great Khans Möngke and Qubilai. Archaeological campaigns conducted in the 1960s and published by E. and R. Naumann (41) unearthed the tiles that were employed most especially as part of the decoration in the north octagon of the building. The main chamber, where they served as wall decorations, was used for ceremonial purposes. The tiles were executed in both the rich *lajverdina* technique and in *lustre*. One of the large (35 by 35 cm.) *lajverdina* variety in the collection of the Iran-e Bastam Museum of Tehran (Fig. 10) was on display at the 1976 World of Islam Exhibition in London (42). Yolanda Crowe, who reproduced it in a discussion of Chinese influences on Islamic art in a companion article to the exhibit, dates this example to pre-1282, that is, sometime before Abaqa's death (43). This tile, and others like it found in broken condition,

of the *Lectionary*, see *L'Orient des Croisades, Cahier Musée d'art et d'essai*, Palais de Tokyo, no. 8, Paris, 1981, figure on p. 16. They also become common in the same period on Mamluk glassware, such as the one in the Gulbenkian collection purchased in China itself, no. 2378, *Oriental Islamic Art, Collection of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*, Lisbon, 1963, no. 1. The flying bird in the frontispiece of the al-Juvaini manuscript of 1290 should of course be added to this list, see *infra* note 78.

(41) E. and R. Naumann, «Ein Kösk in Summerpalast des Abaqa Khan auf dem Tacht-ē Sulaiman und seine Dekoration», *Forschungen für Kunst asiens. In memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, Istanbul, 1969, pp. 35-65. See also E. and R. Naumann, *Takht-i Suleiman*, exhibition catalogue, Munich, 1976, and, Rudolph Naumann, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman*, 1977; neither of the latter works were available for this study.

(42) Dalu Jones and George Michel, editors, *The Arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery, 8 April-4 July 1976, London, 1976, p. 259, fig. 388, now in the Iran-e Bastam Museum, Tehran, no. 21723. See also the illustrations in Naumann, *passim*.

(43) Yolanda Crowe, «The Islamic Potter and China», *Apollo* (April, 1976), pp. 296-301, fig. 6; a dragon tile (our Fig. 11) of the same dimensions (35 cm. square) in *lustre* rather than *lajvardina*, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum; Arthur Lane, *Guide to the Collection of Tiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1960, pl. 2e. Souren Melikian, who has been studying the inscriptions on the Takht-i Sulaymān tiles, dates them to the period 1280-1290.

depicts a Chinese dragon with four claws. Another set of tiles — in all formats mentioned above — shows the fabulous Chinese phoenix



FIG. 10. Lajverdina tile with Chinese dragon from Takht-i Sulaymān, pre-1282 (?). Tehran, Iran Bastam Museum. Photo after Crowe, *Apollo* (April 1976), fig. 6.



FIG. 11. Lustre tile with Chinese dragon, early fourteenth century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo after Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, fig. 727A.

(Figs. 12, 14) (44). Both the Chinese dragons and phoenixes are very much like those in the Armenian *Lectionary*, though at Takht-i Sulaymān the animals are never shown quarreling nor ever together on the same tile. The fundamental difference between the three phoenixes decorating the incipits and the three dragons (including the one on bishop John's garment) of the Armenian examples and the Takht-i Sulaymān tiles is their position and attitude.

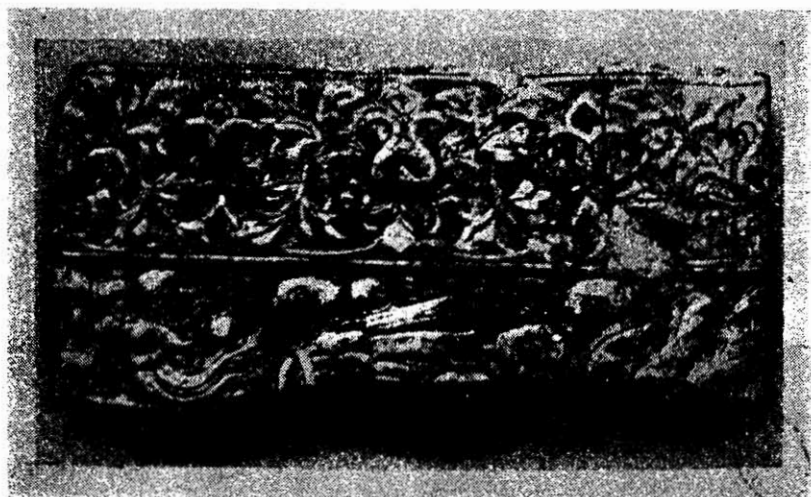


FIG. 12. Lajverdina tile fragment with phoenix from Takht-i Sulaymān, pre-1282 (?). Photo after Naumann, *In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, Istanbul, 1969, pp. 64-5.

There seems to be no guarantee, however, that the tiles in question were in place before 1282. Was Abaqa's palace destroyed in 1282 and never reused? The available information seems unclear on this point (45). On the other hand, we have square tiles executed in the more common lustre technique of the same 35 cm. dimensions with identical dragons (Figs. 11, 15) and phoenixes (Figs. 13, 15) preserved in various collections (46). There are also octagonal tiles with dragon

(44) Naumann, *op. cit.*, is fully illustrated with the various types of tiles found in the summer palace, both photographs of actual pieces and idealized reconstructions from fragments (our Fig. 14).

(45) The Naumanns are not clear on this detail. We are told that Arghun Khan burned down a palace, but was this the one at Takht-i Sulaymān of Abaqa? See J. A. Boyle, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, *op. cit.*, vol. V., p. 367.

(46) In the Victoria and Albert Museum with a dragon (our Fig. 11), Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, fig. 727A, and Lane, *op. cit.*, note 43 *supra*; another in the Metropolitan Museum, New York with a phoenix (our Fig. 13) in lustre, Maurice S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammadan Art*, New York, 1944, p. 201, fig. 132.

and phoenix (never together on the same tile) in a context of 1293 and 1329 (47). Yet, even supposing a date before 1282 for the Takht-i Sulaymān tiles, there is little likelihood that they served as the actual models for the Armenian miniatures despite the visits made to Abaqa's court by Armenian rulers, for not only do they lack the other animals of one of our miniatures, they do not reveal the dragon-phoenix combat relationship as found in the *Lectionary*. The closest Islamic-



FIG. 13. Lustre tile with phoenix, early fourteenth century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photo after Dimand, *Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, New York, 1944, fig. 132.

Armenian parallel is found between the single phoenix at the top of the second chapter head (Fig. 3c) and eight pointed lustre tiles of a phoenix in a near identical orientation (Fig. 16); these latter bear an inscriptional band with the date 1329 (48). It is reasonably

(47) The tiles (our Fig. 15) of 1305 containing both phoenixes and dragons, originally from Imāmzāde 'Alī b. Dja'far mosque, are in the museum of Qum, Yedda A. Goddard, «Pièces datées de céramiques de Kāshān à décor lustré», *Athār-e Iran*, 2 (1937), pp. 309-337, fig. 145, cf. Naumann, *op. cit.*, p. 55. The 1329 tile contains a phoenix (our Fig. 16) and is in the British Museum, *Survey of Persian Art*, 2nd ed., vol. X, fig. 723 D. Just published is the earliest example of them all, an eight pointed lustre tile with a single phoenix dated 1293 in the Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Maxime Morris, *Near Eastern Masterpieces from the Avery Brundage Collection*, San Francisco, 1984, fig. 34.

(48) The earliest of 1293 is discussed in the previous note. The one of 1329

sure that imported Chinese objects or perhaps even Chinese craftsmen (in the case of the summer palace) were the independent inspirations for both the Armenian and the Persian examples just discussed (49).

With the practical elimination of borrowing of Chinese motifs from the neighboring Islamic artistic tradition let us examine the other avenues available for the penetration into the Cilician kingdom of

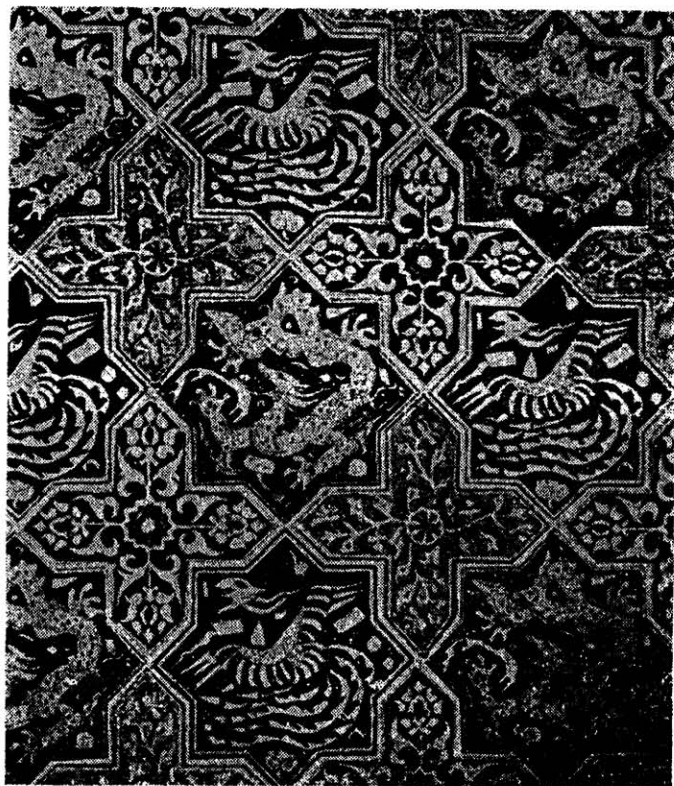


FIG. 14. Reconstruction of arrangement of eight pointed Star tiles with dragons and phoenixes from Takht-i Sulaymān, pre-1282 (?). Photo after Naumann, *In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, fig. 11.

is in the British Museum and is identified as «Sultānābād», Pope, *Survey*, as in the previous note.

(49) A. Lorentz says that Hulagu (the grandson of Genghis Khan) took artists and workmen to Baghdad, and that eventually under Qubilai Khan there was an exchange of weavers between Persia and China, *A View of Chinese Rugs from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, London, 1973, as quoted by D. Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, p. 175, n. 55.

Marco Brambilla has informed me of a monumental Chinese dragon carved in stone in a single unit with a mihrab near the village of Viar, thirty kilometers south of Sultāniya. It is thought to be from the reign of Abaqa: see Giovanni Curatola, «The Viar Dragon», *Quadern del Seminario di Iranistica, Ural-Altaistica e Caucasologia dell'Univ. degli Studi di Venezia*, no. 9 (1982), p. 70.

Chinese objects bearing such motifs. Two possibilities present themselves: one by way of trade, that is commercial transactions with the Far East, the other through the exchange of gifts or honors between the Armenian aristocracy and the Mongol rulers. Either alternative poses the question of what kinds of decorated objects were accessible to the miniaturists working at the Cilician court.

Armenians were very much engaged in east-west trade in the middle ages (50). A vast commercial network was established from Cilicia northeast through Greater Armenia, Iran, and Central Asia, even to China, and northwest with Armenian agents in Crimea, Byzantium and Europe. By the late thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century the most important trade centers of the Near East were the coastal cities of the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean under the control of Cilician Armenia. The principal port was Ayas or Lajazzo. Nearly all of the great Italian mercantile cities had agents and warehouses there. W. Heyd referred to Cilician Armenia as the vestibule of Central Asia (51). Through the close Armenian-Mongol relationship inaugurated and reinforced by the continued initiative of king Het'um I, Ayas became the emporium for goods originating from the entire Mongol empire, including China. After the conquest of Iran by the Mongols and the destruction of Baghdad in 1258, Hulagu's new capital, Tabriz, became the most important city of the area. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Pegolotti reports that the major trade route of the region began in Ayas, passed through the Cilician Armenian fortress of Gaban, and then Kayseri (Caesarea), Erzinjan, Erzerum, finally terminating at Tabriz (52). There was an important Armenian colony at Tabriz in this period attested to in 1271 by Marco Polo (53). The Italian traveler also confirms that all goods from Central Asia were brought to Ayas, presumably via Tabriz (54), where he himself had begun his journey into the interior. In 1271 besides spices, Marco Polo found in Ayas «silken cloth, gold embroid-

(50) The general works on Armenian commerce are H. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, English translation, N. Garsoïan, Lisbon, 1965, and for Cilician Armenia, W. Heyd, *L'Histoire du commerce du Levant*, *op. cit.*

(51) Heyd, vol. II, pp. 73 ff.

(52) Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, p. 189 with references to earlier works.

(53) Der Nersessian, *Etudes*, p. 628. See also the article in this volume by Claude Cahen, «Marco Polo en Asie Antérieure», pp. 81-87.

(54) Manandian, *Trade and Cities*. p. 190.

ered brocade, and other goods which are brought there from Central Asia». He says that at «Tabriz very expensive silken and gold cloths are made» (55), presumably from imported raw silk. Heyd emphasizes that silk was the most precious trade item sought by western merchants from China (56). We know very little about the design on Chinese silks of the late Sung and Yuän period imported into the Near East.

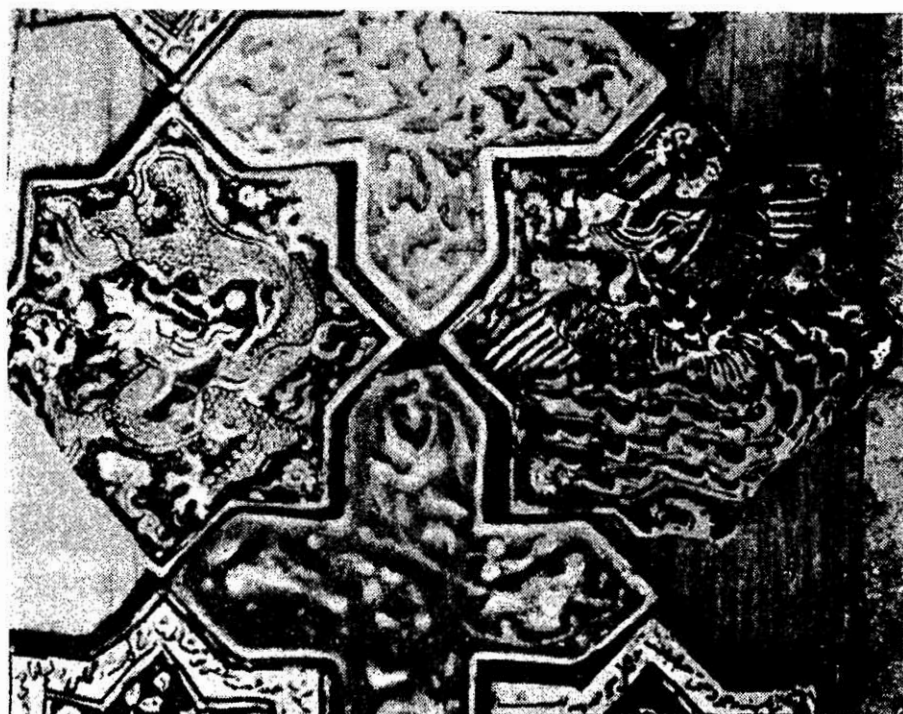


FIG. 15. Arrangement of eight pointed star tiles with dragons and phoenixes dated 1305. Qum, the Qum Museum, originally from the Imāmzāde 'Alī b. Dja'far mosque. Photo after Yedda Goddard, *Athar-é Iran* (1937), fig. 145.

Arthur Pope had purchased a Chinese textile fragment in Iran (57) showing parts of birds, perhaps phoenixes. A few other examples are known from western treasuries of such silks and their contemporary Muslim imitations with dragons, phoenixes, and other birds (58).

(55) Manandian, *ibid.*, p. 197.

(56) «Soie est la plus précieux et celui que les marchands d'Occident recherchaient avant tout», Heyd, *L'Histoire du commerce*, vol. II, p. 252.

(57) Phyllis Ackerman, «Islamic Textiles. A History», *Survey of Persian Art*, 2nd edition, New York-London-Paris-Tokyo, 1964-5, vol. V, pp. 2042-2061, N. J. Sachs collection, phoenix, white satin with gold design, found in Iran by Arthur Pope, p. 2049, fig. 664; also reproduced by Crowe, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

(58) Discussion in Ackerman, *Survey*, pp. 2045-2049; examples: pl. 999 A,

And of course in the miniature depicting bishop John, we have another example of Chinese silk, if we accept it as an original piece sewn into his garment and later faithfully rendered by the miniaturists.

Though silk is mentioned in published inventories from Ayas and other Armenian ports, other Chinese craft items such as ceramics are not (59). From Islamic sources we know that the so-called Kārimī merchants were bringing in goods from «Cathay» and one, a certain al-Kūlamī, is known to have brought a great quantity of silk to Aleppo: in 1303-4, «on his way from Cathay and China... (he) brought silk, moschus, porcelaine, slaves» with him to Aden (60). Also abundant quantities of Chinese ceramics have been found in Middle Eastern excavations such as those of Fūṣṭāṭ in Egypt.

It is, however, doubtful that the source for bishop John's silk dragon (Fig. 1b) was the market place. Though the piece is woven or painted in gold on silken fabric like that mentioned by Marco Polo above, it is hard to imagine silks decorated with dragons so similar to the imperial ones as items of normal commerce. Crowe has remarked that, «diplomatic gifts, although of best quality, were not readily available on the open market» (61).

Thus, the dragon on the garment in the miniature of 1287 was probably a gift to bishop John from one of his brothers, Smbat or Het'um, after their respective return to Armenia from inner Asia. This would seem the most logical way for the entry of objects with Chinese motifs into court circles. According to Armenian sources, such gifts could have come directly from the Mongol court at Qaraqorum or from the Mongol rulers based in Iran. Smbat *sparapet*, we are told by his cousin, the historian Het'um of Korikos, had taken with him rich presents for the Mongol khans on his journey

phoenix with head turned upside down, a Persian origin is claimed for this textile; pl. 1000, Chinese dragons; pl. 998 B, fêng-huangs (phoenixes) in descending flight with pheasants; all examples cited are from the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

(59) The privileges granted to the Genoese by king Leo II on December 23, 1288, clearly mention silk as do other inventories which have survived, Paul Z. Bedoukian, *The Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, New York, 1962, revised edition 1979, pp. 25-42, especially pp. 30-31 for the privileges.

(60) J. Ashtor, «The Karimi Merchants», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1956), p. 56.

(61) Crowe, «The Islamic Potter and China», p. 298. However, in contradiction to this notion, Heyd thought that only expensive goods were brought from the east, especially those not affected in price by the length of the journey, like precious silk; quoted by Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, p. 197.

of 1247-1250 (62). Though there is no mention of his bringing back any gifts in the sources, it must be assumed that the customary exchange took place. It is a well known fact that the emperors of China — and presumably by extension their Mongol usurpers — always gave more lavish presents than they received as a way of overwhelming foreigners with the might and wealth of their empire. Concerning his brother's voyage three years later, not only are we told by Smbat himself in the



FIG. 16. Eight pointed star tile with a phoenix dated 1329. London, British Museum. Photo after Pope, *Survey of Persia Art*, fig. 723D.

*Chronicle* attributed to him that Het'um took presents that were so marvelous they excited the envy of those who saw them (63), but Het'um the historian also tells us that Möngke Khan sent the Armenian monarch home with great gifts (*grans don*) and honors (64). At the

(62) Hayton, *Fleur des Histoires de la Terre d'Orient*, *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens*, vol. II, Paris, 1906, p. 164; Louis de Backer, *L'Extrême orient au Moyen-âge d'après les manuscrits d'un flamand de Belgique et d'un prince d'Arménie*, Paris, 1877, p. 177; G. Dédéyan, *La Chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, Paris, 1980, pp. 98-9. For further details on Smbat see the article by J. Richard in this volume cited in note 2 *supra*.

(63) Smbat, *Chronicle*, trans. Dédéyan, p. 98, «La roi prit tous ces presents qui excitaient la convoitise de ceux qui les regardaient, se rendit auprès du khan Mangu, auquel il les offrit».

(64) Hayton, *RHC, DA*, II, p. 164; de Backer, *op. cit.*, p. 178: «et il (Mangu)

beginning of his *History*, written in 1307, he also comments about the artistic and artisanal skills of the Chinese (65). Another contemporary historian, Grigor of Akner, also states that Het'um went with much treasure and was honored by the khan (66), while Vahram of Edessa says the king returned to Armenia with great honors (67). The journeys of Smbat and Het'um provided the direct channel from Qaraqorum for the entry of gifts into the royal court of Armenia under whose patronage, some thirty years later, the manuscripts bearing Chinese motifs were executed.

But an intermediate route from the Mongol court in northwestern Iran could have served just as well for the exchange of such diplomatic gifts. King Het'um I and his son Levon II paid many visits to the Il-Khans Hulagu, Abaqa, and Arghun from the 1250s to the 1280s, and several of these sojourns are well recorded by Armenian historians. In July 1264 Het'um visited Hulagu, probably in Tabriz, bearing many gifts. He in turn was dispatched to Armenia with honor and great wealth by the khan (68). Before July 1269, Levon II, perhaps with his father, journeyed to the Il-Khanid court to receive approval from Abaqa Khan for succession to the Armenian throne; Smbat the Constable relates that Levon was received with consideration and sent back to Cilicia with numerous presents (69). Levon returned to Abaqa again in 1272 and obtained military assistance from him (70).

fist de grans don et de grans graces». See also Der Nersessian, «The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia», *op. cit.*, p. 263, *Etudes*, p. 347.

(65) «Et vraiment l'en voit venir de celui pays toutes choses estranges, et merveilleuses et de subtil labour, que bien semblent estre les plus subtilz gens du monde d'art et et (*sic*) de labour des mains», Becker, p. 126; cf. Der Nersessian, «The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia», *Etudes*, p. 348: «Hetoum returned...laden with gifts».

(66) Grigor of Akner, *History*, edition and translation, R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *History of the Nation of Archers*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 325.

(67) Vahram, *Chronicle*, in rhyme, *RHC, DA*, vol. I, Paris, 1869, p. 519: «Il s'en revint comblé d'honneurs».

(68) Vardan, *Universal History*, ed. Venice, 1862, p. 156. Grigor of Akner says, «with such honor and great wealth he dispatched the king of the Armenians to his country», Blake and Frye, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

(69) This had to be before Het'um's death on July 15, 1269. Smbat in his *Chronicle* relates the event as follows: «Levon, baron des Arméniens, se rendit en Orient, auprès du Khan Abaga qui le reçut avec considération et le renvoya en Cilicie avec nombreux présents», trad. Dédéyan, p. 123; cf. Der Nersessian, *Etudes*, p. 375.

(70) Abaqa sent 10,000 men and came to Armenia in person several months later according to Smbat, *Chronicle*, trad. Dédéyan, p. 124.

A decade after, he visited Arghun Khan to pay his respects (71). The later trip would have had to have been after Arghun's succession in 1284 but before Levon's own death in 1289. Any, probably all, of these visits would have involved the exchange of diplomatic gifts.

Whether from trade or as gifts, theoretically there were available portable objects manufactured in China either in the late Sung period, when much of northern and central China was already under Mongol domination, or after the early 1270s when Qubilai definitively completed the conquest of China and officially established in 1279 the Yuän or Mongol dynasty. Surely gifts of Chinese production must have been used by the court in Qaraqorum when king Het'um paid his visit to Möngke. Is it not also reasonable to assume that after he became the Mongol Great Khan in 1261, Qubilai, the conqueror of China, and his courtiers would have been attired with garments displaying the imperial iconography with its dragons and phoenixes? Would not his brother Hulagu, and after him his nephew Abaqa also, have taken this royal prerogative by adopting some Chinese paraphernalia (with the princely) iconography of the new rulers of China in their court ceremony? And if this seems too conjectural, then surely the supposition that respective Il-Khan rulers received gifts from their brother and uncle Qubilai would be in order. For it cannot be a gratuitous coincidence that the ceremonial reception hall of the summer palace of Abaqa so clearly and so sumptuously displayed golden lajverdina tiles with imperial motifs of dragons and phoenixes. It is all too perfect — just the right number of dragon claws reserved for princes like Abaqa, a scion of the family ruling China — to be mere chance. Such a view would also explain the anomalous appearance of Chinese elements in a Persian context decades before chinoiserie begins to be experimented with by Islamic miniaturists evolving the Perso-Mongol style.

The probability that Chinese artists were sent to the Il-Khanid court to supervise the design of these tiles in the traditional Iranian ceramic center of Kāshān or to set up shop somewhere further west in lands under Mongol domination is both a logical and appealing hypothesis (72). However, silks and ceramics could have also served as

(71) Der Nersessian, «Kingdom of Cilician Armenian», *Etudes*, p. 349.

(72) It should be recalled that Hulagu supposedly took Chinese artists and workmen to Baghdad with him and that there was an exchange of weavers between the courts of the Mongols in China and Persian, see *supra*, note 49.

A totally different interpretation has been suggested recently by Souren Melikian, namely that the symbols associated with the phoenix (Fêng huang, the bird

models for these tiles, as could have drawings from the east which were popular in the period (73). One might also suggest bronzes, craved jade, lacquers, or scrolls as models for the tiles, but as mentioned above little in these media from the Sung or Yuān period has been preserved, or at least published, bearing the motifs we are concerned with. Such luxury items would not have been trade commodities either. However, Il-Khanid court artists would have had access to precious *objets d'art* for copying. This emphasis on direct contact with Chinese art is made because, just as with the Armenian examples already discussed, so also on the Takht-i Sulaymān tiles, the dragons and phoenixes are reproduced as they are seen and understood in Chinese art with little modification or stylization.

The Armenian kings too, as royal vassal-allies of the Mongols, could have received as gifts silks or other objects from them with symbols of royal dignity like the dragons and phoenixes at the same historical moment that the Il-Khans were decorating, with like motifs, the summer residence at Takht-i Sulaymān. The very existence of the Armenian examples in royal manuscripts seems to confirm this notion. The *Lectioary* headpieces and the Abaqa tiles have dragons and phoenixes that are remarkably similar, and the use of the princely four clawed dragons in each suggests a common source from the imperial court of China. Certainly in the Armenian case, the struggle between these animals so clearly depicted in the Chinese manner would militate for the direct copying from a product of imperial manufacture: a silk or ceramic. For silk the evidence has already been discussed and bishop John's garment reinforces the argument. As for ceramics in the late thir-

of fire) and dragon used by the Mongols in Iran combine older Iranian interpretations for these animals, especially as associated in the *Shāh-nāme* (in the epic as simurgh and dragon) with Chinese meanings. There is, however, no discussion of the dating of the tiles at Takht-i Sulaymān, Assadullah Souren Melikian-Shirvani, «Le *Shāh-nāme*, la gnose soufie et le pouvoir mongol», *Journal asiatique*, vol. CCLXXII, nos. 3-4 (1984), pp. 249-337.

(73) A. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, p. 5, has emphasized that «though textiles were doubtless the chief medium through which Chinese designs reached the Near East, we should not discount the influence of Chinese painting on silk or paper»; and again, referring to the lustre tiles with dragons and phoenixes and cranes mentioned earlier, he says, «Chinese motifs painted on Persian lustre and other pottery about 1300 — dragons, phoenixes, lotuses, cloud scrolls — could not in the nature of things have been taken from Chinese celadon or white porcelain; they must have been borrowed from another medium, almost certainly textiles», p. 9. But on the question of celadon, see below in the text and note 75.

teenth century, likely models would have been moulded or incised celadon ware. The famous painted blue and white still seems to have been a later, fourteenth century, phenomenon, despite recent ascer-tions by eastern scholars to the contrary (74). Celadon pieces have survived in relative abundance and the finest among them bear the drag-on and phoenix motifs (75). However, the guardian lions (Figs. 2b-2d) of the Armenian chapter heading present a different problem. They are not found on ceramic plates, but rather as three dimensional sculpture in stone, clay, or ceramic (Fig. 5) in China itself (76). They do not occur among the chinoiserie of Islamic art of the Il-Khanid period. The most likely models for them would have been painted silks, like the one from Central Asia already cited (Fig. 6), or small figurines, none of which have seemingly been found in a Near Eastern context.

Despite the unlikelihood that the Takht-i Sulaymān tiles served as inspiration for the decorated chapter headings of the *Lectionary*, assuming of course that they were fabricated earlier than 1282 or at least 1286, the date of the miniatures, and despite the chronological impossibility of Islamic painting as an influence, a glance at the way in which Chinese art affected its Islamic counterpart will be useful as a contrast to the Armenian experience.

Muslim painting remained under the spell of Chinese art for centuries (77). In the Mongol period, from the last decade of the

(74) A Tokyo antiquities dealer claims there is evidence from recent exca-vations which suggests that blue and white was already being manufactured in the Sung period; Lee Yu-Kuan (Sammy Lee), *Preliminary Study of Chinese Ceramics in Blue and White (Ching Hua)*, Tokyo, 1971. Most western scholars, however, are still skeptical.

(75) Such carved celadon dishes are found in various collections: enamelled celadon dish with a three clawed dragon chasing a pearl surrounded by cloud chains, Yuān, early fourteenth century, Percival David Foundation, London, *The Ceramic Art of China*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1971, no. 117, pl. 27; Sung vase with dragon, *Catalogue of Chinese Ceramics*, Tokyo, 1960; celadon with a phoe-nix, National Museum, Tokyo; other pieces from the late Sung or Yuān period are illustrated in Sherman Lee and Wai-Kam Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yuān Dynasty 1279-1368*, Cleveland, 1968, figs. 40, 45, 47-49, 60, 82.

(76) From a somewhat earlier period, perhaps Liao (907-1125), a bronze guilt lion (our Fig. 4), with face, nose and highly curled hair like the *Lectionary* examples, *The Mount Trust Collection of Chinese Art*, op. cit., no. 42, p. 40, fig. 42, a seated lion (our Fig. 5) in porcelain has already been cited, *supra*, note 24.

(77) The important studies on Chinese influence in Islamic art have been cited in *supra*, note 37. Already prior to the Mongol period a number of Persian poets like Nizāmi regarded Chinese painting as the ultimate standard of excellence;

thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century, the fascination with Far Eastern aesthetics resulted in the gradual elaboration of a new, dynamic style in manuscript illumination. The earliest manifestation of the new manner, characterized by the use of Chinese formulae for rendering trees, grass, and clouds — yet relegated to the existing conventions of twelfth and thirteenth century art of the Mesopotamian and Syrian schools — is witnessed in the frontispiece of a manuscript of al-Juvainī's *Tārīkh-i Jahān Gushā* finished in 689/1290 (78) and in some of the miniatures of the famous Pierpoint Morgan manuscript of the *Manāfi' al-hayawān* of 1295 or 1297 or 1299 (79). The latter was executed in Il-Khanid courtly circles in northwestern Iran, perhaps Marāgha. It displays a variety of new conventions: Chinese cloud chains, gnarled trees often with trunks and branches cut off by the miniature's enclosing frame, discontinuous ground lines, the use of short vertical strokes to indicate grass and vegetation, and the rendering of the water of pools and ponds with scalloped edges. With the single exception of the rooster like phoenix, identified as such in the Morgan manuscript (80), none of the traditional animals of Chinese art occur in these works.

see Priscilla Soucek, «Nizāmī on Painters and Painting», *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen, New York, 1972, pp. 9-20.

(78) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Supplement Persan, no. 205, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-2. This two page frontispiece is seemingly the earliest example of Islamic painting with Chinese influences. The manuscript was executed in Il-Khanid court circles in 689/1290; 'Aṭā Malik al-Juvainī was an important court official. The Gibb Memorial Series edition of his *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā/History of the World Conqueror*, Leiden, 1912-1916, Part I, already reproduces the frontispiece between pages xx-xxi; cf. R. Ettinghausen, «On Some Mongol Miniatures», *op. cit.*, figs. 1-2. I would like to thank Ms. Marianna S. Simpson, Associate Dean, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., for having drawn this example to my attention.

Though there is a flying bird among clouds in this manuscript, the actual Chinese elements are much less striking than those found in the Morgan *Manāfi'* of a few years later, for which see *infra*.

(79) Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, MS no. 500, see *supra*, note 38. Miniatures from the manuscript have been widely reproduced, see for example Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, Geneva, 1961, pp. 22 and 24; A. U. Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, New York, 1945, esp. pl. 114.

(80) The Morgan *Manāfi'*, a book on the usefulness of animals, illustrates a phoenix with prominent Chinese characteristics in the rendering of the head and tail; however, the bird is not shown flying, but perched upright like a common rooster, see Ernst Grube, *The World of Islam*, London, 1966, fig. 36.

Clearer Chinese elements are found in the illustrations of a manuscript of Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations* dated 1307 in the Edinburgh University Library (81) and two versions of the *Universal History* of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlullāh, the vizier of Uljaitu Khan (1304-1316), executed in the special scriptorium and library



FIG. 17. *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* of 1314. London, British Museum. The Indian Mountains. Photo after Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, pl. XXIII A.

established by the Mongol statesman in al-Rashīdiyya, the famous suburb of Tabriz. One of these manuscripts dates to 1314 (Fig. 17) and is now in the British Museum, and the other of 1306 (Fig. 18) is

(81) Edinburgh University, MS no. 161; all twenty-four miniatures have been published recently by P. Soucek, «An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*», *The Scholar and Saint*, edited by Peter J. Chelkowski, New York, 1975, pp. 103-168, see especially fols. 48b, fig. 4, 140b, fig. 21, 161a, fig. 24, 162a, fig. 25. Unfortunately, for our purposes, Soucek does not discuss stylistic questions.

in the Edinburgh University Library (82). Chinese clouds, concentric circles for water, wedge-shaped rows for mountains and grass, distant trees indicated by short sprouts, invoke a Far Eastern aspect, as does the feeling of depth created by a landscape that appears to recede (83).

Within a generation these effects are dealt with more gracefully by Muslim artists, producing the remarkable miniatures associated with the Demotte *Shāhnāma* (84). Also by at least the middle of the fourteenth century, pottery from Kāshān and the so-called Sultānābād ware begin



FIG. 18. *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* of 1306-1314. Edinburgh, University Library, Arabic MS 20. Muḥammad and Abū Bakr on the way to Mecca. Photo after Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, fig. XXb.

to incorporate such motifs; as we have seen contemporary tiles (Figs. 11, 13, 15-16) also display these animals (85). In two other manuscripts of the period, *Shāhnāmas* of 1330 now in Istanbul, Chinese styled

(82) The manuscript of 1314 is the property of the Royal Asiatic Society though kept in the British Museum, see Basil Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din*, London, 1976. The Edinburgh University manuscript, no. 20, was probably executed over the period 1306-1314 in Tabriz. For illustrations see L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkenson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933, reprint New York, 1971, pls. XLVIII-LVIII.

(83) B. Gray, «Some Chinoiserie Drawings and Their Origin», *Forschungen... In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, *op. cit.*, pls. 3a-b, fols. 30<sup>v</sup> and 21 of the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript, and, Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, *op. cit.*, pls. XXa-b, LIII, which illustrate examples of these tendencies in the Edinburgh manuscript, respectively, fols. 47b, 65 (our Fig. 18), 72a.

(84) The miniatures are widely scattered, but see Brian and Stchoukine, as cited *supra*, note 39.

(85) Examples cited *supra*, notes 40, 46, and 47.

dragons and phoenixes have been conflated with the Persian dragon (Fig. 8a) and the simurgh (Fig. 8b) (86). This tendency was accentuated until the end of the following century when Chinese motifs — dragons, phoenixes, lions, celestial dogs, flying geese — became the artistic rage in Timurid courtly circles by way of imported blue and white porcelain, patterned textiles, and small luxury objects.

Islamic painting under successive Il-Khanid, Timurid, and Safavid dynasties reflected a constant borrowing and a gradually more sophisticated and harmonious absorption of motifs and artistic conventions of China. The culminative result of this process was the production of some of the finest works of Islamic art. Such a masterpiece as the sixteenth century Houghton *Shāhnāma* (87) displays a series of miniatures clearly inspired by both the principles and the motifs of Chinese art. These are well understood and organically integrated into the Persian aesthetic. A model example is the miniature entitled the Court of Gayumarth which shows the latter — the legendary first shah of Iran — in a Buddha-like pose in the distant center of a Chinese landscape with its jagged mountains, gnarled trees, and Chinese clouds, surrounded by an entourage with heavily eastern facial features (88). Two other miniatures from the same manuscript reveal just how the dragon and phoenix, rendered in a pure Chinese style, became the conventionally accepted substitutes for the Iranian animals of the epic (89). Such magnificent paintings bear witness to the profundity and persistence of the Chinese influence on Islamic art.

The Armenian experience is nearly the opposite. No lasting mark from China was left on Armenian art. At the very moment that Islamic art was beginning to experiment with the new concepts

(86) Istanbul, Topkapi Saray, Hazine MS 1479, fol. 144, Isfandiyār and Dragon (our Fig. 8a), fol. 145, Isfandiyar and Simurgh (our Fig. 8b), Ipşiroğlu, *Painting and Culture of the Mongols*, op. cit., figs. 3-4.

(87) M. B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, Cambridge, Mass., 1981; however, for this paper, illustrations will be cited from the more accessible earlier publication, Stuart C. Welch, *Persian Painting*, New York, 1976.

(88) Houghton, *Shāhnāma*, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>, Welch, *Persian Painting*, pl. 2.

(89) Zal sighted by a caravan, Houghton *Shāhnāma*, fol. 62<sup>v</sup>, Welch, *Persian Painting*, pl. 8; contrast the Chinese phoenix in this manuscript with the one of four decades earlier from the Morgan *Manāfi*, see *supra* note 80 for reference. Gushtāsp slaying the dragon of Mt. Saqala, fol. 402, Welch, pl. 9, where the dragon has the expected five claws reserved for the ruler.

available through Chinese imports, circa 1300, Armenia was abandoned by her Mongol protectors. The final break came with the death of the last friendly Il-Khan, Ghazan, in 1304. In the fourteenth century Cilician Armenia came under ever increasing pressure from her Mamluk neighbors in Egypt. By 1375 the capital Sis had definitively fallen and with it, the practical end of the last Armenian dynasty was announced (90). The loss of royal patronage was to have a palpable effect on the type and quality of Armenian art in subsequent centuries (91).

Was then the only permanent artistic result of the contacts between Armenia and the Mongol court a few Chinese animals found on three miniature from two Cilician manuscripts of the 1280s? Perhaps. Yet, from details in these very same and a closely related group of manuscripts there seems to be cause for an inquiry into traces of another, a stylistic, influence from the Far East. These Cilician manuscripts, in addition to the *Lectionary* of Het'um II and the Gospel of bishop John, include two undated, but contemporary Gospels, and the earlier queen Keran and Pierpoint Morgan Gospels respectively of 1272 and 1274 (92). Though working in the Cilician kingdom, the artist

(90) The most recent treatment of the fall of the Cilician kingdom, with bibliography of the earlier literature, will be found in Dédéyan, *Histoire des Arméniens*, chapter 8, esp. pp. 310-311.

(91) On the general decline in the arts and culture from the fall of the Cilician kingdom in 1375 to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, see D. Kouymjian, «Sous le joug des Turcomans et des Turcs ottoman (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)», in Dédéyan, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 369-372, and *idem*, «Dated Armenian Manuscripts as a Statistical Tool for Armenian History», T. Samuelian and M. Stone, eds., *Medieval Armenian Culture*, Scholars Press, Chico, Calif., 1983, pp. 425-438.

(92) The final composition of this group of manuscripts as well as a detailed analysis will have to wait Sirarpie Der Nersessian's major study on Cilician miniature painting now in the final stages of completion. In an earlier essay, she listed six principal codices: Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, no. 2563, Gospel of queen Keran, executed at the capital Sis in 1272; New York, Pierpoint Morgan, no. 740, Gospel of Marshall Ošin, Sis, 1274; Jerusalem no. 2568, Gospel of Prince Vasak, 1268-1285; Erevan, Matenadaran no. 979, Lectionary of king Het'um II of 1286; Matenadaran no. 179, Gospel of bishop John, Akner, 1287; Matenadaran no. 9422, Gospel of the 1280s; and in part Istanbul, Topkapi no. 122, Gospel, Skevra, 1273; S. Der Nersessian, «Un Evangil cilician du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle», *REArm*, 4 (1967), pp. 103-119, reprinted *Etudes*, pp. 562-575, note 33. The Buschhausens have given an expanded list of nine manuscripts, not including either the Topkapi or the Morgan Gospels, but adding Matenadaran no. 7651, executed in part in the 1280s; Matenadaran no. 5784, Gospel of Skevra, 1293; and Vienna Mekhitarists nos. 278 and 1303,

or artists responsible for their creation painted in a new, highly manneristic style (93). The surcharged atmosphere of this group is in sharp contrast to the illuminations of a decade or so earlier, executed in the same workshops, epitomized by the controlled and delicate style of T'oros Rōslin (flourished 1256 to 1268), his school, and contemporaries. This new mode of the 1270s and 1280s is abandoned, however, before the end of the century almost as suddenly as it appeared. Apart from the mannered figural and facial rendering in the Gospel scenes, there are two features which remain unsatisfactorily explained: the source of the very delicate, dense floral and tendril decorations which frame miniatures in this series, and the way background landscapes are treated.

The very fine plant stems and flowers that begin to sprout from the corners of the borders of these manuscripts (Fig. 1) as well as in the decorations of the headpieces (Figs. 2-3) have no real precedents in Armenian miniatures of the prior period. Their delicacy recalls floral designs often found in Chinese art, though such water plants are also painted on Islamic ceramics of the early thirteenth century (94). Along with the mannered style, they too disappear from Armenian art after 1300 (95).

The artists' attitudes toward landscape perspective, if we can use that term, was also modified in a large series of miniatures: the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 19) and the whale spitting out Jonah in the *Lectionary* of Het'um II (96), the Baptism and Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 20)

both of the 1280s, see H. and H. Buschhausen, *Armenische Handschriften, Katalog*, *op. cit.*, *supra* note 29, p. 89.

(93) See Velmans as already cited *supra* notes 7 and 32.

(94) Of course they are quite different when compared to actual Chinese or Islamic models. Incised Sung bowls have lotuses or peonys in a scroll-like arrangement, e.g. *The Mount Trust Collection of Chinese Art*, *op. cit.*, fig. 56. For Islamic examples, *The Arts of Islam*, *op. cit.*, thirteenth century Kāshān, p. 249, nos. 359 and 360; A. Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery*, London, 1947, figs., 86, 92b, both early thirteenth century Kāshān bowls.

(95) In the fourteenth century Mamluk Qur'ans show restrained stylized sprouts at the four corners of framed frontispieces, but even though at times very elaborate, they are more angular and geometric; for examples, Martin Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, London, 1976, pls. 52-59, especially a Qur'an of 1304, pl. 62.

(96) The Entry into Jerusalem (our Fig. 19), Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 129; Dournovo/Drampyan, pl. 36; Der Nersessian, *Etudes*, fig. 257; Jonah, fol. 200<sup>v</sup>, Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 134; Dournovo/Drampyan, pl. 39;

of the Gospel of bishop John (97), the Raising of Lazarus and the Descent into Hell (Fig. 21) of a related Erevan Gospel (98). This new interest on the part of Armenian miniaturists in rendering depth through receding space is already hesitatingly demonstrated a decade earlier in the Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 22) in the Keran Gospel of 1272 (99) and the Annunciation, Nativity, and Baptism of the second prince Vasak Gospel (100). Sharp-edged mountains (Figs. 19, 21) become reduced in size as they are extended toward the upper frame of the miniature (101). Trees become more gnarled and bent as they hang over precipitous ledges (Figs. 21, 22). More dramatically, the movement and position of Christ on his donkey in the Entry into Jerusalem of the Gospel of 1287 as he descends downhill on a treacherous winding path (Fig. 20) gives the viewer the sense that the animal and rider are about to walk out of the page (102). Clumps of grass or low lying vegetation scattered up the sides of the hills fix different planes of space.

The combination of these effects works toward creating a sense

Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, p. 153, fig. 114. Cf. Der Nersessian's discussion of depth in these miniature, *Armenia Art*, p. 153.

(97) Baptism, Azaryan, *op. cit.*, fig. 118; Entry into Jerusalem (our Fig. 20), Dournovo/Drampyan, pl. 44; Azaryan, fig. 119; Descent into Hell (our Fig. 21), Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 119; Dournovo/Drampyan, pl. 45.

(98) Erevan, Matenadaran no. 9422, the Raising of Lazarus, Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 121; Dournovo/Drampyan, pl. 49; Azaryan, fig. 126; Descent into Hell, Der Nersessian, *Etudes*, fig. 258; Azaryan, fig. 128.

(99) Jerusalem, no. 2563, Raising of Lazarus (our Fig. 22), fol. 333, is the most striking example, Der Nersessian, *Etudes*, fig. 254; Azaryan, fig. 111; Velmans, *REArm*, 14 (1980), fig. 3, but the mountains in the Baptism, fol. 25, and the Transfiguration, fol. 69, are of the same type, Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, p. 143, figs. 105-6.

(100) Jerusalem no. 2568, Gospel, probably of the 1270s, Annunciation, fol. 152, Azaryan, fig. 99; Nativity, fol. 8, Azaryan, fig. 100; Narkiss, *op. cit.*, fig. 81; Baptism, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>, Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, p. 146, fig. 108; Narkiss, fig. 82.

(101) *Lectionary*, Resurrection with Holy Women at the Empty Tomb, Dournovo/Drampyan, pl. 41; Gospel of bishop John, Death of St. John the Evangelist, fol. 311<sup>v</sup>, Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, p. 150, fig. 111.

(102) This tendency is already evident in the late works of T'oros Roslin, Erevan, Matenadaran no. 10675, formerly Jerusalem no. 3627, Gospel of 1268, Raising of Lazarus, fol. 300<sup>v</sup>, Azaryan, fig. 94; Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, p. 134, fig. 97; in the Raising of Lazarus of the Keran Gospel of 1272, the mountains are turned back at the top to fit in the upper border, references in *supra* note 99, Jerusalem no. 2563.

of space and depth (103). It is precisely these elements that are characteristic of distant mountainous landscapes with lonely riders



FIG. 19. *Lectionary of Het'um II, 1287. Erevan, Matenadaran MS 979. Entry into Jerusalem. Photo after Dournovo/Drampyan, Miniatures arméniennes, pl. 36.*

(103) As is well known, such jagged, distant mountains, with a tree here or there, were already a feature of Byzantine miniature painting of the Basilian (Macedonian) renaissance of the tenth and eleventh centuries as seen in such manuscripts

so popular in Chinese painting. To be sure, if one were to compare directly on a one to one basis any of these miniatures with a Chinese painting, the treatment in the Armenian example would prove to be



FIG. 20. Gospel of 1286. Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 197. Entry into Jerusalem. Photo after Dournovo/Drampyan, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pl. 44.

as the Menologion of Basil II of 985, Vatican Library, MS Graec. 1613 and the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter of 1084, MS no. 3. On the whole the treatment of the landscape, especially the mountains, is different than the late thirteenth century Armenian examples by the sharpness of the mountain edges, the restrained treatment of the trees, and the insistence on carefully containing the landscape well within the frame of the miniature. My intent here is not to discuss the Byzantine influence on Armenian miniature painting, especially in Cilicia, for it was as important as it was persistent, but only to suggest that the landscape features alluded to in the foregoing analysis go beyond the Byzantine in both feeling and source of inspiration.

very far removed in appearance and feeling from the misty atmosphere of Chinese naturalism. Are we then to discount this phenomenon as an exaggerated viewing of these effects or as only a coincidental juncture of some common elements found in Chinese art used to create



FIG. 21. Gospel of 1286. Erevan, Matenadaran MS 197. Descent into Hell.  
Photo after Dournovo/Drampyan, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pl. 45.

the exuberant style in the same manuscripts in which were painted — at times by direct copying — the Chinese animals? If the answer is yes, if we reject any stylistic influence on Armenian art, then in the case of the Islamic counterpart, we can just as easily dismiss the landscapes of the *Universal History* manuscripts by the same close compar-

ison. When these Islamic examples (Figs. 17-18) from the early fourteenth century are placed next to actual Chinese landscapes, they appear to have little inspiration from or resemblance to art of the



FIG. 22. Keran Gospel of 1272. Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2563, fol. 333. Raising of Lazarus. Photo after Der Nersessian, «Miniatures ciliciennes», *l'Oeil* (November 1969), fig. 17.

extreme orient. And yet these are the Muslim manuscripts which are considered most indicative of the advance toward the Chinese style and precisely because of the same traits found in the Armenian miniatures just discussed.

In the Islamic case the insistence on Chinese stylistic influences in these early works is more confidently put forward because of the hindsight granted by an elaborate further evolution. In the Armenian case no time for such a development was afforded. The experiment with space stops just as abruptly as the mannered figural style, leaving the researcher uncertain as to the inspiration for the new elements found in Cilician painting of the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

\* \* \*

The intent of this paper has been to describe the Chinese motifs which were integrated into several Armenian miniature paintings in the Mongol period, to trace their origins, and to evaluate their impact on Armenian art. The parallel influence of Chinese art on Islamic painting was developed to emphasize that Armenian art incorporated the same elements before, or at least contemporary to, their use in the Iranian world and quite independent of it. This point, that Armenian art did not have to look toward its all powerful Muslim neighbors to absorb new artistic or cultural currents, has already been stressed in an earlier study dealing with thirteenth century Armenian fraternal organizations of Anatolia that preceded and were independent of their Islamic *akhi* counterparts (104).

Medieval Armenian culture was so vigorous, sophisticated, and independent that, in the interaction with Islamic civilization, when a certain phenomenon is observed in both traditions, contrary to what may appear to be the more appealing premise, it is not necessarily true that the much smaller group had to borrow perforce from the larger and dominant power.

At those moments in history when a strong Armenian state flourished with an aristocracy and religious hierarchy having adequate material means to patronize the arts, as was the case in the Cilician kingdom in the second half of the thirteenth century, Armenians were sufficiently developed artistically and culturally to independently import and incorporate forms and ideas from near and distant nations with which Armenia seemed always to maintain direct contact.

(104) D. Kouymjian, «The Canons Dated 1280 of the Armenian *Akhi*-type Brotherhood of Erzinjan», *Actes du XXIX<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1972, *Etudes Arabes et Islamiques*, I, *Histoire et Civilisation*, Cl. Cahen, ed., vol. 2, Paris, 1975, pp. 107-115.



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Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs

Author(s): Richard N. Frye and Aydin M. Sayili

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East of Sumer and Uri was Šubur which no doubt included such lands as Elam, Marḥaši, Gutī, etc. To the west and southwest of Sumer was Martu which included the territory between the Euphrates River and the Mediterranean Sea as well as Arabia.<sup>9</sup> In short, the universe as conceived by the Sumerian poets of the third millennium B. C. extended at least from the Armenian Highlands on the north to the Persian Gulf, and from the Iranian Highlands on the east to the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>10</sup>

For the variant pronunciations of the name here read šubur (line 5), cf. Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 24 ff. The complex eme-ḥa-mun (line 6) seems to consist of the noun eme 'tongue' and the adjective ḥamun 'harmonious';<sup>11</sup> a literal translation of

<sup>9</sup> Ungnad's deduction that during the third millennium the four world divisions were conceived as Babylonia, Elam, Šubur, and Martu (cf. Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 116) is therefore probably incorrect. For the varying conceptions of the four divisions of the universe as revealed in the later omen literature, cf. Ungnad, *ibid.* p. 69 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Our text which describes Enlil as the ruling deity of all the four kur's of which the world consisted, clarifies at last his well-known and frequently used epithet lugal-kur-kur-ra 'king of all (the four) kur's.'

<sup>11</sup> For the meaning of the complex eme-ḥa-mun, cf. IV R<sup>2</sup> 19a 45-6 where it is used to describe the speech of

the complex reads therefore 'the harmonious tongue.' Its use as an apposition to the following ki-en-gi is therefore incongruous and the translation given remains doubtful. The translation 'decrees of princeship' for me-nam-nun-na (line 6) is admittedly vague; the implications involved are not clear. The translation 'in unison' for sag-si-ga is a guess based on the context. Lines 11-13 furnish an excellent example of the varied and intricate 'repetition' pattern utilized by the Sumerian writers to achieve their poetic effect. Unfortunately this is not readily apparent in the English translation since the meanings of the oft repeated a-da and NE are still unknown.

With line 14 the text of our 'spell of Enki' which probably continued for some twenty-six additional lines, breaks off. But from the contents of lines 11-14, meager as they are, it is not unreasonable to deduce that Enki was displeased with this universal sway of Enlil and that he took action to disrupt it, action which led perhaps to the dispersion of mankind and the diffusion of languages.

the Anunnaki. For the word ḥa-mun, cf. sir-ḥa-mun and tu<sub>u</sub>-ḥa-mun (Gudea Cyl. A XXVII 12, 20) where a meaning such as 'harmonious,' 'soothing,' seems to fit the context.

## TURKS IN THE MIDDLE EAST BEFORE THE SALJUQS

RICHARD N. FRYE and AYDIN M. SAYILI

AN EXAMINATION of the linguistic map of the Near and Middle East at the present time reveals the extent of Turkish speaking peoples from the Balkans, across Anatolia, Adharbayjan, and Khurasan, into northern Afghanistan and Central Asia. This does not include isolated Turkish peoples, such as the Qashqaî in Fars and Khuzistan, and the Khalaj in the Isfahan area. This distribution has not always been the same. The activity of the Turkicization of the Near East, including the regions of Khurasan and Transoxania, is generally supposed to have started with the advent of the Saljuqs. On the other hand, it is known that by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the areas where Turkish was the major spoken language were approximately the same as they are at the present time.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, from about 1000 to

1300 the districts of Transoxania and Khurasan, and Asia Minor were completely or partially Turkicized, and all this was accomplished while similar occurrences were taking place in other parts of Iran, in southern Russia, and in Chinese Turkistan.

The Turks were not in possession of a Turkish religious book such as the Bible or Quran by which their language would have assumed a spiritual value and which would have helped its spread. The Turkish princes and rulers of Islam did not attempt to enforce the Turkish tongue as the language to be used by their subjects. They did not even adopt it as their court language, which

spoken in the beginning of the 14th century can be seen from ibn Baṭṭa's accounts of his travels in Anatolia and in the regions north of the Caspian and the Black seas.

<sup>1</sup> The great extension of the areas where Turkish was

would have enhanced its position as the language of administration and encouraged its cultivation by those aspiring to government posts. On the contrary, they patronized and encouraged Arabic and especially Persian. In general, up to the fourteenth century the Turks made no conscious effort to enhance the dignity of their tongue; it was only after the thirteenth century that Turkish gradually began to compete with Arabic and Persian as a literary and scientific language even among the Turks themselves.

Since, nevertheless, Turkish did spread rapidly among the mass of people over vast areas, certain factors must have existed which offset the above-mentioned disadvantages. However, among contemporary historians, there seems to be a belief that the Turks beyond the Yaxartes river, where the Turkish migrations originated, consisted of small tribes, constituting a small total population. In addition, the Turks are supposed to have led an almost exclusively nomadic mode of life, so their chances of mixing and intermarrying with the non-Turkish city dwellers would be small. As nomads they could not have controlled the market language either, a process by which the city people usually determine or change the language of the surrounding villages, after first making them bilingual.

It is clear that under these conditions the Turks would not have been able to spread their language on as large scale as they did. Our studies have led us to believe that the supposed conditions of exclusively nomadic life and small population did not exist, but that: (a) Turks were already in the regions of Khurasan and Transoxania at the time of the Arab conquest, and remained there after the Arab domination. The Turkicization of these districts had, therefore, begun long before the Saljuqs. (b) Turks were town and village dwellers except in regions where natural conditions imposed a nomadic life on them. (c) They probably had a relatively large population in Central Asia and infiltrated in fairly large numbers into the Near East.

The existence of Turks as an important element of the population in the districts between the mountains of Khurasan, the Yaxartes river, and India already in pre-Islamic and pre-Saljuq times, forms the main subject of study in this article. Anatolia and the Caucasus, which necessitate a study involving the Khazars and other Turkish

peoples of the south Russian steppes, have been omitted. The presence of Turks in the regions of Khurasan and Transoxania before the Saljuqs is recognized by scholars, but it is usually qualified. One maintains, "almost all of the subjects of this (Turkish king of Kabul) and other kings of Central Asia were Iranian, though the dynasties and the armies were Turkish."<sup>2</sup> The consensus of opinion is that these early Turks were mostly small groups of mercenaries or slaves.

It may be added here that the districts of Khurasan and Transoxania had an exceptionally important role in the intellectual development of the Moslem world. A very large number of scientists and scholars originated from those regions during the 'Golden Age' of science and learning in Islam.<sup>3</sup>

Byzantine, Armenian, Chinese, and Moslem sources have frequent references to Turks on both sides of the Oxus, not only before the eleventh, but also before the seventh century. Moslem historians and geographers are the primary sources in this study, while records in other languages are secondary. Several scholars have contended that the sources are not accurate in the way they use the word 'Turk.' Gibb maintains, "the Arabic records are misleading by their use of the word Turk for all the non-Persian peoples of the East. They give the impression (due perhaps to the circumstances of the time in which the chief histories were composed) that the opponents of the Arabs in Transoxania were the historical Turks."<sup>4</sup> The historical Turks were the subjects of the West Turkish khanate and the Türgesh power after 740 A. D. Marquart expresses the same opinion in a more specific way when he points out that it is an anachronism when the Arabs designate the Hephthalites as Turks.<sup>5</sup> By anachronism he refers to

<sup>2</sup> Hitti, P. K., *History of the Arabs*, New York 1937, 208 note 6.

<sup>3</sup> This is true not only of their quantity but also of their quality. From 800 to 1100 A. D., out of the six scientists who have given their names to the chapters of the first volume of the *Introduction to the History of Science* of George Sarton, only two did not originate from that corner of the vast territory of Islam. One of these, al Râzî, was from Rayy, and therefore not far from Khurasan.

<sup>4</sup> Gibb, H. A. R., *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Marquart, J., Eransahr, *Abhandlungen Göttingen K. Gesell. Wiss.*, 1901, 239 note 6.

the fact that the Hephthalites existed before the word Turk began to be used. That word, as it has been used since its appearance with the advent of the T'u Chüeh<sup>6</sup> in the sixth century A. D., denotes primarily a linguistic rather than a political distinction. It is not likely that the T'u Chüeh, as Turkish speakers, were non-existent before they founded an empire. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that the Hsiung-nu, T'o Pa, and others were Turks, although the political role of these people ended before the time of the "historical Turks."

There is good reason why the Chinese sources do not designate the Uyghurs, Kirghiz, and Türgesh as T'u Chüeh, any more than they should call the T'u Chüeh by the name Hsiung-nu. For the Chinese the political organization or disorganization of their neighbors was of more interest to the imperial court than ethnic relationships. The Arabs, on the other hand, encountered a mixed population in Transoxania with little political unity. For the Moslems a Turk was not one who belonged to a political group of that name, but primarily a person who spoke Turkish. Even such a distinction was lost when the person adopted Islam.

The story of the Arab conquests in Central Asia has already been well told by Barthold and H. A. R. Gibb. We shall consider here only a number of items on the role of the Turks in opposing the Arabs which are of significance to the subject. Indeed, it would seem that the strongest opposition was presented by just this group of the population.<sup>7</sup> Barthold has indicated that the Turks whom the Arabs met in Transoxania were not the T'u Chüeh, but the Türgesh, as well as various local groups and probably some remnants of the Hephthalites.<sup>8</sup> There is considerable evidence that Turks dwelt in the valleys of Turkharistan, Badakhshan, and Kabul before the advent of the Arabs. It is certainly true that armies were sent by the khagan of the Western Turks into Transoxania at various intervals, but the sustained resistance to the Arabs was borne by the local population.

The conquest only began when Mu'awiya was firmly established in the caliphate. In the year 54 (674) 'Ubaydullâh ibn Ziyâd, newly appointed governor of Khurasan, crossed the Oxus river and defeated a force of Turks from Bukhara before retiring.<sup>9</sup> Balâdhurî gives a few additional details, but adds little to the general picture. He tells how 'Ubaydullâh attacked Bukhara, whereupon Khatun, the ruler of the city, asked the Turks for help. A large number of them came, presumably from nearby districts.<sup>10</sup> Ṭabarî mentions Turkish forces in Bukhara, when 'Ubaydullâh was raiding the countryside.<sup>11</sup> Although this expedition was only a raid, Narshakhî amplifies it considerably. He declares that 4000 Bukharans were captured when Baykand and Râmîtan were taken by the Arabs. After these successful operations they laid siege to Bukhara itself. Khatun sought aid from the Turks, but their army was destroyed by the Moslems, who secured much booty. Khatun was finally compelled to sue for peace and pay a large tribute.<sup>12</sup>

'Ubaydullâh was succeeded as governor of Khurasan by Aslam ibn Zur'a, who accomplished nothing in Transoxania.<sup>13</sup> Sa'îd ibn 'Uthmân, his successor, in 56 (676) advanced against the infidels and defeated the army sent against him, besieging them in their city.<sup>14</sup> The name of the city is not mentioned by Ṭabarî, but it was probably Samarqand, for Yâqût credits Sa'îd with its capture.<sup>15</sup> The Arabs retired with fifty hostages and seized Tirmidh on the return journey to Khurasan. Balâdhurî tells of a defeat of a force of Turks, people of Soghd, etc. by Sa'îd, as well as his subsequent victories at Samarqand and Bukhara.<sup>16</sup> Narshakhî adds a few tales to embellish his chronicle.<sup>17</sup> This expedition also failed to secure a lasting result.

In 61 (680) Salm ibn Ziyâd was appointed

<sup>9</sup> Ṭabarî, *Annals*, 2. 169-70. Western dates are approximations within a year.

<sup>10</sup> Balâdhurî, *Liber expugnationis regionum*, ed. M. de Goeje, 1866, 410.

<sup>11</sup> Ṭabarî 2. 170. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Narshakhî, *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1892, 37.

<sup>13</sup> Ṭabarî 2. 172. 13.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 179. 15.

<sup>15</sup> *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1868, 3. 133. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Balâdhurî 411.

<sup>17</sup> Narshakhî 38-9.

<sup>6</sup> Henceforth this term will be used to designate the Western Turks, authors of the Orkhon inscriptions.

<sup>7</sup> Gibb, *op. cit.*, 73-4.

<sup>8</sup> Barthold, *Die historische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Anhang zu Radloff, W., *Die Altürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, St. Petersburg 1897, 3-4.

governor of Khurasan by Yazîd, and shortly thereafter raided Samarqand.<sup>18</sup> Later he appears in possession of the city.<sup>19</sup> Narshakhî says that Muslim (Salm) ibn Ziyâd came against Bukhara with a large force, so Khatun sent to Tarkhun, ruler of Soghd, seeking aid by offering herself and her kingdom to him. Tarkhun came, and with him a prince of Turkistan.<sup>20</sup> The Moslems were again victorious and Khatun was obliged to make peace. Salm did not remain in Transoxania long, but was soon obliged to return to Marw.<sup>21</sup> Balâdhurî mentions raids of Turks as far as Nishapur during the governorship of 'Abdullâh ibn Khâzim 64-69 (683-688). This may refer to the raids mentioned by Ṭabarî in his account of the revolt of ibn Khâzim.<sup>22</sup> He says that the Turks attacked the fortress of Isfâd but were repulsed by the Banî Azd, who composed the majority of persons in the castle. The garrison sent to ibn Khâzim in Herat for aid. He responded with reinforcements who helped to defeat the Turks. An interesting poem on the exploits of ibn Khâzim is appended to the story.<sup>23</sup> This capable governor was murdered in 72 (691) at the instigation of the caliph 'Abd al Malik.<sup>24</sup>

Mûsâ ibn 'Abdullâh ibn Khâzim acted more independently than his father, whom he left before the latter's death, to seek the protection of one of the rulers on the other side of the Oxus. After successively visiting Amul, Bukhara, and Samarqand, he came to Kish, where he had to fight the 'inhabitants.'<sup>25</sup> He continued to Tirmidh, where, after feigning friendship, he drove the Tirmidhshâh and his followers from the city. They fled to the Turks for aid, but the Turks mocked them saying, "a hundred men came to you and drove you from your land. We fought them in Kish and will not fight these."<sup>26</sup> This indicates that, according to Ṭabarî, there were Turks among 'the inhabitants of Kish.' A coalition army of Turks and Arabs was crushed by Mûsâ,<sup>27</sup> several years after which an

army of 70,000 Turks, Tubbat, and Hephthalites, attacked him but were unsuccessful.<sup>28</sup> From Ṭabarî it may be seen that Mûsâ was somewhat of a hero to the people of Khurasan, for large numbers of Arabs and Turks joined him when he passed through there.<sup>29</sup> Mûsâ was finally killed in 85 (704).

In these early raids the presence of Turks is amply attested. In 82 (701) al Mughayra ibn al Muhallab died in Khurasan while his father, the governor, was in Kish fighting its people. Another son, Yazîd, set out for Marw with sixty horsemen. On the way 500 Turks, coming from Nasaf, met them and demanded something from them. One of the company gave them some cloth and a bow. The Turks rode away, but deceitfully returned with new demands. Yazîd was adamant and a struggle ensued. Finally, the contest came to an end and the Arabs departed, the victory uncertain.<sup>30</sup> These same Turks were encountered by Hârith ibn Quṭbah, lieutenant of al Muhallab, on his way to Balkh. He defeated them and captured several, but soon set them free.<sup>31</sup> There is no reason for assuming these Turks to belong to the armies of the East Turkish khanate, as Barthold has done.<sup>32</sup> It is more likely that they were a band of marauders from the vicinity. Furthermore, neither the Eastern Turks nor the Türgesh were in a position to intervene in the affairs of Transoxania at this time.<sup>33</sup>

The conquests of Qutayba ibn Muslim mark the beginning of the systematic conquest of Transoxania. It is impossible to mention all the skirmishes he had with the Turks. Nor is it within the scope of this study to deal with the struggles between the Moslems and the armies of the Türgesh, who played an important role on the stage of Central Asian history till the disintegration of their power about 739. For our purpose it is only necessary to dwell on the conflicts of the Arabs with Turks before the rise of Türgesh power. In the year 88 (707) Qutayba raided Numishkath

<sup>18</sup> Ṭabarî 2. 394. 17.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 395. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Narshakhî 40.

<sup>21</sup> Balâdhurî confuses the sequence of events.

<sup>22</sup> Ṭabarî 2. 488. This is related under the year 65 (684), but the revolt occurred several years later.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 493-4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 833. 14.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 1147. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 1148. 11.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 1150.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 1153.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 1160. 19.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 1078.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 1080. 15. Cf. Ibn Khallikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, M. de Slane, Paris 1871, 4. 175.

<sup>32</sup> Barthold, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen*, in Radloff, *Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 1899, 16.

<sup>33</sup> Gibb, *op. cit.* 30. Chavannes, E., *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, St. Pétersbourg 1903, 282.

and Râmîtan, two towns near Bukhara. Turks and people of Soghd and Farghana fought against him, but were defeated.<sup>34</sup> Two years later he raided Bukhara. Then he sent Wardan Khudat, ruler of Bukhara, to Soghd, the Turks, and those around them, asking their assistance.<sup>35</sup> This clearly does not refer to a foreign army of Turks which maintained an independent existence in Transoxania for many years, but rather to people who resided in the vicinity. Near Samarqand Qutayba had to fight against Ghûrak, lord of Soghd, who had Turks and people of Shash and Farghana in his army. The Arab general was again successful.<sup>36</sup> It has been proposed that these Turks were Türgesh from beyond the Yaxartes. Houtsma accepts the Bâhilî tradition that Kûr Baghânûn, the son of the sister of the king of China, was in Transoxania in 707 fighting against Qutayba.<sup>37</sup> There is no reason to suppose that such an individual, if he existed, was necessarily a Türgesh. This has been effectively discounted, and needs no further discussion.<sup>38</sup>

After the death of Qutayba in 715 Türgesh armies from the present area of Semirechinsk did begin to menace the Arabs. In general the local inhabitants aided these Turks against the Moslems, for we have frequent accounts of the people of Soghd and Bukhara allied with the invaders. The Türgesh were quite successful for a time. In 721, Junayd, governor of Khurasan, advanced against the Türgesh. He crossed the Oxus without waiting for all his troops, against the advice of his generals and with the result that he was severely defeated. Mujashshar ibn Muzâhim, one of the ablest Arab commanders, said, "No governor of Khurasan should cross the River (Oxus) with less than 50,000 men."<sup>39</sup> In 110 (728), Turks were entrenched at Amul on the Bukhara-Marw road, where Ashras ibn 'Abdullâh al Sulamî attacked them.<sup>40</sup> Nine years later, under Asad ibn 'Abdullâh, Turks are mentioned in Marwarrûdh and Balkh.<sup>41</sup> Apparently, these did not consist solely of the invading Türgesh, but included the local Turks. For Ṭabarî writes that the khaqan of the

Türgesh went to upper Tukharistan and remained with the Yabghu of the Kharlukh Turks who dwelt there.<sup>42</sup> The defeat of the Khaqan Sûlî by Asad ibn 'Abdullâh in 737, followed by his death a year later, brought an end to the West Turkish khanate. After this period the Moslem religion became firmly established in Transoxania and with the adoption of Islam individuals ceased to call themselves Turks or Persians, but considered themselves only members of the Moslem community.

Maqdîsî says that there were many languages spoken in Soghd.<sup>43</sup> Transoxania undoubtedly had a mixed population, and the Turks were clearly an important element in that region and apparently were also among its older inhabitants. Narshakhî says that Soghd was first populated by people coming from Turkistan, because they found abundant water and trees there.<sup>44</sup> While this is undoubtedly local legend, it may be mentioned together with the runic inscription of Tonyukuk from the early years of the eighth century. There it is written, "As far as Demir Kapi we followed them up; there we made them turn back. To Inâl kagan there came the whole Soghd people with Suk (?) as their leader and submitted. Our forefathers and the Turkish people had (in their time) reached Demir Kapi."<sup>45</sup> Demir Kapi is the 'Iron Gate' pass in the southwest of Soghd. The Byzantine historian Menander speaks of Turkish miners, whom Zemarchos, the Byzantine ambassador, met in Soghd on his way to the court of the Western Turks.<sup>46</sup> This passage assumes further significance when it is observed that Mubâarakshâh al Marwarrûdhî, writing in the opening years of the thirteenth century, speaks of the articles produced and exported by the Turks and says, "Under the province of Soghd is a mountain, the water of which comes to Samarqand. In that mountain there exist metals of silver, gold, and bituminous turquoise. In the same mountain the metals iron, mercury, and vitriol are found, (all of) which they take around the world."<sup>47</sup> Un-

<sup>34</sup> Ṭabarî 2. 1195.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 1202. 12.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 1249. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Houtsma, M. T., Review, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1889, 387.

<sup>38</sup> Gibb, *op. cit.* 13, 35.

<sup>39</sup> Gibb, *op. cit.* 73.

<sup>40</sup> Ṭabarî 2. 1512.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 1612.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 1612. 16.

<sup>43</sup> Maqdîsî, *BGA* 3. 262.

<sup>44</sup> Narshakhî 5.

<sup>45</sup> Ross, E. D., The Tonyukuk Inscription, *BSOS* 6. 1930. 42.

<sup>46</sup> Menander Protektor, ed. Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn 1829, 380. 15.

<sup>47</sup> Ross, E. D., *Târikh-i Fakhr ud-dîn Mubâarakshâh*, London 1927, 38-9.

doubtedly the migrations, in the fifth century, of the Hephthalites, of whom we shall speak later, contributed considerably to the Turkish population of these lands.<sup>48</sup>

The Arabs, when they conquered Transoxania, retained the ruler of Bukhara as a puppet, which would indicate his popular support. The *Fihrist* clearly says that there are Turkish towns in Soghd.<sup>49</sup> Ibn Khurdādbih mentions Turkish cities within the territory ruled by Nūḥ ibn Asad, the Samanid prince who reigned in Samarqand in 204 (819).<sup>50</sup> At this time the Moslem frontier did not reach to the Yaxartes. Mas'ūdī says that ever since the destruction of the city known as 'Amāt, in the desert of Samarqand, the Turks have no more a khaqan whom all their kings obey.<sup>51</sup>

It is also certain that the Turks remained after the Arab conquests, and did not flee beyond the Yaxartes to return in the eleventh century. The city of Shash, near present Tashkent, was occupied by Turks who rallied to the aid of Rāfi' ibn Layth during his rebellion of 191 (806).<sup>52</sup> Several years later Turks supported Rāfi' outside the walls of Samarqand.<sup>53</sup> In the time of Qudāma ibn Ja'far (d. 948) non-Moslem Turks lived in the territory beyond the city of Nūshjān, sixty farsakhs east of Samarqand.<sup>54</sup> The caliph Ma'mūn (813-833) granted fiefs to the sons of Asad ibn Sāmān. Yahyā received Shash, the inhabitants of which were Muslims of the Ghuzz and Khalaj tribes.<sup>55</sup> In the *jāmi' al hikāyāt*, Muḥammad 'Awfi says, "Some of them (Turks) within the territory of Khwarazm became Moslems when the Islamic religion brought happiness to these regions, and (they) accomplished good deeds in Islam . . . Others, called Turkmans, left their own territory and came into the cities of Islam."<sup>56</sup> There are

many other examples of a similar nature some of which may be found in other parts of this paper.

There are many references to Turks living in the Islamic territory. Mas'ūdī, says that the Khalaj (Khallukh) inhabit the districts of Farghana, Shash, and vicinity.<sup>57</sup> He also speaks of settled and nomad Tubbat Turks in the vicinity of Badakhshan, south of Farghana and north of Kabul.<sup>58</sup> It is well known that the Abbasids beginning especially with Mu'taṣim used a large number of Turkish soldiers in their armies. These are considered to have been almost all slaves or foreign mercenaries. There is evidence, however, that Turks were recruited from the Eastern provinces. Yamīn al Dawla (Maḥmūd al Ghaznawī) recruited Khalaj Turks into his army from Ghazna, and Khalaj and Ghuzz Turks from Balkh regions, in preparation for the war he fought in 389 against the Qarakhanids.<sup>59</sup> The following passage taken from Mas'ūdī (tr. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille) indicates clearly that the large Turkish army of Mu'taṣim was largely recruited from the districts of Khurasan and Transoxania: "Moutagem recherchait avec empressement les (esclaves) Turcs et les faisait acheter par ses affranchis; il réunit ainsi une troupe de quatre mille esclaves, qu'il habilla d'étoffes de brocart, de ceintures et d'ornements dorés, en les distinguant par le costume du reste de son armée. Il affecta a son service un corps composé de soldats originaire des deux *Hauf* d'Egypte, du *Hauf* du Yémen et de celui de Kaïs, et les appela les Magrébins; il équipa aussi des hommes venus du Khorāṣan, et en particulier de Ferganah et d'Achrousnah. Ces Turcs formèrent bientôt une armée nombreuse."<sup>60</sup>

This passage is also of great interest, for it indicates that Mas'ūdī refers to Turks when he says 'people coming from Khurasan, Ferghana and Ushrūsina.' Moslem writers often use similar terms when speaking of the conquests in the districts of Transoxania. They say, e. g., that the Arab armies fought the 'Turks and the people of Bukhara' (and many other cities). Such expressions apparently have influenced scholars to conclude that the inhabitants of the cities were not Turkish, that the fighting Turks were foreign

<sup>48</sup> For some other information concerning the presence of Turks in Transoxania in early times, see below p. 202.

<sup>49</sup> *Kitāb al Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871, 18.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Khurdādbih, M. de Goeje, *BGA* 6. 38.

<sup>51</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861-77, 1. 287.

<sup>52</sup> Tabari 3. 712. 5.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 775. 9.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Khurdādbih, *op. cit.* 262; cf. Houdas, O., *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankoberti*, Paris 1891, 54.

<sup>55</sup> Raverty, H. G., *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, Calcutta 1881, 28 note 2.

<sup>56</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu Mongol'skago nashestviia*, St. Petersburg 1898, 1 (texts). 99.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.* 1. 288.

<sup>58</sup> Bailey, H. W., *Iranian Studies*, *BSOS* 6. 1932. 947.

<sup>59</sup> *Trudy of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Archeological Society*, St. Petersburg 17. 1874. 224, 225.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* 7. 118.

armies, and that, in general, Turks were not city dwellers. We have met an example in which Tabarî using the phrase 'the inhabitants of Kish' does not thereby mean to imply that there were no Turks living in Kish.<sup>61</sup> In fact, we have already seen that Turks lived in many cities in these regions, and that the Turkish armies fighting the Arabs there usually did not come from beyond the Yaxartes. It is probable that, as most of these cities seem to have had a composite population, the Moslem writers prefer simply to use the term 'inhabitants.' Since local political power was in the hands of the Turks, and since they probably formed the main fighting element, it is natural to hear that it was always they who came to the help of the fighting city inhabitants.

One important reason why contemporary scholars generally suppose that Turks did not inhabit Transoxania is the contention that that region was populated by Soghdians. One factor which helped engender this theory is the wide distribution of the places where Soghdian inscriptions and fragments have been found. In the first two decades of our century numerous expeditions to Chinese Turkistan unearthed Soghdian manuscripts at Turfan, Tun-Huang, Kucha, and other sites in the Tarim Basin. The contents of these documents, although predominantly Manichaean or Buddhist, give evidence of many Soghdian commercial colonies scattered throughout the region.<sup>62</sup> When it was discovered that one side of the tri-lingual stele of Qarabalasagun in Mongolia was written in Soghdian instead of Uyghur Turkish, added impetus was given to the theory. One scholar even proposed the existence of Soghdian speakers from the Caspian to the China Sea, and Soghd itself was extended far beyond the Yaxartes river.<sup>63</sup>

The first historical references to Soghd are found in the Old Persian inscriptions of Bîsutûn and Nakhsh-e Rostem, but in neither place is a definite geographical location specified. In succeeding years Greek authors make references to the people and their country, but they too do not delineate its frontiers, although they generally understood

it as the region between the Oxus and Yaxartes rivers.<sup>64</sup> It is only after the conquests of Alexander that they become more specific and apply the name to a district on the lower Zarafshan river.<sup>65</sup>

Arabic sources also consider Soghd a small district on the lower Zarafshan, usually including the cities of Samarqand and Bukhara, and most authors designate the former as the capital. Ya'qûbî, however, gives Kish (or Kass), some thirty miles south of Samarqand, as the capital,<sup>66</sup> while the *Fihrist* of ibn al Nadîm has Farankath.<sup>67</sup> This latter must be the same city that al Nasafî, in his *Kitâb al qand fi târikh al Samarqand*, says Ghûrak, ruler of Soghd just after the time of Qutayba, built four farsakhs from Samarqand.<sup>68</sup> It might be mentioned, however, that the passage in the *Fihrist* might mean that this city, for which several variants exist, was the capital of the Turkish cities of Soghd. There are cities in Transoxania phonetically similar to most of the variants. One of the manuscripts has Nawikath. Marquart is undoubtedly in error when identifying this city with a locality near Issik Qul mentioned by Maqdîsî, thus anticipating the extension of Soghd to that region.<sup>69</sup> Istakhri excludes Bukhara. Kish, and Nasaf from Soghd, but acknowledges that others include these cities.<sup>70</sup> Maqdîsî omits only Bukhara.<sup>71</sup> Mas'ûdî, on the other hand, considers Soghd as lying between Bukhara and Samarqand, thus excluding both cities.<sup>72</sup> Yâqût lists the principal towns and extols the fertility and beauty of Soghd. He alone among the geographers distinguishes two areas, the Soghd of Samarqand and the Soghd of Bukhara.<sup>73</sup> It is not known what geographical connotation Soghd had for al Bîrûnî; whenever he associates a Soghdian festival with a particular district, it always refers to the territory just around Bukhara.<sup>74</sup> Moslem authors never refer to the Soghdians specifically as a linguistic

<sup>64</sup> Barthold, *K istorii orosheniia Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 5.

<sup>65</sup> Tomaschek, W., *Sogdiana*, *SWAW* 87. 1877. 74.

<sup>66</sup> *BGA* 7. 299. 14.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* 18.

<sup>68</sup> Barthold, *op. cit.* (*Turkestan* etc.), 1 (texts). 48.

<sup>69</sup> Marquart, J., *Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften*, *WZKM* 12. 1898. 158-60.

<sup>70</sup> *BGA* 1. 316.

<sup>71</sup> *BGA* 3. 266.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.* 1. 287.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* 3. 94, 394-6.

<sup>74</sup> Barthold, Art. "soghd," *EI*.

<sup>61</sup> See above, p. 197 and notes 25, 26.

<sup>62</sup> Pelliot, P., *Le cha tcheou fou, t'ou king et la colonie sogdienne de la region du Lob Nor*, *JA* 1916. 111-25. Rosenberg, F. A., *Sogdiiskie starie pis'ma*, *Izvestiia Akad. Nauk* 5. 1932. 459.

<sup>63</sup> Ross, E. D., *The Study of the Persian Language*, *The Persia Magazine* 1. 1921. 71.

or racial group, but only as the people of Soghd (ahl al Sughd). They definitely considered Soghd a small area.

Ten year sago it was considered significant that no remains of the Soghdian language had been found in or near the Zarafshan valley, but only in Chinese Turkistan. Since then much has been done by Russian archeologists. A Soghdian inscription was found carved on a rock in Ladak (Western Tibet),<sup>75</sup> and several potsherds with Soghdian inscriptions were discovered at Marw.<sup>76</sup> Excavations in the Chu and Saryq river valleys uncovered fragments of pottery inscribed with Soghdian words.<sup>77</sup> In 1932 a piece of paper with Soghdian writing was discovered in a ruined building on Mug Mt., 120 kilometers east of Samarqand, on the Zarafshan.<sup>78</sup> The next year an expedition, organized by the Tajikistan branch of Akademiia Nauk, found the remains of a treasure in the same place. About four hundred objects of material culture such as coins, textiles, and weapons were found, which are of prime importance for philological studies, the history of the calendar, and especially for the history of the Arab conquest of Soghd. Eighty-one documents, twenty-five of them on paper, were found, eight of which were written in Chinese, one in Arabic, one in an unknown language, and the remainder in Soghdian. Some of these documents refer to the native rulers of Soghd, and their contents are partially substantiated by Arabic sources.<sup>79</sup>

The great importance of the documents discovered on Mug Mountain lies in the fact that they contain the best and probably the first completely satisfactory evidence that the Soghdian documents found in widely scattered sites originated from Soghd, which itself was a small area. This area, limited as it was, was not inhabited compactly by Soghdian speaking peoples, but, as we have seen, had a mixed population. It results

that the total number of the Soghdians was quite small.

It was apparently their colonization and trading activity which spread their records far and wide. There is evidence for this in Arabic sources. Ṭabarī describes in detail the flight of a large body of Soghdians to the region of Farghana in 721.<sup>80</sup> Another migration occurred in 728 when Ashras ibn 'Abdullâh al Sulamî ordered the natives, who had adopted Islam, to pay the kharāj.<sup>81</sup> Maḥmūd al Kashgharī in the eleventh century says that Soghdians had settled at Balasaghun, Talas, and Isfijab, but Turkish was spoken in these towns.<sup>82</sup> That is, here we have an example of Soghdians in Turkish territory rather than Turks in the Soghdian domain. Narshakhī tells us that the inhabitants of Baykand, in the vicinity of Soghd, were predominantly merchants, and absent from the city most of the time;<sup>83</sup> and Ṭabarī confirms this.<sup>84</sup>

In conclusion, it is clear that the facts at our disposal concerning the Soghdians should not lead us to deny the presence of Turks as inhabitants of Transoxania and indeed of Soghd itself.

It is significant that the *Shâhnâma*, the national epic of the Persians, considers the Oxus as the national and the linguistic boundary between the Persians and the Turks in pre-Islamic times. This is worthy of consideration since it is in general agreement with the information contained in other historical sources such as Arabic, Chinese, Byzantine, and Armenian. That is, the *Shâhnâma* involves no contradiction with other sources in representing the Turks as living in Transoxania. It does, however, convey the idea that Turks inhabited that region as an overwhelming majority of the population, while other sources generally do not give us a quantitative picture of that Turkish population.

The term 'Turk' is used quite frequently in the *Shâhnâma*, and another term that constantly occurs in connection with the Turks is 'Tûrân.' Tûrân is used as the name of the 'land of the Turks' to the northeast of Iran, i. e., as Turkistan.

<sup>75</sup> Müller, F. W. K., Eine soghdische Inschrift in Ladak, *SPAW* 1925. 371-4.

<sup>76</sup> Freiman, A., Sogdiiskaia nadpis iz starogo Merva, *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniia*, Leningrad 1939, 7. 296 f.

<sup>77</sup> Bernshtam, A. N., Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Kirgizii, *Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta Istorii Material. Kulturi*, Leningrad 1940, 4. 47-8.

<sup>78</sup> Lefort, L., Un nouveau Fonds Sogdien, *Le Muséon* 1934. 47. 346.

<sup>79</sup> *Sogdiiskii Sbornik*, ed. A. Freiman, Leningrad 1934.

<sup>80</sup> Ṭabarī 2. 1439.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* 1509; cf. Barthold, Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen, *loc. cit.* 27.

<sup>82</sup> *Divân Lughat al Turk*, Istanbul 1917, 1. 30.

<sup>83</sup> Narshakhī, *op. cit.* 16-17.

<sup>84</sup> Ṭabarī 2. 1186.

Disregarding minor details, the boundary between Iran and Tûrân is represented as the Oxus.<sup>85</sup>

Recently Minorski has questioned the long tradition of accepting the equation of Tûrân with Turkistan. He says that the term Tûrân became "later by a sort of phonetic calembour associated with the Turks," and adds that Firdawsî "was in a great measure responsible for this situation, for he was too vividly impressed by the misfortunes which the Samanids had suffered at the hands of the recent Turkish invaders."<sup>86</sup>

It is definite that, according to the *Shâhnâma*, as a tenth and eleventh century source, Transoxania was the land of the Turks in pre-Islamic times. It is also true that the *Shâhnâma* must have been responsible for spreading the word Tûrân, as meaning Turkistan, into Arabic. For in Arabic the name Tûrân was given to the district of Makrân. In Persian, however, Tûrân seems not to have changed meaning with Firdawsî (932-1021). Ibn Khurdâdbih (ca. 825-912), writing in Arabic, associates Tûrân with Turk in the same manner as Firdawsî.<sup>87</sup> This shows that the meaning of Tûrân as Turkistan existed in the time of ibn Khurdâdbih, who was of Persian extraction. Al Khwârazmî, writing in 967 (Firdawsî began to write the *Shâhnâma* in 975 and completed it over thirty years later), explains Marz-i Tûrân, i. e., the boundary of Tûrân, as the Frontier of the Turks; his statement also makes it clear that Tûrân was an old word in his time.<sup>88</sup> It should also be noted that Daqîqî's use of the term Tûrân is identical with that of his younger contemporary Firdawsî.<sup>89</sup>

Mas'ûdî in his *murûj al dhahab* (written ca. 945) describes Afrâsiyâb as 'Turkish' and as the

king of the Turks.<sup>90</sup> This is also in agreement with Firdawsî's use of the terms 'Turk' and 'Tûrân.' The Qarakhanids emphasized their Turkish extraction by calling themselves 'The Descendants of Afrâsiyâb' (Âl-i Afrâsiyâb) from the beginning of their rule in 932. An epic poem on this legendary hero, known chiefly through the Iranian accounts about him, existed among the Turks, and also there existed among them a cult of lamentation over Afrâsiyâb. Maḥmûd al Kâshgharî quotes fragments of that poem on this hero whose full name he gives as Afrâsiyâb Tunga Alp.<sup>91</sup> That this cult of lamentation existed among the Turks long before the time of Firdawsî is indicated by a reference to it in the Orkhon Inscriptions. Gûl Tegin won a victory over the Oghuz in the year 714 "having slain them at the time of the funeral of Tunga Tegin." The cult seems to have been widespread. On the wall of the Buddhist temple No. 19 of the Uyghur Turks in Bezeklik exists a portrait of a Turkish prince, whose blood-stained mouth and costume reveal that he represents a martyr. The name of the prince is to be read in the badly preserved red line "Tunga" and at the beginning of the second red line "Tegin," on the left hand black line "Tunga ol" (this is Tunga).<sup>92</sup> According to Narshakhî, Râmîtan, a settlement twelve miles north of Bukhara, was used by Afrâsiyâb as his capital.<sup>93</sup> The association of Afrâsiyâb with this general district is strengthened by the existence of the citadel of Afrâsiyâb is Samarqand.

In conclusion, it would seem unreasonable to deny the value of the *Shâhnâma* as a source for the history of the Turks by assuming the existence of a phonetic confusion.

There is ample evidence not only that Turks inhabited the land beyond the Oxus, but also that they lived in large numbers in the territories to the southwest of that river.

Dahistan, the present Kara Kum desert region and part of Jurjan, had Turkish inhabitants before the Arab conquests. Yazdegird II (440-457) built a fortress, the Shahristân-i Yazdegird, against their attacks.<sup>94</sup> Fîrûz (459-483) also built

<sup>85</sup> This is in general agreement with Sebeos, Armenian historian of the seventh century. He associates Turkistan with Dahistan or its immediate vicinity, and according to him the Oxus river rises in Turkistan. Cf. *Histoire d'Heracleitus*, tr. F. Macler, Paris 1904, 63, 49. In a Pahlawi document the location of Soghd is described as follows: 'the land of Sogdiana is on the way from Turkistan to China in the region far to the north.' Cf. *BSOS* 6. 1932. 950.

<sup>86</sup> *BSOS* 9. 1938. 625.

<sup>87</sup> *BGA* 6. 17.

<sup>88</sup> *Mafâtih al 'ulûm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leyden 1895, 114. See also J. M. Unwalla, *Journal K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 1928. 11. 85.

<sup>89</sup> *Shâhnâma*, ed. Vullers, 3. 1495-1553; tr. Warner and Warner, 5. 30-87.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* 1. 289.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.* 1. 44, 11-13.

<sup>92</sup> Validi, A.-Z, On Mubarakshah Ghuri, *BSOS* 6. 1932. 852.

<sup>93</sup> *Op. cit.* 6. 14.

<sup>94</sup> Marquart, *Eransahr*, 55.

a frontier city against the Turks, calling it by his name.<sup>95</sup> Khusraw Anūshirawān decimated the Turks who lived in Jurjan, settling the remnants in specified areas.<sup>96</sup>

Jurjan was only conquered in 716 by Yazīd ibn al Muhallab, governor of Khurasan. At that time the area was ruled by a marzbān, Fīrūz ibn Qūl.<sup>97</sup> Qūl is the Turkish word for slave, but it was frequently used for nobles and rulers, e. g., Nādir Shāh of 18th century Iran. Dahistan was occupied by Turks with their leader Sūl al Turkī, who maintained headquarters on the island of Buḥīr in the Caspian Sea.<sup>98</sup> Fīrūz ibn Qūl feared the designs of Sūl on Jurjan and sought the aid of Yazīd ibn al Muhallab. Sūl, however, advanced and seized all of Jurjan. Yazīd in turn caused Sūl to retreat to his island, where the Arabs besieged him. He sought peace, but Yazīd held out for unconditional surrender.<sup>99</sup> Yazīd finally won and proceeded to massacre 14,000 Turkish prisoners.<sup>100</sup> The poet Sūlī of the ninth century was a descendant of this prince;<sup>101</sup> other persons bearing the name Sūl, some of them of the same family, are frequently mentioned by Moslem authors.<sup>102</sup>

Throughout its history Dahistan has been the habitat of nomads, quick to raid and pillage. ‘Abdullāh ibn Tāhīr (830-844) built a fort for protection against the ancestors of the Turkmans.<sup>103</sup> The Turks of this district were not only nomads, but they also peopled the numerous irrigated oases.<sup>104</sup>

The situation was much the same in Khwarazm. We have already mentioned a statement of ‘Awfī concerning the existence of Turks there in pre-Islamic times.<sup>105</sup> In 728 Ṭabarī mentions Turks aiding the people of Kardar, a Khwarazmian vil-

lage, against the Arabs under Ashras.<sup>106</sup> Similar notices for towns in Khurasan may be found. A group of Turks robbed Yazīd ibn al Muhallab and his companions near Zamm, a town south of Bukhara on the Khurasan side of the Oxus river,<sup>107</sup> and we have seen that Mu’taṣīm recruited Turks into his army from Khurasan.<sup>108</sup>

Mas’ūdī mentions settled and nomad Turks living about twenty days’ trip from Balkh.<sup>109</sup> In 720 Maslama ibn ‘Abd al Malik, governor of Khurasan, sent Mudrik ibn Dhabb al Kalbī against a rebel al Mufaḍḍal ibn al Muhallab. Al Mufaḍḍal was killed and ibn Sūl, ruler of Quhistan, was taken prisoner.<sup>110</sup> Sūl, as has been noted, is a common Turkish name. Turks are also mentioned in Khuttal in 737 when Asad invaded this area.<sup>111</sup> Balkh is frequently said to be a center of the Turks by Moslem authors.<sup>112</sup> Tarkhan Nīzak was a native of Balkh and frequently raised revolts against the Arabs, as Chinese sources confirm.<sup>113</sup> The latter are specific in saying that the western boundary of the Turks extended beyond Balkh to Marw in 630 A. D.<sup>114</sup> Balādhurī also mentions Marw as the last outpost of the Sasanians against the Turks at the time of the Arab conquests.<sup>115</sup>

The Chinese sources give specific statements about Turks living in Zabulistan, located southwest of Tukharistan. The T’ang Shu says, ‘In this kingdom live a population mixed of T’u Chüeh, people of Chi Pin (Kapicha), and Tukharistan.’<sup>116</sup> According to Mas’ūdī there were many languages and peoples in Zabulistan, one group going back to the descendants of Jafeth ibn Nūh, the ancestor of the Turks.<sup>117</sup> When al Ḥajjāj named ‘Abd al Raḥmān ibn al Ash’ath regent of Seistan, the latter fought against the Turkish Ghuzz and Khalaj, who lived there.<sup>118</sup> Mas’ūdī says that the Ghuzz and Khalaj (Khalukh) are Turkish people who live in Bust, Bistam,

<sup>95</sup> Ṭabarī 1. 894. 17.

<sup>96</sup> Nöldeke, T., *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, 123. 157.

<sup>97</sup> Ṭabarī 2. 1323.6.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 1325. 8; cf. 1. 2839.

<sup>100</sup> Balādhurī 336; Ibn Khurdādhbih 262.

<sup>101</sup> Al Isfahānī, *Kitāb al aghānī* 9. 21.

<sup>102</sup> Ṭabarī 2. 121. 15, 1226.

<sup>103</sup> Istakhrī, *BGA* 1. 214; Sam’ānī, *Kitāb al ansāb*, London 1913, 234b. The name Turkman apparently existed already in the eighth century, for it is used by the Chinese in that era. Cf. Hirth, F., *Sitzber. Akad. Wiss. München, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 2. 1899. 263.

<sup>104</sup> Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 35.

<sup>105</sup> See above, p. 199 and note 56.

<sup>106</sup> Ṭabarī 2. 1525.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* 1078.

<sup>108</sup> See above, p. 199 and note 60.

<sup>109</sup> Mas’ūdī, *Kitāb al tanbih wa’l ishrāf*, *BGA* 8. 64. 7.

<sup>110</sup> Ṭabarī 2. 1411. 10.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.* 1593-4.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* 156.

<sup>113</sup> Chavannes, *op. cit.* 196, 252.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* 264.

<sup>115</sup> Balādhurī 350.

<sup>116</sup> T’ang Shu, ch. 221.

<sup>117</sup> *Op. cit.* (*Prairies*), 1. 349.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* 5. 302.

and Seistan.<sup>119</sup> It is noteworthy that the Shâh of Kabul had to send 2000 Ghuzz slaves yearly to 'Abdullâh ibn Tâhir as tribute.<sup>120</sup> It is attested that the Kabul Shâh was a Turk.<sup>121</sup>

There are some reports of interest concerning the relations between the Turks and the Sasanians. There were Turkish soldiers in the army of Bah-râm Chûbîn, Persian general and usurper of the throne, whose most prominent bodyguards were three Turks, and Khusraw II Parwîz (590-628), after his defeat by Bahrâm, fled into Byzantine territory pursued by Turkish and Kabul cavalry.<sup>122</sup> The Byzantine emperor Maurice agreed to aid Parwîz regain his throne. In the ensuing battle by the Zâb river, a tributary of the Tigris, Bahrâm was defeated. Khusraw put to death many prisoners whom he captured from Bahrâm's army, but spared the Turks because some of them bore the sign of the cross on their foreheads. This was done apparently out of respect to the religion of his ally.<sup>123</sup> It is not known if any of these Turks were recruited from the border provinces of the Sasanian Empire.

Islamic sources also mention the presence of Turks in the border regions of Seistan. In 698, 'Ubaydullâh ibn Abî Bakra fought the Turks and their leader Rutbîl there.<sup>124</sup> In the biography of Ya'qûb ibn Layth, ibn Khallikân claims that this fierce Moslem leader killed Rutbîl.<sup>125</sup> We find the same confusion here as in the case of Tarkhun, ruler of Soghd. Rutbîl may have been a title like Tarkhan.<sup>126</sup> Turks are mentioned fighting in Seistan in the time of Hârûn al Rashîd,<sup>127</sup> and Ya'qûb ibn Layth.<sup>128</sup>

In the Seistan and Gandhara regions the Arab conquerors came into contact mostly with the Hephthalites, whom they recognized to be Turks.<sup>129</sup> There has been objection to the contention that these once powerful opponents of the Sasanian Empire were Turkish. The descendants of the Hephthalites lived not only in the Seistan and

Gandhara regions, but in many other areas considered in this article. It therefore becomes necessary to discuss this question in some detail.

In the fifth century A. D. Transoxania and adjacent countries were overrun by a people called the Hephthalites. The chief sources for the early history of these people are the Chinese dynastic histories and reports of travellers. However, they give no definite indication of the ethnic composition of this people. Direct evidence from Hephthalite coins, seals, and manuscript remains is lacking. In the Berlin Academy of Science several manuscript fragments are preserved in the same script as the Hephthalite coins.<sup>130</sup> This alphabet, it would seem, is derived from the Greek used in Bacteria by the successors of Alexander and the Kushans. The fragments were brought from Turfan by the Chinese Turkistan expedition of A. von Le Coq in the first decade of our century. Unfortunately, they have not been deciphered.

The names of a few Hephthalite kings are known. Ṭabarî, e. g., mentions one called Akhshunwâr.<sup>131</sup> This word has been considered a derivation from the Soghdian xš'wn or xšâvan, 'power, rule,'<sup>132</sup> and has also been equated with the Turkish personal name 'Aqsungur' or 'Aqsunqur.'<sup>133</sup> F. W. K. Müller, on the other hand, claims that it is a title rather than a name.<sup>134</sup> The Turkish title of tegin was used by the Hephthalites as well as other groups in the area of present Afghanistan.<sup>135</sup>

Some scholars have accepted the statements that the Hephthalites were Turkish, while Pelliot has declared that they spoke a Mongol tongue<sup>136</sup> (only a few Hephthalite words have come down to us) and Stein has equated them with the Juan-Juan.<sup>137</sup> The information gleaned from Byzantine sources, while meagre, is of importance, for the Moslems encountered the Hephthalites only after the politi-

<sup>130</sup> Le Coq, A. von, *SPAW* 1909. 1049, 1061.

<sup>131</sup> Ṭabarî 1. 874; Dînawarî, ed. V. Guirgass, Leyden 1888, 61. 14.

<sup>132</sup> Henning, W., *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus*, *ZDMG* 1934. 584.

<sup>133</sup> Günaltay, M. Ş., *Ibni Sina Milliyeti*, etc., in *Ibni Sina*, Istanbul 1937, 15.

<sup>134</sup> *SPAW* 1907. 265.

<sup>135</sup> Chavannes, *op. cit.* 225; cf. *Pei Shih*, ch. 97, under Kan t'o Kuo.

<sup>136</sup> Pelliot, P., *A propos des Comans*, *JA* 1920. 140.

<sup>137</sup> Stein, M. A., *Innermost Asia, its geography as a factor in history*, *Geographical Journal* 1925, 491.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 3. 254.

<sup>120</sup> Balâdhurî 401. 9; Ibn Khurdâdbih 37. 11.

<sup>121</sup> Chavannes, *op. cit.* 197.

<sup>122</sup> Nöldeke, *op. cit.* 274, 275.

<sup>123</sup> Theophilactus Simocatta, *History*, book 5, ch. 10.

<sup>124</sup> Ṭabarî 2. 1037.

<sup>125</sup> Ibn Khallikân, 4. 302.

<sup>126</sup> *Târikh-i Sistân*, Tehran 1314 (1896), 91 note 2.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* 152.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* 215.

<sup>129</sup> Ṭabarî 2. 109, 156, 493.

cal existence of the latter had ceased. On the other hand, the Moslems came into more intimate and longer contact with the descendants of these people whom they called Haytal. Hence, as far as their ethnic composition is concerned, or at least that of their descendants, the importance of the Islamic sources should not be minimized.

Among the Byzantine sources, the most detailed information is given by Procopius, who says they are Huns and he calls them by that name. He adds, they do not mix with any of the other Huns, for they occupy a land far from them. They are not nomads, nor do they have ugly faces as other Huns.<sup>138</sup> John Malalas, Syrian writer of the sixth century,<sup>139</sup> and Zachariah of Mytilene,<sup>140</sup> both designate them as Huns, as well as the Armenian historian Moses of Chosrene.<sup>141</sup> The Byzantines generally used the name 'Hun' for Turkish peoples. They applied this name to the T'u Chüeh,<sup>142</sup> Avars,<sup>143</sup> Bulgars,<sup>144</sup> and the Khazars.<sup>145</sup> Theophanes calls Baian, the Avar chief, 'king of the Huns.'<sup>146</sup> The Armenian writer Vardan designated the Khazars and Kipchaks as Huns,<sup>147</sup> and one scholar has proposed that the Old Syriac name for the Western Turks was 'Hun.'<sup>148</sup> A similar sounding name, Khyon, occurs in Pahlawî and Avestan texts. There were the White Khyons and the Red Khyons, and they were among the northeastern neighbors of Iran. The word Khyon was probably later transferred to 'Hun.'<sup>149</sup> In view of the general habit of designating the Turks as Huns, it is interesting to note the phonetic similarity between 'Hun' and Hsiung-nu.

The Hephthalites were called 'Haytal' in Arabic. This form and its variations were employed by the Armenians for the Turkish people as well as their lands beyond Iran.<sup>150</sup> This is also true of Moslem geographers.<sup>151</sup> Maqdîsî uses Haytal in the same sense as Transoxania,<sup>152</sup> while Mas'ûdî says the Hayâtîla (pl. of Haytal) are "Soghd" and live between Bukhara and Samarqand.<sup>153</sup> Balâdhurî says that they were a Turkish people although some claimed that they were Persians banished to Herat by Fîrûz, the Sasanian king, where they associated with Turks.<sup>154</sup> Thus it is seen that the Islamic writers try to be critical and report any contrary opinions. Syriac sources, among them the Chronicle of Seert, designate the Hephthalites as 'Turks.'<sup>155</sup> Thus the Hephthalites, besides being called Huns, the name generally given to the Turkish peoples, were also called Turks, not only by the Moslems but also by some Syriac authors. This constitutes a general agreement between Byzantine, Syrian, Armenian, and Moslem authors on the ethnic constitution of the Hephthalites.

Al Khwârazmî designates the Khalaj Turks as the descendants of the Hephthalites.<sup>156</sup> This view may be said to be shared by others but only implicitly. The assertion of al Khwârazmî has been accepted in a very limited sense by Marquart and Minorski, although they claim no other people as the descendants of the Hephthalites.<sup>157</sup>

There is no doubt that the Khalaj were Turks.

<sup>150</sup> Drouin, E., *Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites*, *Le Muséon* 1895. 72-8.

<sup>151</sup> Le Strange, G., *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 433, 438.

<sup>152</sup> Maqdîsî, *BGA* 3. 261.

<sup>153</sup> *Op. cit.* (Prairies), 2. 195. The way in which 'Soghd' is used here is unusual. B. de Meynard and P. de Courteille translate this passage as 'the Hayatila are Soghdians who live between Bukhara and Samarqand.' The more likely alternative would be 'they are in Soghd and live between Bukhara and Samarqand.'

<sup>154</sup> Balâdhurî 453. 14.

<sup>155</sup> Scher, A., *Histoire nestorienne* (Chronique de Seert), *Patrologia Orientalia* 7. 1911. 128.

<sup>156</sup> *Op. cit.* 119. 'Abdal,' considered a derivation of the name 'Hephthalite,' is used to designate a tribe of Turkmans in northern Afghanistan at the present time. (Jarring, G., On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, Humanities series, 1939. 38, 56). On the other hand, Abdel, as a name given to a Turkish people, existed in the sixth century; cf. Eransahr 253.

<sup>157</sup> Marquart, *ibid.*; Minorski, *BSOS* 10.1940. 426-30.

<sup>138</sup> Dewing, H., *History of the Wars*, London 1914, 13-5.

<sup>139</sup> John Malalas, *Chronicle*, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1831, 451.

<sup>140</sup> Hamilton, F. K., and Brooks, E. W., tr. *The Syrian Chronicle of Zachariah of Mytilene*, London 1899, 151-3, 328, 344.

<sup>141</sup> Langlois, V., *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes l'Arménie*, Paris 1869, 2. 351.

<sup>142</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor, Leipzig 1883, 1. 245.

<sup>143</sup> Theophilactus Simocatta, *History*, ed. De Boor, Leipzig 1887, 12. 189, 263.

<sup>144</sup> Theophanes, *op. cit.* 219.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.* 316.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.* 315.

<sup>147</sup> Muylderman, J., *La Domination Arabe en Arménie*, Paris 1927, 105.

<sup>148</sup> Mingana, A., *Bulletin John Rylands Library*, Manchester 1925, 9. 303 note 3.

<sup>149</sup> Bailey, H. W., *op. cit.* 946.

They are mentioned in connection with the campaigns of Ya'qûb ibn al Layth al Şaffâr against Zabul, in the present Afghanistan area, in the second half of the ninth century.<sup>158</sup> Istakhrî, as well as ibn Hawqal, mentions the Khalaj in the Kabul area.<sup>159</sup> Yâqût, quoting Istakhrî, says, 'The Khalaj are a kind of Turks. They came to the land of Kabul in ancient times. They are owners of land and are of Turkish appearance, dress, and language.'<sup>160</sup> Idrîsî says much the same.<sup>161</sup> Mas'ûdî speaks of Khalaj (Khallukh?) in the region of Seistan, extending as far as Bust.<sup>162</sup> Maḥmûd of Ghazna used them in his army in 1008 and earlier, recruiting them from the regions of Ghazna and Balkh.<sup>163</sup> Ibn Khurdâdbih states that the Khalaj are on the Khurasan side of the river (apparently the Oxus) and in another passage, speaking of the vicinity of Talas, says that the Khalaj (Khallukh?) have their winter quarters there.<sup>164</sup> From these reports of the Moslem writers it results that during the tenth century the Khalaj lived over an area well corresponding to that previously occupied by the Hephthalites.

Minorski finds the two statements of ibn Khurdâdbih contradictory. He says, "we can hardly suppose that a tribe, living on the west of the Oxus, travelled a tremendous distance to its winter quarters across two such mighty streams as Amudaryâ and Sir-daryâ."<sup>165</sup> It is also unlikely that a single tribe could spread over vast areas extending from Talas to Bust. There is no reason, however, to assume that the Khalaj were a single tribe. We know that the Hephthalites were city dwellers and, as we have seen, it is stated explicitly that the Khalaj were owners of land.

Finally, we may consider the following passage taken from Jâḥiẓ of Basra, written about the

middle of the ninth century: "And you said, I maintain that the Khurâsânî and the Turk are akin, and that they come from a single region, and that the case of those Easterners and the matter of that region is the same and not different, and closely connected and not divided. And if their roots are not firmly fixed in the same stem, yet they resemble one another. And the borders of the countries which include them, even if not identical, correspond. And in the aggregate they are all Khurasanis, though particular clans are distinguished by particular characteristics and discriminated in certain respects. And you expressed an opinion that the difference between Turk and Khurâsânî is not so great as that between Arab and non-Arab or Greek and Slav or Negro and Abyssinian, not to mention other more dissimilar cases. But the difference is like that between the Meccan and the Medinite, the nomad and the villager, the man of the plain and the man of the mountain. . . . And you assert that even if these (Turk and Khurâsânî) differ in some of their idioms and are unlike in some of their characteristics, even so differ the highest tribe of Tamîm and the lowest of Qays, and the incorrect Hawâzin from the correct Ḥijâzites; these differences, again, for the most part are similar to those between Ḥimyar and the provinces of Yemen."<sup>166</sup>

Jâḥiẓ presented his essay to Fath ibn Khaqan, the Turkish vezier and man of learning, whose statements he reproduces. By Khurasan is probably meant the territory under the governor of Khurasan who had jurisdiction also over other neighboring territories including Transoxania. The term Turk most likely refers to non-Moslem Turks, especially those living outside Islamic territory. In fact, there was a tendency among Moslem writers to restrict the usage of the term Turk in this manner.

As will be noticed, in this article we have not discussed linguistic questions, but have limited ourselves to consideration of historical sources. We have by no means presented all of the evidence, and the material presented has led us to the following conclusions:

#### 1. There were considerable numbers of Turks

<sup>158</sup> Van Vloten, G., *Tria Opuscula auctore Abu Othman Amr ibn Bahr al Djahiz Basrensi*, Leyden 1903, 29 f.; Hartley-Walker, J., *Jahiz of Basra to Fath ibn Khaqan on the Exploits of the Turks*, *JRAS* 1915. 638.

<sup>158</sup> Ibn Athîr, *Kâmil*, ed. C. I. Tornberg, 7. 226.

<sup>159</sup> Istakhrî, *BGA* 1. 244. 16; Ibn Hawqal, *BGA* 2. 302.

<sup>160</sup> *Op. cit.* 4. 220.

<sup>161</sup> Jaubert, A., tr. *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Paris 1836, 1. 457.

<sup>162</sup> *Op. cit.* (*Prairies*), 3. 254; 5. 302.

<sup>163</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, London 1928, 291 note 3. See also above, p. 199 and note 59.

<sup>164</sup> *BGA* 6. 31, 28. Although Khallukh is a possible reading of the text, Khalaj is preferable, for Idrîsî also speaks of Khalaj in the vicinity of Talas. See Eransahr 253.

<sup>165</sup> *BSOS* 10. 1940. 428.

within the territory of Islam in its northeastern provinces in pre-Saljuq times and many lived in cities.

2. They were present in those areas before the Arab conquest and remained there after the annexation of these lands by the Moslems.

3. The Soghdians constituted a small population and Soghd was a small territory of which the Soghdians were not the sole inhabitants.

4. The equation of Tûrân with Turkistan which occurs in the *Shâhnâma* is quite acceptable, for it is in agreement with historical sources.

5. The available evidence indicates that the Hephthalites were Turks. The Khalaj, and presumably some other Turks who were incorporated into the Moslem domain, were descendants of the Hephthalites.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### *A Recent Excavation*

A quarter of a mile outside the West Gate of the City of Chengtu there is a mound forty feet high on which Sze-ma Hsiang-ju<sup>1</sup> is said to have played his lute, and on this account for a century or more the mound was looked upon as one of the famous relics of Chengtu.

Three years ago when trying to make a dug-out in the mound, workers hit against some very hard brick and stone work. This discovery came to the ears of the Director of the Provincial Museum, Feng Han-I (trained at Harvard), who is now one of our University Museum advisers, and he at once made investigations. Apparently the mound covered an ancient tomb, and the legend about Sze-ma Hsiang-ju was incorrect.

Only lately has permission been given to open the tomb. After clearing away the bricks and stones the tomb chamber was revealed, covered with a deep layer of mud. It is eighty feet long, twenty feet wide and twenty feet high, and the mud layer about fourteen to fifteen feet thick, some of the mud having seeped through into the tomb chamber.

At the back of the tomb chamber is the 'throne' of the tomb, upon which is a seated statue, probably the statue of the dead man. In front of him lies a collapsed case which contains a seal made of pale green jade. It bears a beautiful inscription surrounded by patterns, the handle being in dragon formation, indicating that this is the mortuary of an Emperor who ruled over the whole of Szechwan during the tenth century. He died in 918 A. D. In the case there is also a large Jade (Pi) perforated circular disc.

On the front part of the 'throne' there are another two cases also in a collapsed condition,

lined with silver and inlaid with silver and gold in discoidal design. In these cases are two sets of jade books, composed of fifty-three leaves one foot two inches long, by one and a half inches wide and half an inch thick, and bound together with copper strings. The inscription shows this to be a long essay or commentary on the gracious reign of the Emperor Wang Chien.<sup>2</sup> His kingdom is called the Ch'ien Shu. Between the cases stands a bronze vessel which is very much corroded and which was probably used for incense. In front of the 'throne' are *bas relief* designs of lions and dragons.

Later it is hoped to be able to investigate the coffin. If it contains lacquer, textiles or pottery, these may throw much light on the history of China in general and of Szechwan in particular.

FROM WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY  
(NOTES BY L. C. GOODRICH)

<sup>2</sup> Wang Chien 王建, whose grave has been excavated, was a native of Wu-yang in Honan, born about A. D. 847. After an adventurous youth he rose to be a general during the troubled years at the end of the T'ang dynasty (ended 906). When Huang Ch'ao captured the T'ang capital, Ch'ang-an, in the rebellion of 878-880, Wang was in Ssü-ch'uan and there received the exiled emperor of the T'ang. In 891 he was named governor of the great province, in 901 prince, and when the house of T'ang collapsed he declared himself independent (autumn of 906), and constituted a new kingdom, that of Early Shu, ruling for 12 years. He died in the summer of 918.

Ch'êng-tu (his capital) was at this time a place of wealth and cultural importance. It is thought by some historians to have been the place where printing began. At the time of the exiled T'ang emperor's visit in 881-883, a scholar who accompanied him noted that block printed books were on sale in the city. In the next century paper money too was issued at Ch'êng-tu, and about 944 part of the corrected text of the Confucian canon was engraved on stone, an act similar to that of a T'ang emperor in the years 836-841.

<sup>1</sup> Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (d. 118/117 B. C.), a high official and poet, was a native of Ch'êng-tu.

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The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries

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# The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries

CHARLES M. BRAND

Πύργον γάρ σε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀκράδαντον λογιζόμενος. . . .

Michael Italikos, Letter to John Axouchos

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Byzantine Empire retained its power to attract and incorporate individuals of other nationalities, including Armenians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Westerners. Membership in the aristocracy, that is, those granted court titles and connected with the ruling dynasty by blood or marriage, was open to native-born and foreigner alike. For prudential reasons, rulers frequently sought to introduce outsiders into this elite.

Modern scholars, often writing from the perspective of the nationality in question, have investigated the foreigners who entered Byzantium, especially those who joined the aristocracy. One group, however, has been noted only in passing: the Turks. The barriers which hindered Turkish integration into Byzantium were formidable: Greeks and Turks have very different languages; Islam was not an acceptable religion for a Byzantine; the style of life of the Turkish raider contrasted markedly with that of the Byzantine subject; Turks would seem to have been mortal enemies of the Byzantines. This Greco-Turkish hostility was probably the least important of these hindrances in an eleventh-twelfth century context, when no enmity was viewed as permanent. Malikshah, son of the Turkish victor at Mantzikert, negotiated with Michael VII and twice suggested a marriage alliance to Alexius I.<sup>1</sup> Kilidj Arslan II

made peace with Manuel and paid a state visit to Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> But the barriers of language, religion, and manner of life were serious ones. That a significant number of Turks made the transition proves that Byzantium had not exhausted its power to attract and absorb.

This study concentrates on those Turks who came from the East through Anatolia to enter imperial service. Byzantine authors had long applied the name “Tourkoi” to a variety of Asian peoples, including the Magyars and Khazars;<sup>3</sup> to include members of every such group would enlarge this

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historical work. The spelling of personal names has occasioned difficulties; I have generally retained Byzantine spelling for Turks who entered Byzantine service, while giving Turkish equivalents at their first appearance. In spelling Turkish names, a compromise between *EP*<sup>2</sup> and Setton’s *History of the Crusades* has been attempted. The word “Perses” has normally been rendered as “Turk.”

I thank Bryn Mawr College for a sabbatical, part of which was used to write this paper. In the final stages of preparation, I benefited from the library of Dumbarton Oaks; I am grateful for a Fellowship there in the spring of 1988. Thanks go to Prof. Stephen Salsbury for editorial assistance, and very special thanks to my wife for copy-reading the manuscript. I am also grateful to the secretaries at Bryn Mawr College, Lorraine Kirschner, Deanne Bell, and Bunnie King, who typed a most difficult manuscript. Other debts will be acknowledged in appropriate places.

<sup>2</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin, 1975), 118–21 (all citations are to vol. I); John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio [sic] Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke, Bonn ed. (1836), 204–8.

<sup>3</sup>G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1958) (hereafter *BT*), II, 320–27, reviews the principal usages. The so-called Vardariote Turks were probably Hungarian: see Nicolas Oikonomides, “Vardariotes—W.l.nd.r—V.n.nd.r: Hongrois installés dans la vallée du Vardar en 934,” in his *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance (VIIe–XVe s.)* (London, 1976), Part XXII, with a review of the previous bibliography.

<sup>1</sup>On Michael VII, see P. Gautier, “Lettre au sultan Malik-Shah, rédigée par Michel Psellos,” *REB* 35 (1977), 73–97, with anterior bibliography. On Alexius I, see Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1937–45), II, 65, 75–76.

It may seem rash for a non-Turkophone to attempt a study of Turks, but there are no Turkish sources for this period. I am indebted to Aslı Özyar for assistance with a modern Turkish

paper's scope to an unmanageable degree. While the numerous anonymous Turks who immigrated or were brought captive into the Byzantine Empire will be briefly mentioned, the purpose of this study is to examine the integration of Turks into the Byzantine ruling class, from the mid-eleventh century, when Turks first made serious inroads into Byzantine Anatolia, until the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

The paper commences with biographical sketches of the careers of known Turks, considers briefly some questionable cases, and glances at some Turkish leaders who temporarily sought refuge in Byzantium. Using this body of factual information, I will investigate the reasons why Turks entered Byzantine service, the questions of conversion, mechanisms of assimilation, and problems which confronted Turks who joined the Byzantine upper class. In a few cases one can follow a Turk's descendants for several generations and examine the extent of their integration into Byzantium. The attitudes of other Byzantines about the Turkish incomers will also prove of interest: anti-Latin feeling is well known in twelfth-century Byzantium, but anti-Turkish sentiments have only begun to arouse notice.

As early as the tenth century companies of Turks entered Byzantine service; Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions Turks from Fergana in the palace guard.<sup>4</sup> But only after the advent of Seljuk raiders on the eastern frontier did Turkish individuals and bands begin to appear regularly in Byzantine service.<sup>5</sup>

The first of this group was called Amertikes by Attaleiates; Cahen suggests "Amir . . ." or "Khumartekin" as his original name, but identifies him as Harun, son of a Turkish khan, and alludes to him as Ibn Khan. Attaleiates says he boasted royal descent. He first appeared in Byzantium, apparently as a refugee, in the reign of Michael VI (1056–57), and was received with high honor.

<sup>4</sup>Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo*, ed. J. Reiske, Bonn ed., I (1829), 576; II (1830), 674–75. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs seldjoudes dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081* (Nancy, 1913), 15 note 1.

<sup>5</sup>For general surveys of the Turks and Byzantium in the 11th–12th centuries, see J. Laurent's work cited above; K. Amantos, *Σχέσεις Ἑλλήνων καὶ Τούρκων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνδεκατοῦ αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ 1821*, I (Athens, 1955), 19–45; S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), 69–286 (hereafter Vryonis, *Asia Minor*).

Seemingly, he served Isaac I, but then attempted to assassinate Constantine X. Therefore, he was exiled, only to be recalled by Constantine and sent against the Turks in the Diyarbakr region. Because ca. 1063/4, the pay of his troops was suppressed, he transferred his allegiance to the ruler of Aleppo. In the reign of Eudokia (1067) he joined the Turks who had pillaged the eastern themes; in the following year he fought Romanus IV in the region of Membij.<sup>6</sup>

In 1070 Manuel Comnenus, eldest brother of the future emperor Alexius I, was captured by a Turkish leader whom the Byzantines called Chrysoskoulos, apparently Arisighi or Erisgen, brother-in-law of Sultan Alp Arslan. Chrysoskoulos, who was at odds with the sultan, anticipated the arrival of a Turkish army too strong for him to oppose. With little difficulty, Manuel Comnenus persuaded him to change sides, and had the pleasure of returning to Romanus IV leading his former captor as a voluntary adherent to Byzantium. Accorded splendid gifts, Chrysoskoulos received the title of proedros. In 1071 he accompanied the emperor's expedition to Mantzikert, but his activities in this disastrous campaign are unknown. He remained in Byzantine service, however, for in 1078 he acted as intermediary between Nicephorus Botaneiates, then seeking to usurp the throne, and Sulayman ibn Kutlumush, leader of the Turks in Bithynia.<sup>7</sup>

During the reign of Nicephorus III Botaneiates (1078–81), a Byzantine general captured a young Turkish raider of undistinguished birth whom the Byzantines called Tzachas (from Turkish Çaka, Chaka, or Çaqan). His exploits must have been well known, for, when he was brought to Constantinople, the emperor offered him the title of pro-

<sup>6</sup>Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn ed. (1853), 94–95, 108–9; Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτζῃ (*Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus*), ed. E. Tsolakes (Thessalonike, 1968) (hereafter *Skylitzes Cont.*), 120, follows Attaleiates closely; C. Cahen, "La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure (seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> s.)," in his *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London, 1974), Part I, 26 and note 2, who utilizes unpublished Arabic chronicles to identify and date Amertikes' career; C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, trans. J. Jones-Williams (from a still-unpublished French text) (New York, 1968), 27–28 (where he calls him Ibn Khan); Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 66, has no suggestion about the origin of the Greek name.

<sup>7</sup>Nicephorus Bryennios, *Historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. P. Gautier, CFHB 9 (Brussels, 1975), 101–3, 239–41; *Skylitzes Cont.*, 141–42, who notes the youth, short stature, and dark, ill-favored appearance of Chrysoskoulos; J. Laurent, "Byzance et les origines du sultanat de Roum," *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), I, 178; Cahen, "Première pénétration," 27–28 (esp. 27 note 3), 43.

tonobellisimos and rich gifts. In return, Tzachas pledged his loyalty to the emperor. He apparently passed some time at court, for later he was able to call Constantine Dalassenos by name and felt no hesitation in proposing a marriage alliance between their families. But, Tzachas declared, when Alexius I came to the throne (1081), he lost everything. He then struck out on his own, using Smyrna as a base and gaining support from Christian shipwrights who constructed a fleet for him. His career as a pirate-emir, acting in cooperation with the Petchenegs, need not concern us. Ca. 1091 he claimed the title of emperor, used the imperial symbols, and planned to occupy the throne in Constantinople. A year or more later, Alexius convinced Kilidj Arslan I of Nikaia that Tzachas was really aspiring to the sultanate. Under pretense of friendship, Kilidj Arslan inveigled Tzachas into his camp at Abydos and killed him.<sup>8</sup>

The first Turk to achieve a position of high command in Byzantine service was Tatikios. His father had been a "Saracen" taken by John Comnenus,

<sup>8</sup>The details of Tzachas' career discussed in the text are found in Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 114, 157–58, 165–66; other aspects of his career can be followed through Anna's *Alexiad*: see vol. IV (Index, by P. Gautier, Paris, 1976), 128. The question of when Kilidj Arslan wedded the daughter of Tzachas (*Alexiad*, III, 13) cannot be solved. Anna Comnena, II, 165, speaks of the sultan as already son-in-law of Tzachas at the time of the coup at Abydos, but she may have been writing anachronistically. Anna is explicit that Tzachas was slain at Abydos; the "Tzachas" whom John Doukas rather easily expelled from Smyrna in 1097 (*Alexiad*, III, 23–25) was probably a son—Byzantine and western authors easily confused Muslim names and patronymics: S. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, I (Cambridge, 1951), 77 note 1. John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, Bonn ed., III, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (1897), 736–37, stresses Tzachas' undistinguished origin. There is a brief mention of him as Tzakatzas in Michael Glykas, *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn ed. (1836), 620.

On Tzachas, see A. N. Kurat, *Çaka Bey: İzmir ve civarındaki adaların ilk Türk Beyi, M.S. 1081–1096* (Ankara, 1966), 34–35, 39, 51 (I am grateful to Aslı Özyar, a graduate student in Bryn Mawr's Archaeology Department, who read this work and discussed it with me); Vryonis, *Asia Minor*, 211; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), 184–86; I. Mélikoff, Introduction to *La geste de Melik Dānismend* (Paris, 1960), I, 85–88, 122. The most recent work is A. G. K. Savvides, 'Ο Σελτζούκος ἐμίρης τῆς Σμύρνης Τζαχάς (Çaka) καὶ οἱ ἐπιδρομὲς του στὰ Μικρασιατικὰ παραλία, τὰ Νησιά τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ Αἰγαίου καὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη (c. 1081–c. 1106), *Χρονικά* 14 (1982), 9–24; 16 (1984), 51–66 (the second portion of this article is not available to me). Savvides, 14:13, proposes a drastic reorganization of Tzachas' career, based on the thesis that Anna Comnena totally misdated and misorganized her material; his proof seems to be the references to a "Tzachas" in the *Dānismendname* (see the edition by Mélikoff, above). This work, however, is of late composition and legendary content. To abandon the data offered by a contemporary historian in favor of the material in the *Dānismendname* appears unjustified.

father of Alexius I. By "Saracen" Anna Comnena probably means a Turk, since the Turks were the principal Muslim foes of the empire in the 1050s and the most likely to be captured. Tatikios must have been born around 1057 and perhaps was seized as a child, because Crusader sources say his nose had been cut off. He was the same age as Alexius I and was nurtured alongside him. Growing up with Alexius, he became one of his most trusted generals and a member of his personal entourage. Tatikios first appears as a scout during Alexius' campaign against Basilakes, ca. 1078. After Alexius' coronation, he became grand primikerios; while there had been primikerioi of the court, Alexius seems to have invented this title for Tatikios. During the first campaign against the Normans (1081), Tatikios commanded the "Turks living around Ochrida," presumably descendants of the "Turks of the Vardar," who seem to have been Hungarians. From 1086 to 1095, he appears repeatedly, fighting the Petchenegs and the Turks who held Nikaia. Usually he was successful, and Anna Comnena praises his skill and foresight. Late in 1094, he participated in the Synod of Blachernai, with the title "Protoproedros and Grand Primikerios of the Inner Vestiarites." In the same year, he was responsible for frustrating the conspiracy of Nicephorus Diogenes, one of the most dangerous Alexius faced. As a guard outside the emperor's bathhouse, and later outside Alexius' tent, he prevented Diogenes from reaching the emperor. In 1097, after participating in the siege of Nikaia by the Byzantines and Crusaders, he was sent to accompany the First Crusade across Anatolia. He commanded a Byzantine force, acted as guide, and as Alexius' representative received places recovered from the Turks. At the siege of Antioch, in January or February 1198, according to Anna Comnena, Tatikios was deceived by Bohemund into leaving the army; she acknowledges he was also in despair over the famine and the grim outlook. Crusader sources blame his cowardice, but J. France argues that Tatikios had quarreled with both Bohemund and Raymond of St. Gilles, so that his position in the army became untenable. He departed on the pretext of finding food for the starving army, and may actually have arranged food shipments. His explanation apparently satisfied Alexius, for in 1099 the emperor appointed him to a naval command against a Pisan fleet. Thereafter, he disappears from history. A nephew, Constantine, served as tax-surveyor with the title

kouropalates and asekretes sometime before 1104. Tatikios apparently left descendants; a grandson seemingly married a Comnena, and the offspring of that union apparently included the Constantine Tatikios who plotted against Isaac II at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup>

Ca. 1086, after Alexius' defeat of the Normans, the Seljuk sultan of Persia, Malikshah, dispatched an ambassador to seek a treaty with Byzantium. The envoy, whom Anna calls Siaous (i.e., čauš or messenger), asked for a marriage alliance and offered the return of cities occupied by the Turks. "Siaous" possessed a letter from the sultan directing Turkish commanders to surrender their cities. It was to be used if Alexius accepted the marriage alliance. Alexius, anxious to utilize the letter, and impressed with "Siaous'" abilities, discovered that he had been born of a Turkish father and a Georgian mother. The emperor persuaded him to change sides. "Siaous" used his letter to induce the Turkish commander in Sinope to yield that city and others, then returned to Constantinople. He was baptized and presented with gifts, then ap-

pointed doux of Anchialos, far from the Turkish-Byzantine frontier.<sup>10</sup>

In 1092–93, during a period of confusion among the Turks of Bithynia, the region of Kyzikos and Apollonia, west of Brusa, fell into the hands of an Elchanes or Il-Khan. Anna Comnena has again taken a Turkish title for a name. Pressed by Constantine Opos, Elchanes surrendered, became Christian, gained numerous gifts, and took service under the emperor. Elchanes was accompanied by members of his family, and shortly thereafter, when his followers Skaliarios and another, whose name Anna Comnena left blank as she wrote, learned of the rich rewards Elchanes had obtained, they too entered Byzantine service. The unnamed individual received the rank of hyperperilampros. Skaliarios and apparently Elchanes participated in the war with the Cumans in 1094–95. At that time, they were under the command of Tatikios. In 1108, in the struggle with Bohemund, Anna Comnena records the death of "Skaliarios, a Turk who was formerly of the most distinguished leaders in the East, who went over to the emperor and received holy baptism."<sup>11</sup>

In 1097, during the siege of Nikaia, the crusaders captured a Turkish lad named Axouch, whom they presented to Alexius. Since he was ten, the same age as John, the heir to the throne, Alexius made Axouch or John Axouchos his son's companion. The two youths grew up as the closest of friends, and John Axouchos remained throughout his life devoted to the Comneni. When John acceded to the throne in 1118, Axouchos became grand domestikos or commander of the eastern and western armies. So great was his power that even the emperor's relatives, meeting him, would dismount from their horses to do him reverence. His abilities in warfare were equaled by his liberality and benevolence. At the outset of John II's reign, when Anna Comnena's property was confiscated, after her conspiracy in behalf of her husband, Nicephorus Bryennios, it was awarded to

<sup>9</sup> Tatikios is first mentioned in Bryennios, *Hist.*, 287–89; Anna Comnena is especially full on his life: *Alexiad.*, I, 151; II, 67–72, 83–86, 97, 109, 171, 182, 193; III, 12–13, 17–18, 20–21, 40–45. For his title in 1094, see P. Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094): Etude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971), 218. The principal Crusader narratives about him are the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, ed. R. Hill [and R. Mynors] (London, 1962), 34–35; Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades* (hereafter DHC) 9 (Paris, 1969), 54–56; Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill, DHC 12 (Paris, 1977), 69–70. Sources based largely on these accounts are Baudry of Dol, *Historia*, RHC HOcc, IV (Paris, 1879), 44–45; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC HOcc, IV, 175–76; Albert of Aix, *Historia*, RHC HOcc, IV, 315; William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, RHC HOcc, I (Paris, 1844), 107–8, 186–87, 252; see the new ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, under the title *Willelmi tyrensis archiepiscopi Chronicon/Guillaume de Tyr Chronique*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis, 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986), I, 193, 262–63, 321. On Tatikios' nephew, see P. Lemerle, ed., *Actes de Lavra*, Archives de l'Athos 5, I (Paris, 1970), 292.23–24, 28; the text merely says "nephew of the grand primikerios," but no other bearer of the title is known at that era: R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin, 1967), I, 307, 312–15. Dumbarton Oaks possesses two lead seals (nos. 58.106.2183 and 58.106.4145) of a Constantine "Tatekios" or "Tatekes," proto-nobellissimos, both dated 11/12th centuries; I am grateful to John Nesbitt, who confirmed the reading of these seals. On Tatikios' descendants, see Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 423, and the proposed genealogy in K. Barzos, 'Η γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν (hereafter Barzos, Γεν.) (Thessalonike, 1984), II, 254 note 38. The major article about Tatikios is J. France, "The Departure of Tatikios from the Crusader Army," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971), 137–47, but there are sketches of his career in Guiland (see above), Gautier, "Synode des Blachernes," 252–54, and B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), 287–92.

<sup>10</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad.*, II, 65–66; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 274; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 280–81.

<sup>11</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad.*, II, 79–81, 193; III, 105 (whence the quotation). I have tentatively accepted the reading of II, 193.28 proposed by G. Buckler and H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 4 (1927/28), 692. The Elchanes mentioned in *Alexiad.*, II, 211.2, as serving Kilidj Arslan I against Peter the Hermit was probably another person, since the title is not uncommon. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 281, has a brief biography of Skaliarios. On Elchanes, see Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 124, and Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 81. Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 277, has no explanation for the name "Skaliarios."

Axouchos. The wise Turk successfully petitioned the emperor to return her wealth to Anna. Thereby he not only strengthened his reputation but avoided alienating an important branch of the Comneni.<sup>12</sup>

Since the reign of John II is only briefly dealt with by the historians Kinnamos and Nicetas Choniates, and dimly illuminated by contemporary poets and orators, we have few details of John Axouchos' activities in this period. In 1119 he participated in an attack on Laodikeia on the Lykos. An oration shows that Axouchos was wounded in the leg or foot in 1122, in battle with the Petchenegs; John II was deeply grieved thereby. Axouchos also participated in the campaign against Cilicia, Antioch, and northern Syria in 1137–38, and was again wounded. During his absence, Michael Italikos, a rhetorician and teacher in Constantinople, wrote Axouchos first to request his support against those who were slandering Italikos, and again to thank him for his effectual intercession with the emperor.<sup>13</sup>

Axouchos accompanied John II on his final campaign into Cilicia, and was at his side at the time of John's death, April 1143. He was evidently consulted by John about the succession; after the designation of Manuel, Axouchos organized the army to pledge allegiance to the new emperor. Immediately after John's death, Manuel placed his future in the hands of John Axouchos and Chartoularios Basil Tzintziloukes. They were sent to Constantinople to secure the imperial palace and prevent opposition from forming. John, who was clearly the leader of this mission, was eminently successful: the envoys outstripped the news of John's death, and seized Manuel's principal potential opponents, his brother Isaac and his brother-in-law

John Rogerios. Axouchos also had available chrysobulls of increasing generosity to use to win the support of the clergy of Haghia Sophia, but only needed the least costly one. In short, he very efficiently carried out his mission.<sup>14</sup>

The grand domestikos continued to be extremely active in the early years of Manuel's reign. He participated in the attack on Ikonion in 1146, and during the retreat, while the Byzantine army was hard pressed by Turkish forces, he tried to restrain Manuel's personal rashness. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe Axouchos was involved in checking the armies of the Second Crusade, ca. 1147. In the following year, he was appointed to command of the infantry used in the attack on the Normans who held the fortress of Kerkyra or Corfu. When the admiral Stephen Kontostephanos was killed, Axouchos assumed command until the emperor's arrival. During the siege, a riot broke out between the Byzantine troops and their allies, the Venetians. After attempting mediation, Axouchos sent his personal guards, apparently a substantial and stalwart body, and then some regular troops, who suppressed the trouble. After the recovery of Kerkyra, John Axouchos seems to have been given command of a fleet with a mission to go to Ancona. But he never got beyond the river Vjosë in Albania; Kinnamos suggests that he was hindered from proceeding either by lack of naval experience or by advice from the Venetians, who did not desire a restoration of Byzantine power in Italy. Allegedly, the fleet suffered severe losses in a storm. In late 1149 or 1150, Axouchos was sent back to Constantinople, nominally to report on Manuel's victories in the western Balkans. He does not again appear in history; in 1150 he would have been about sixty-three, then a fairly ripe age for an active man.<sup>15</sup>

John Axouchos was apparently well educated, with a good understanding of the rhetorical, clas-

<sup>12</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 9–11; Nicephorus Basilakes, *Oration to John Axouchos, Orationes et Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya (Leipzig, 1984), 85–88, stresses the close companionship of Axouchos and the future emperor, and how Axouchos served as the prickly *akanthos* (a pun on his name) to bloody the hands of John's opponents. This oration was composed between 1138 (the end of John's first Syrian campaign) and John's death in 1143, presumably before John's departure in 1142. Axouchos' name is given as both "Axouch" and "Axouchos." I have chosen the Hellenized form. Axouchos was entitled "sebastos"; the "protosebastos" applied to him in a manuscript heading is probably an error: A. P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyi sostav gosподstvennitshego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), 112 and note 28.

<sup>13</sup>Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 5–6; Basilakes, *Orationes*, 89–91; Michael Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier (Paris, 1972), 222–24 (no. 37), 228–30 (no. 39)—clearly, no. 39 preceded no. 37. Italikos' no. 39 also shows that Axouchos had campaigned on and beyond the Danube (probably in John's Hungarian wars) and toward the Tigris against the "Parthians" and "Medes" (i.e., Turks).

<sup>14</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 41, 46, 48–49; Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 31–32, 37–38, avoids mentioning Axouchos by name in giving an account of these events. William of Tyre, *Hist.*, RHC HOcc, I, 695 (ed. Huygens, II, 705), suggests that Axouchos had supported Isaac for the succession, but this seems unlikely: Manuel would not have entrusted such a delicate mission to Axouchos if there had been any hint of lack of devotion. William wrote many years after these events, and had imperfect sources of information; he even gives the year of John II's death as 1137!

<sup>15</sup>Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 47, 51, 102, 113; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 77, 82, 85–86, 90. At the time of their deaths, Alexius I was about 61, John II, 55, and Manuel I, 61. P. Magdalino, "Isaac *sebastokrator* (III), John Axouch, and a Case of Mistaken Identity," *BMGS* 11 (1987), 207–14 has argued that the "grand stratarchos" who joined Isaac the Sebastokrator (Manuel's

sicizing Greek used by intellectuals of the day. During the eastern campaign of 1137–38, he received and understood Michael Italikos' elaborate letters, and acted in Italikos' favor. After that campaign, Nicephorus Basilakes addressed to him a lengthy oration, a good part of which is devoted to praise of John II, but which also depicts their mutual devotion in very attractive terms. About 1147 Axouchos posed questions to the theologian Nicholas of Methone as to how the Holy Spirit could *substantially* (*ousiodos*) visit and indwell the apostles, as Gregory of Nazianzen had stated, and, if this indwelling was in the same fashion as in Christ, why the apostles were not called *christoi*, and if not, how did it differ. Nicholas delayed a response until a directive from Manuel specifically required him to resolve Axouchos' inquiries. Nicholas noted that at the time, Axouchos was preoccupied with "the danger which hangs over all of us from the advance of all the western nations," evidently a reference to the Second Crusade. The theologian produced a short treatise to answer Axouchos' questions.<sup>16</sup>

Apparently, John Axouchos married about the time of John II's accession; his eldest son, Alexius, is believed to have been born around 1120, and a

daughter, Irene, around 1121. Since Alexius is specified to have been the eldest son, there were one or more additional sons. Another daughter, Eudokia, was born much later, around 1135, possibly from a second wife. Ca. 1135 Irene was betrothed to Alexius Comnenus, a grandson of Alexius I's brother Isaac Comnenus the Sebastokrator, but Alexius died before the wedding occurred. Ca. 1150 Eudokia was betrothed to Stephen Comnenus, also a grandson of Isaac the Sebastokrator, and thus a cousin of the late Alexius. Since it was forbidden for sisters to marry first cousins, the synod heard the case and permitted Eudokia's marriage, because Irene's betrothal did not constitute a marriage.<sup>17</sup>

Sometime in the late eleventh or first half of the twelfth century, there arrived in Byzantium a refugee who was, or claimed to be, a member of the ruling Seljuk house of Nikaia and Ikonion, which descended from Kutlumush or Kutalmish. He was known by the Byzantines as Koutlounousios. All that can be said about him is that he became a Christian and founded a monastery on Mount Athos, to which he presumably retired. The monastery is first attested in 1169, by the signature of its abbot on a charter of Rossikon. Unfortunately there are no twelfth-century documents from his foundation, nor any account of its origin. But the surviving, still-inhabited Monastery of Koutlounousios (or Mone tou Koutlounousiou) rises in the fertile center of the Athos peninsula, a few minutes' walk south of Karyes. It is probably the most permanent memorial of a Turk who entered Byzantine service in this period.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps in the 1130s, probably before 1143, Michael Italikos had an acquaintance, perhaps an ex-

brother) in belittling Manuel at Melangeia (Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 127–28) was John Axouchos, that the latter was indeed a supporter of Isaac, and that Axouchos was the one punished by Manuel, by loss of (the privilege of bearing) the imperial seals. But everywhere else Axouchos is given his correct title of grand domestikos by Kinnamos. There is no evidence that Axouchos had ever had custody of the seals. If it was Axouchos who was belittling Manuel, why did Andronicus verbally attack the Sebastokrator? Why was Isaac punished by temporary exclusion from the imperial presence? If Manuel had been in the slightest degree suspicious of John Axouchos, he would have done far more than remove the seals from him. As it was, Axouchos was clearly high in the emperor's favor. He appears repeatedly in command of troops in 1146–50, after the affair at Melangeia: see below. I am grateful to Prof. Magdalino for an offprint of his study, but I prefer the suggestions of F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180)* (Paris, 1912), 215 note 6.

<sup>16</sup>Nicholas of Methone, *Πρὸς τὸ μέγαν δομέστικον*, ed. A. K. Demetrakopoulos, *Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, I (Leipzig, 1866; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), 199–218 (quotation from p. 200); J. Dräseke, "Nikolaos von Methone," *BZ* 1 (1892), 471–73. Italikos' letters are cited in note 13 above; Basilakes, *Orationes*, 84–91. The fragment of an oration published *ibid.*, 116–19, which Garzya thinks may have been part of the speech addressed to Axouchos, and to fit on p. 89 of his edition, has no reference to Axouchos. Rather, it is addressed to an emperor who has created a navy, is involved with Russians, Serbs, peoples of the steppe, Turks, Germans, and above all, Sicilians, and whose speech is capable of winning support by the force of its eloquence. The author is probably not Basilakes, and the emperor sounds more like Manuel than John or Alexius.

<sup>17</sup>Barzos, *Γεν.*, I, 278–80 (no. 53), 288–91 (no. 57); Balsamon, commentary on canon 69 of St. Basil, in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, ed. G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles (hereafter Rh.-P.), IV (Athens, 1854), 226–27. The career of John Axouchos is discussed by P. Gautier, in Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, 41–44, but his version of the stemma of Axouchos' family must be corrected by comparison with Barzos, *Γεν.*, I, 280 note 7, and 288. Birth dates are tentative, largely based on marriage dates and an assumption that girls married at about age 14. The fullest study on Axouchos is K. M. Mekios, *Ὁ μέγας δομέστικος τοῦ Βυζαντίου Ἰωάννης Ἀξούχος καὶ ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξιος* (Athens, 1932), 15–35, but he did not have available Italikos' letters or the speech by Basilakes, although he was aware of their existence (p. 33). By mistake, Mekios, pp. 27–28, makes Axouchos participate in the attack on Antioch in 1144, a confusion with Prosouch—see below.

<sup>18</sup>P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus*, Archives de l'Athos 2 (Paris, 1946), 4–5; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 171. The most recent contribution to the question of Koutlounousios' origin is D. Nastase, "Les débuts de la communauté oecuménique du Mont Athos," *Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν, Σύμμεκτα*, 6 (1985), 263–67.

student, with a Turkish name, Tziknoglos or something similar, in which the final syllable represents the Turkish -oglu, "son of." Tziknoglos is addressed as "dearest brother," and Italikos inquires about his sister's health. The existence of a sister argues that Tziknoglos was the son of a Turk who had married in Byzantium. Tziknoglos has been utilizing a magician or sorcerer to heal his sister; Italikos simultaneously protests horror at this and claims to know thoroughly such "Chaldaean" magic, but not to use it. In another letter he alludes to Tziknoglos' high admiration for the grand oikonomos, the administrator of Haghia Sophia's revenues. Possibly Tziknoglos was a former student of Italikos and had obtained a position within the clergy of Haghia Sophia.<sup>19</sup>

Among the officers who served their military apprenticeship under John II was Prosouch or Borsuq, who is stated by Kinnamos to have been "a Turk by birth, but who had shared in a Roman [i.e., Byzantine] upbringing and education."<sup>20</sup> Shortly after Manuel's accession, in 1144, the emperor dispatched an expedition against Raymond of Antioch. Command was given to the brothers Andronicus and John Kontostephanos, but they were apparently youthful and untried, for Manuel attached to them Prosouch, stated to be experienced in warfare. A few pages later, Kinnamos refers to this army as "those with Prosouch,"<sup>21</sup> thus suggesting that the Turk was the real commander of the expedition. The campaign enjoyed some successes. In 1147, at the time of the advance of the Second Crusade, Prosouch commanded a force sent to observe the German Crusaders as they marched through Thrace. Nicetas Choniates would have us believe that Prosouch negotiated with them and was substantially responsible for the achievement of peace between the Byzantine and German forces. While Prosouch is not again mentioned, he evidently married, for a son or grandson, Nicephorus Prosouchos, was praitor or gov-

ernor of Hellas in the reign of Andronicus I; he left favorable recollections in the mind of Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens.<sup>22</sup>

If the careers of most Turks hitherto noticed are fairly clear, that of Poupakes presents chronological problems. The name evidently derives from "Abu-Bakr," a not-uncommon Muslim one. Poupakes first appears as an aide to Manuel in 1146, during the retreat from Ikonion. He assisted the emperor in making forays and laying ambushes for the fast-moving Turkish cavalry, but also counseled Manuel against excessive rashness.<sup>23</sup> In 1149, during the siege of Kerkyra, Poupakes, then a member of the bodyguard of the grand domestikos, Axouchos, volunteered to ascend the ladder which had been erected against the wall. Crossing himself, he mounted first and reached the battlement just before the ladder collapsed and precipitated those behind him into the sea. Isolated, he frightened off the defenders and leapt out through a postern door, back to his companions.<sup>24</sup> Ca. 1164 Poupakes, specified to be the person who had distinguished himself at Kerkyra, was in the service of Andronicus Comnenus, Manuel's cousin, later emperor. When Andronicus escaped from prison, Poupakes met him at Anchialos and furnished him guides and supplies to continue his flight. Arrested by Manuel, Poupakes was flogged and paraded around as an example of the fate of traitors; he proudly protested his loyalty to his master.<sup>25</sup> So far we have a consistent picture of an individual distinguished by bravery and devotion. A difficulty arises because Kinnamos reports that in 1160–61, during a winter campaign, the emir of Sarapata Mylonos (perhaps Sandikli, southwest of Afyon), dispatched his nephew Poupakes to in-

The author argues that, as the price of recognition of his sultanate within the Byzantine Empire in 1081–82, Sulayman of Nikaia was constrained to found a monastery on Mount Athos, with a relative, probably a brother, as founder. This thesis is a tissue of suppositions, without documentary evidence.

<sup>19</sup> Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, 201–3 (no. 31), and 227.4 (no. 38). In both letters, the spelling of the last syllable of the name is unclear; the abbreviation could be resolved "Tziknoglos," "Tziknogles," "Tziknogalas," or "Tziknogoulos." Only the Greek form "Tziknopoulos" is clearly ruled out, according to Gautier.

<sup>20</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 73.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 33, 35.

<sup>22</sup> For Prosouch's career, see Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 33–35, 71–73, 77; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 52, 64; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 257; Barzos, *Гев.*, I, 292 note 9. Unlike "Axouch-Axouchos," Prosouch's name is always treated as indeclinable. The argument of Barzos, *op. cit.*, that Prosouch was a possible relative of the Borsuq or Bursuq who served the Seljuk sultans of Persia in invasions of Anatolia (Cahen, "Première pénétration," 44, 50–51) is unfounded: the name is common. On Nicephorus Prosouchos, see Michael Choniates, *Tὰ Σωζόμενα*, ed. S. P. Lampros (Athens, 1879–80; repr. Groningen, 1968), I, 142–49; II, 54, 66. In the text of the letters, Nicephorus is always called "Prosouch"; only in the lemma of the oration addressed to him (I, 142) is he called "Prosouchos," and the Laurentian MS reads "Prosouch" (*ibid.*, note).

<sup>23</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 48–50; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 256–57.

<sup>24</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 83–85. It is not certain that the Poupakes of 1146 and the Poupakes of 1149 are the same, but Manuel in 1149 was evidently well acquainted with Poupakes. In 1146 Poupakes might already have been in the service of Axouchos, who participated in that expedition.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 130–32.

vestigate whether Manuel was at the head of the Byzantine force. This Poupakes, who was thoroughly familiar with Manuel, came up and spoke to him.<sup>26</sup> That this was the same Poupakes, entering Turkish service for a brief period after Axouchos' death (soon after 1150) and then returning (after 1161) to Andronicus' service, is improbable, because Andronicus was in prison from ca. 1155 to ca. 1164. Thus Andronicus was unlikely to have been in a position to hire retainers, much less secure the intense personal allegiance Poupakes showed in 1164. Poupakes probably entered Andronicus' service between 1150 and 1155, and the person of that name among the Turks in 1160–61 is someone else.<sup>27</sup>

During Manuel's reign, a certain Nicephorus Chalouphe gained some importance; the name comes from Turkish Halife, Arabic Khalifa, meaning caliph. Chalouphe may have been the son of a Turkish immigrant, since no source mentions his Turkish background. He first appears in 1147, when he signally failed in his defense of the Acrocorinth against a Norman expeditionary force. Nicetas Choniates presents the Norman commander as berating Chalouphe for failing to defend so naturally strong a fortress. Possibly about 1162/3, Chalouphe was married to Theodora Comnena, daughter of Manuel's sister Eudokia and her husband Theodore Batatzes; Theodora had been Manuel's mistress. Probably Chalouphe's background as an outsider, even of foreign descent, made him a desirable husband for Theodora. In the next years he executed a number of commissions with success. About 1164 he was sent as commander beyond the Danube into Hungary, to act with the Byzantine nominee for the Hungarian throne, István or Stephen IV, against his rival István III. When he realized that his protégé lacked support, Chalouphe cleverly extricated his forces and István IV was constrained to follow him back to Sirmion. In 1165 or early 1166, Chalouphe was dispatched as an envoy to Venice, to win the support of members of the Lombard League against Frederick Barbarossa. The subsidies he had to offer reinforced the will of the north Italian cities to oppose the German emperor. About 1166 Chalouphe was appointed *doux* or governor of Byzantine Dalmatia, but was abandoned by his own

troops and captured by a Hungarian army advancing into the region. In 1167 Manuel sought Chalouphe's release, and perhaps obtained it when the Hungarian wars momentarily halted in that year. But nothing further is heard of Nicephorus Chalouphe.<sup>28</sup>

During Manuel's reign, the most prominent Turk, or half-Turk, was Alexius, the son of the grand domestikos John Axouchos. (The sources do not call him Alexius Axouchos, but evidently the name "Axouchos" remained in the family, and it is convenient to use it to distinguish him from his many homonyms.) At some point, Alexius Axouchos wedded Maria, only child of Alexius Comnenus, eldest son and designated successor of John II. Barzos believes the marriage occurred about 1141; if so, John II presumably approved it in order to reward John Axouchos' faithful service and bind his family more closely to the dynasty. Alexius Axouchos would scarcely have been considered the eventual heir to the throne, as there was still hope that Alexius Comnenus might have a son and there were numerous other males among John II's direct descendants. Byzantium had no notion of primogeniture, or even of a hereditary throne, and females were considered only in case of default of male claimants from the imperial family: Zoe and Theodora, the last members of the Macedonian house, are the exemplary case. If the marriage of Alexius Axouchos and Maria occurred after Manuel ascended the throne, Manuel probably intended it as a disparaging match for Maria, to prevent her being allied to some powerful family who might use her as a pretext for usurpation. While Alexius Axouchos was not technically disabled from holding the Byzantine throne, his Turkish background was never forgotten and created hostility to him. A marriage arranged by Manuel seems slightly more probable than one sponsored by John II.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 196–97.

<sup>27</sup> On Andronicus' imprisonment, see *ibid.*, 130, 232–34; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 101, 103–8, 129–32. He had escaped briefly in 1158, but this flight was too short-lived to allow Andronicus time to enlist Poupakes in his service.

<sup>28</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 75–76; Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 225–26, 228–31, 248, 263, 265 (because Kinnamos deals with topics and regions, his presentation of Chalouphe's career may not be chronological; possibly Chalouphe was appointed *doux* of Dalmatia before being sent to Venice); Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 339; Barzos, *Γεν.*, II, 417–34 (esp. 430–34) (no. 150). Barzos, *Γεν.*, II, 417 note 3 (on p. 418) suggests that the text of William of Tyre, *Hist.*, RHC HOcc, I, 1070 (ed. Huygens, II, 1013), "Alexius quoque protostrator, Theodore Calusine neptis domini imperatoris, filius" be emended to read "Theodorae Chalufinae," but Byzantine wives did not ordinarily take their husbands' names; there seems no MS warranty for altering two letters. The Old French translation does not include her name.

<sup>29</sup> On the marriage, see Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 103, 144–45; K. Barzos, 'Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς—Εἰρήνη ἢ Ῥωσικὴ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι

Alexius Axouchos first appears at Pelagonia when ca. 1154/5 he reported to the empress Bertha-Irene a plot by Andronicus Comnenus to assassinate Manuel. Alexius was already protostrator, one of the highest military titles, but one which carried only such responsibilities as the emperor chose to assign. Alexius was apparently a capable military leader, and is stated to have been popular with soldiers and officers, but his real skills would seem to have been in diplomacy. In 1157 he was sent to Italy on a delicate mission. Simultaneously he was to wage war on the Normans of Sicily and engage in peace negotiations with their king. He was eminently successful: after a treaty had been concluded, he covertly removed the army's pay and left behind sealed weighted money-chests for his mercenaries. Ca. 1165 he was sent as governor to the surviving Byzantine lands in Cilicia; Kinnamos would have us believe that en route he stopped at Ikonion and negotiated with the sultan, with whom the Byzantines were then at peace. In Cilicia, although he was militarily unsuccessful, he did open discussions with the Armenian Church which led to efforts at Armeno-Byzantine reconciliation. In the next year, 1166, we find Alexius Axouchos as co-commander of a Byzantine force on the Hungarian frontier.<sup>30</sup>

In 1167 Alexius Axouchos accompanied Manuel on another expedition against Hungary, but at Sardika (Sofia) he was arrested, convicted, and imprisoned in a monastery on Mount Papykion. Nicetas

Choniates (a youth at the time) alleges that Alexius was the victim of the paranoia which beset all emperors and forbade them to leave unharmed an upright, prosperous individual. The specific charges against Alexius Axouchos, according to Nicetas, included sorcery (flying invisibly to attack his foes). His chief accuser was Isaac Aaron, an unsavory individual later punished for magical practices and for subverting imperial policy in his role as interpreter. About Manuel's motives, Nicetas is more specific. The emperor feared lest Alexius Axouchos was destined to succeed him; the Byzantine populace had noted that the initials of the first Comneni, Alexius, John (Ioannes), and Manuel, were AIM so the next emperor's name must commence with an "A," to make AIMA or "blood." Alexius' name fitted the sequence, and his marriage to Maria linked him to the dynasty. Manuel was also alarmed at Alexius' popularity among the soldiers and officers, and even, because of his generosity, among the people. Finally, Nicetas suggests that Manuel was greedy for the protostrator's wealth, most of which was confiscated. The historian considers the charges unfounded, the action of an arbitrary tyrant, and depicts Alexius Axouchos as devotedly loyal. By the time Nicetas wrote, Manuel was long dead and the Comneni dynasty had been displaced.<sup>31</sup>

John Kinnamos, who composed his history during the reign of Manuel's son Alexius II, with a strongly laudatory view of Emperor Manuel, charges Alexius Axouchos with varied crimes: (1) on his way to Cilicia, in 1165, he had treasonable converse with Kilidj Arslan II in Ikonion, and exchanged letters with him to obtain his support for usurpation; (2) thereafter he had murals showing the sultan's deeds painted on the walls of his suburban mansion; (3) he repeatedly met with a Latin wizard to discuss Manuel's lack of a male heir, and received drugs from the wizard to maintain this condition; (4) he made treasonable statements to Constantine Doukas and Kasianos, who reported his words; and (5) at Sardika he induced Cuman

ἀπόγονοί τους, Βυζαντινά 7 (1975), 137–39; Barzos, Γεν., II, 117–18 (no. 123) (largely reproduces his article). Barzos' date, ca. 1141, is apparently based on the probable ages of the couple. Barzos' view that if Alexius Comnenus (d. 1142) had lived and ruled, Alexius Axouchos would have been the empire's second personage and heir apparent, contradicts Byzantine ideas. Alexius Comnenus had a second wife, from whom sons might have been expected. Even without sons, it would have been difficult for Alexius Axouchos to obtain recognition as heir, in view of the difficulties Manuel I experienced in obtaining recognition for Béla-Alexius, his intended son-in-law: Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 137. That John II arranged Maria's marriage in the interval between Alexius Comnenus' death (1142) and his own (8 Apr. 1143) is unlikely; he was preoccupied with his campaign in Cilicia.

<sup>30</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 97–98; Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 129–30, 170, 227, 260, 268. In regard to the negotiations with the Armenian Church, see Barzos, Γεν., II, 125–26. Barzos, *ibid.*, 124, has Alexius Axouchos meeting Baldwin III of Jerusalem at Mamistra in 1158, but William of Tyre's text suggests Alexius Comnenus, later protosebastos. Barzos, *ibid.*, 118 note 9, is certainly right to suggest that Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 227.17 should be corrected from πρωτονοτάριου to πρωτοστράτορος; protonotarios is a most unlikely office for Alexius, who is elsewhere always called protostrator, even on his seal: Barzos, *ibid.*, 118 note 8.

<sup>31</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 143–46, 427. Nicetas does say that at his arrest Alexius Axouchos was snatched from his wife's arms. Possibly this is rhetorical exaggeration. Perhaps the protostrator had a mansion in or near Sardika; the region was relatively secure in the mid-12th century. Or, just possibly, Maria was allowed to come part of the way on the campaign: Empress Bertha-Irene had been with Manuel at Pelagonia, and in 1175 the child Alexius (II) accompanied Manuel I on the expedition to reconstruct Dorylaion: P. Wirth, *Eustathiana* (Amsterdam, 1980), 78. That he had his wife with him speaks against Kinnamos' allegation of a planned assassination of Manuel that night.

mercenaries to attack Manuel's tent. Supposedly Manuel had repeatedly reproved Alexius Axouchos for his disloyal actions: when a page of Alexius reported the planned assassination of the emperor to Manuel's eunuch Thomas, the emperor had to proceed against him. The eunuch Thomas, John Doukas, Michael the logothete, and Nicephorus Kaspax drew up charges, to which Alexius Axouchos at once pleaded guilty. He threw himself on the emperor's mercy.<sup>32</sup>

The two accounts are sharply opposed, in detail as well as in their views of the truth of the accusation. Kinnamos' allegations must be taken to represent the propaganda of the victorious faction in a court intrigue; Nicetas perhaps exaggerates Alexius Axouchos' virtues, but his depiction of an innocent man is more convincing than Kinnamos' allegations. For instance, the claim that Alexius Axouchos conspired with the sultan seems improbable: either he visited Ikonion as a private citizen and held covert discussions with the sultan, a fact which could scarcely have escaped the emperor's spies, or he was in Ikonion on official business. The alleged paintings either never existed or have been misinterpreted by Kinnamos: to flaunt the sultan's achievements, and his own Turkish sympathies would have been acts of someone seriously out of touch with reality. The same can be said of the treasonable words. The charges involving sorcery, echoed in both Nicetas (who derides them) and Kinnamos (who believes them), were banal in twelfth-century Byzantium. To credit Kinnamos' account is to see Alexius Axouchos as publicly acting in a self-destructive fashion; Nicetas more convincingly shows him as the victim of a faction at court, and of the necessarily unsleeping suspicion of a Byzantine ruler.<sup>33</sup>

According to Nicetas, Alexius Axouchos had formerly led a very luxurious life, and had been rather casual about observation of the forms of Christianity, especially the fasts. He now threw himself into monastic life with wholehearted enthusiasm, and died as exemplary a monk as he had been a soldier, courtier, and diplomat. For his wife,

Maria Comnena, matters went otherwise. She was at first distraught, and attempted suicide—a rare occurrence in Byzantium. Frustrated in the effort, she threw herself at Manuel's feet and besought mercy for her husband with tears and lamentations. Unable to move him, Maria wore out the short remainder of her life in fruitless grief.<sup>34</sup>

Manuel I's followers included Turks in low-level positions of command and responsibility. Ca. 1154/5, at the time of one of Andronicus' plots against the emperor, the empress Bertha-Irene sent Isach or Isḥāq to lead a group of three hundred soldiers to protect Manuel from the trap Andronicus had prepared. This Isach is stated to have been of barbarian birth but greatly favored by the emperor. Later, in 1175, there appears a Michael Isach, who had formerly served in Manuel's household, perhaps the same person. At that time, the emperor was engaged in reconstructing forts on the Turkish frontier; he dispatched Isach to punish deserters from the Byzantine army. Kinnamos would have us believe that Michael Isach cruelly exceeded his commission, and came close to being harshly punished by Manuel. He escaped at that time, only to perish miserably later, before Kinnamos wrote his history in 1180–81. Isach's descendants were stated to have been imperiled by his disaster, but evidently survived.<sup>35</sup>

Several other officers are known from brief references. In 1156, when a Byzantine force was attacking Brindisi, a Norman relief-expedition advanced, led by the king. One of the Byzantine officers sent with a small force to hinder the Norman advance was Pairames or Bairam, stated to have been a Turk; he commanded Georgian and Alan mercenaries.<sup>36</sup> In 1165, on a campaign against the Hungarians, one of the subordinate commanders was John Ises (ʿĪsā), who is explicitly stated to have been born a Turk but to have had a Byzantine education.<sup>37</sup>

The son of Alexius Axouchos, John Comnenus, called "the Fat," was reared in poverty. He apparently gained some standing at the court of the Angeli, where he appeared among the witnesses to a synod in 1191. But he was far from prominent. In

<sup>32</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 265–69. The persons Kinnamos mentions, together with Isaac Aaron, probably belonged to the faction opposed to Alexius Axouchos.

<sup>33</sup> It would not be necessary to discuss at such length the relative merits of Nicetas' and Kinnamos' stories, except that Barzos, in Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνός—Εἰρήνη ἢ Ῥωσική, 145–60, and in his Γεν., II, 127–34, has accepted many of Kinnamos' charges and striven to interweave them with those in Nicetas to produce a single story. Mekios, Ὁ μέγας δομέστικος (see note 17 above), 35–36, is much more cautious about Kinnamos' assertions.

<sup>34</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 144–46. Nicetas presents Alexius Axouchos and his wife as an ideal couple; the events occurred while the historian was a youth, and we must beware of his retrospective romanticizing.

<sup>35</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 129–30, 298–99; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 140.

<sup>36</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 167; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 243.

<sup>37</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 238; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 141.

July 1200 he became the nominal leader of a conspiracy against Alexius III; he seems, however, to have been only the puppet of ambitious malcontents. His forces easily occupied the Great Palace, but John could only drink while his supporters pillaged. The emperor's guardsmen regained control of the palace, and John was slain as he fled. In an oration by Euthymius Tornikes, which celebrated Alexius III's triumph, the usurper's Turkish origin became the occasion for bitter aspersions against him. The line of Axouchos did not terminate with the disaster of John Comnenus the Fat: the third emperor of Trebizond was John Comnenus Axouchos. Possibly the wife of Alexius I of Trebizond was a daughter or niece of John the Fat, and so the name came into the family.<sup>38</sup>

A number of other persons have been suggested as being Turks who entered Byzantine service. In 1082 Anna Comnena records the arrival of a Turkish contingent from Nikaia led by Kamyres, who is stated to have been older and more experienced than the other Turkish leaders. In 1095 a Kamyres, identified as "a certain Turk," served as the executioner who blinded Pseudo-Diogenes. The second Kamyres is probably not the same person as the distinguished Turkish general of 1082. The issue has been further confused, however, by P. Gautier, who argued that in the case of the first individual, instead of "Kamyres," the reading "Kamytzes," offered by the manuscript of the epitome of Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*, should be adopted. Thus, he says, this Turkish officer remained in Byzantium and was the ancestor of the distinguished Kamytzes family. But the manuscript of the epitome is comparatively late, thirteenth-fourteenth century, and has little weight against the twelfth-century manuscripts of the full-length version of the *Alexiad*. There is no evidence that the officer Kamyres remained in Byzantine service.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 526–28; Euthymius Tornikes, Speech to Alexius III, "Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès (1200–1205)," ed. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 26 (1968), 66–67; Barzos, Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνός—Εἰρήνη ἢ Ῥωσική, 160–75; see my *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 122–24, but for the correct date, see J.-L. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates: Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin, 1971), 123–28.

<sup>39</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 23, 201; P. Gautier first asserted the identification in "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator," *REB* 27 (1969), 240, 256–57; he slightly modified his view in "Le synode des Blachernes" (see note 9 above), 259–60. On the slight value of the MS of the epitome, see B. Leib, introduction to Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, I, clxxiv. Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 148, has no suggestion about the name Kamyres; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 158–59, believes the Kamyres of 1082 and his homonym of 1095 were different persons.

A number of other individuals may have been Turkish. In 1083 one of the commanders of the Turks whom Sulayman of Nikaia supplied to Alexius I for use against the Norman invader was Migidenos. He participated in fighting Bohemund's army at Larissa. Ca. 1089 he reappeared in Alexius' campaign against the Petchenegs in Thrace, where he died of wounds.<sup>40</sup> A Byzantine officer named Tzitas was associated with Tatikios in aiding the First Crusade's attack on Nikaia (1097). In 1101 he commanded the Tourkopouloi or half-Turks, who accompanied Raymond of St. Gilles on the ill-fated march of the Crusade of 1100–1101 into Paphlagonia. Together with Raymond, he escaped the disaster and returned to Constantinople. Possibly Tzitas was Turkish.<sup>41</sup> Other officers may likewise have been Turks or part Turks.<sup>42</sup>

Various Turkish rulers made visits to Byzantine emperors; I shall briefly note some and discuss an important one at greater length. After a defeat in 1116 Kilidj Arslan I's son Shahanshah (sultan of Ikonion, 1107–16) went to Alexius I's camp to make peace. A rebellion by Shahanshah's brother Mas'oud was brewing; despite warnings from Alexius, Shahanshah elected to return to Ikonion. Mas'oud's forces intercepted and blinded him en route.<sup>43</sup>

Mas'oud (sultan 1116–55) soon found himself at odds with another brother, 'Arab, and ca. 1125–26 had to flee to John II. The Byzantine emperor, according to Michael the Syrian, welcomed Mas'oud and furnished him money. 'Arab, who failed to take Ikonion, fled when Mas'oud advanced with Danişmendid aid. 'Arab first sought Armenian help, then turned to the emperor, but perished among the Byzantines, ca. 1126–27. No Byzantine source reports on these events, but John II's reign is very thinly chronicled.<sup>44</sup>

Sultan Kilidj Arslan II (1155–ca. 1192) made peace with Manuel I and in 1162 paid a visit to Constantinople. He was received with extraordinary honors, although the populace took occasion to jeer at the Turks. The sultan desired to enter

<sup>40</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 30, 107–8; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 212–13.

<sup>41</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 12, 37–38; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 300, suggests he was Turkish.

<sup>42</sup> One such was Chouroup or Chouroupes, attested from 1146 to 1150: Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 44, 87–88, 98, 101, 105–6. None of these three officers is listed in Moravcsik, *BT*.

<sup>43</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 204–13; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, tr. J.-B. Chabot, III (Paris, 1905), 194–95.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 223–24.

Haghia Sophia, but a fortuitous earthquake allowed the patriarch to prevent what he considered an abomination.<sup>45</sup>

In the 1170s, refugees from Kilidj Arslan's aggressive advance began to gather around Manuel. The sultan's brother, another Shahanshah, who had been expelled from Ankyra and Gangra, was joined by the Danişmendid prince Dhu' l-Nun. Both received Byzantine assistance to regain their territories, ca. 1175–76, but neither succeeded.<sup>46</sup>

The longest-resident and most important of the Turkish refugee princes was Ghiyath al-Din Kay Khusraw I. He was the youngest son of Kilidj Arslan II, by a Christian wife, and enjoyed his father's special favor and the consequent enmity of his brothers. Ca. 1194–95 he took possession of Ikonion, and severely ravaged Byzantine lands. But around 1197, his elder brother Rukn al-Din seized the Turkish capital and Kay Khusraw was driven to flight. After wanderings which apparently included an early visit to Constantinople, then refuge in Cilician Armenia and northern Syria, Kay Khusraw returned ca. 1200 to Alexius III. Everywhere, he seems to have been honored, but nowhere did he obtain assistance against his powerful brother. Ibn Bibi preserves an account of how Kay Khusraw intervened in a quarrel between a Frankish mercenary and the emperor, but the story seems to have been exaggerated. What is more certain is that he was baptized, apparently with the emperor standing sponsor for him. He wedded a daughter of Manuel Maurozomes; she became the mother of Kay Kubad I. The connection was a valuable one to Kay Khusraw in several respects. His bride's grandmother was apparently an illegitimate daughter of Manuel I, so that Comnenian blood entered the Seljuks of Ikonion. Also, his marriage won him the support of a powerful Byzantine family. According to Akropolites, Kay Khusraw left Constantinople along with his godfather Alexius III in 1203, but other accounts say Kay Khusraw lived with his father-in-law Maurozomes. If he did abandon Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, he probably took refuge with the Maurozomes family.

In 1205, after his brother Rukn al-Din's death, Kay Khusraw was recalled to Ikonion. With the help of eastern emirs he regained the position of sultan. His second reign endured until 1211. Be-

cause Alexius III's daughter Anna was his spiritual sister, Kay Khusraw assisted her husband Theodore Lascaris to establish himself in Bithynia. He also aided his father-in-law Manuel Maurozomes to create a buffer state in the central Maiander Valley. When war broke out between Lascaris and Maurozomes, the sultan assisted in making peace between them, assuring Maurozomes a territory. The Maurozomes family remained prominent in Ikonion during the thirteenth century. Kay Khusraw was more fully integrated into Byzantine society than any other Turkish prince.<sup>47</sup>

Despite the prominence of Kay Khusraw in Constantinople at the outset of the thirteenth century, the period after the battle of Myriokephalon in 1176 evidences fewer Turks in Byzantium than previously. In part, this may be because with 1176 we lose the help of Kinnamos as a source and must rely on Nicetas Choniates alone. Kinnamos identifies more military commanders of the second rank than does Nicetas, and it was at that level that most Turks served. Nevertheless, Alexius Axouchos and Nicephorus Chalouphe were the last persons of Turkish descent prominent in the upper levels of Byzantine society. Perhaps Manuel Comnenus was more interested in attracting western Europeans into his service. Certainly after Myriokephalon, Byzantium ceased to be able to compete for dominance in Anatolia, and Turks no longer saw great rewards in becoming Byzantine.

The most numerous element of Turks in Byzantine service consisted of large, anonymous masses of soldiery, but they are also the most elusive, and we can say very little about them. After Mantzikert (1071), Michael VII and Nicephorus III were reduced to seeking the "alliance" of raiding bands of Turks, alliances which really amounted to hiring them to fight against a specific foe of the government. Thus the dangerous rebellion of Roussel de Bailleul was defeated by securing the services of Artouch (Artuq) and later Touthach.<sup>48</sup> From engaging such bands for a single

<sup>45</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 204–8; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 118–21.

<sup>46</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 291, 295; Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, III, 357, 368–70.

<sup>47</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 520–22, 626, 638; George Akropolites, *Historia*, ed. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978), I, 11, 14; [Theodore Skoutariotes,] *Σύνοψις χρονική*, ed. K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 (Venice and Paris, 1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1972), 454; Gregory Abu al-Faraj, called Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), I, 350; Ibn Bibi, *Die Seldschukengeschichte*, trans. H. Duda (Copenhagen, 1959), 21–31, 37–38; Barzos, Γεν., II, 499; Vryonis, *Asia Minor*, 230 note 515.

<sup>48</sup> Bryennios, *Hist.* (see note 7 above), 179–81, 187–89; Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs*, 91–101.

action, it was but a step to enrolling larger forces for longer terms. Alexius I, soon after his accession, made a treaty with Sultan Sulayman of Nikaia, recognizing his boundaries. In return, the sultan supplied troops for the struggle with Guiscard, evidently on several occasions.<sup>49</sup> How many of these Turks, who fought in Europe, returned to Anatolia we cannot know, but probably some remained in Alexius' army and eventually settled. By the time of the First Crusade, the Tourkopouloi or sons of Turks formed a prominent part of the Byzantine army. Raymond of Aguilers defines them: "For they are called Turcopuli who either were nurtured among the Turks or spring from a Christian mother [and] a Turkish father."<sup>50</sup> Clearly this term covered full-blooded as well as half-breed Turks.

In addition to such mercenaries, the early Comneni captured many Turks and settled them inside the empire. After the passage of the First Crusade, Alexius took some two thousand Turks, whom he ordered to be scattered among the Aegean Islands.<sup>51</sup> In a campaign about 1124, John seized numerous Turks, converted them, and made them a substantial addition to the Byzantine army; presumably they settled within the empire. When John took Gangra, the Turkish garrison was allowed to depart, but many chose to remain in Byzantine service.<sup>52</sup> Under Manuel, according to a speech of Eustathius of Thessalonike in 1178, the captivity of numerous Turkish women and children attracted Turkish men to come over to the Byzantines. There were so many around Thessalonike, he said, that it might well be called "New Turkey, or the European land of the Turks."<sup>53</sup>

Among the most dramatic documents relating to the Turks in Byzantium, one which directly concerns the recruitment of Turks, is an alleged auto-

biographical statement by Tzachas. About 1090–91, the pirate-emir was contending with Constantine Dalassenos on Chios, and came to parley with him. According to Anna Comnena, Tzachas addressed Dalassenos by name, and said, "Know that I was that youth who formerly overran Asia and, fighting enthusiastically, out of inexperience was captured by stratagem by the late Alexander Kabalikas. Then, when I had been brought captive by him to emperor Nicephorus Botaneiates, I was forthwith honored with the rank of the protonobellisimoi and deemed worthy of great gifts; I promised him service [*douleia*]. But from when Alexius Comnenus assumed the reins of empire, everything collapsed."<sup>54</sup> Tzachas continued with demands for reinstatement and requests for a marriage tie with Dalassenos' family.

Tzachas is presented as declaring that he entered Byzantine service as a consequence of being captured. Other Turks also followed the path of captivity into Byzantium. Tatikios' father had been taken prisoner by Isaac I's brother John Comnenus about the middle of the eleventh century, and the young Tatikios passed into slavery with him. At least, such is a possible explanation for the allegation that his nose had been removed. A number of emirs ("satraps," in Anna Comnena's terminology) were included among the captives whom Alexius I settled on the islands.<sup>55</sup> The most successful of the captives was certainly John Axouchos, taken by the First Crusaders at the time of the siege of Nikaia.<sup>56</sup>

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account of how Manuel paid slave-owners to liberate able-bodied slaves for incorporation into the army, and how newly captured groups were offered the choice of enslavement or military service; these included the Hagarenes (Muslims) as well as others. A portion of these captives must have been Turks. I am indebted to Prof. Richard Hamilton for his repeated assistance with this passage. Concerning it, see A. P. Kazhdan, "Odn netochno istolkovannyi passazh v 'Istorii' Ioanna Kinnama," *RESEE* 7 (1969), 469–73, esp. 473. On population exchanges in this period, see S. Vryonis, Jr., "Patterns of Population Movement in Byzantine Asia Minor 1071–1261," in his *Studies on Byzantium* (see note 50 above), no. VI.

<sup>54</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 114. While Anna has certainly invented the words, the substance of the speech is probably correct. For this portion of the *Alexiad*, Anna's relatives Constantine Dalassenos and John Doukas seem to have been her sources. No special value would attach to falsifying the facts of Tzachas' service to Byzantium; Anna's readers could have verified the claims he made. Whether Tzachas' captor was an otherwise unknown Alexander Kabalikas or the well-known Alexander Kabasilas (S. P. Lampros, "Alexander Kabasilas," *BZ* 12 [1903], 40–41) is not important for our purposes. Savvides, Τζαχαῖς (see above, note 8), 14:21–22, translates this speech, but does not examine Tzachas' period of service in Byzantium.

<sup>55</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 26.

<sup>56</sup> The exact place and circumstances of Axouchos' capture

<sup>49</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, I, 138, 146; II, 23, 134.

<sup>50</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber* (see note 9 above), 55; *Gesta Francorum*, 6, 16. Examples of Crusader usage could easily be multiplied. On the recruitment of Turks, see S. Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and Their Sources of Manpower," in his *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies*, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina 2 (Malibu, Calif., 1981), no. III, 126–40.

<sup>51</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 26.

<sup>52</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 9, 15.

<sup>53</sup> Eustathius of Thessalonike, in W. Regel, ed., *Fontes rerum byzantinorum*, 1 (Petrograd, 1892–1917; repr. Leipzig, 1982, with introduction by A. P. Kazhdan), 77–79 (quotation from p. 79). I am indebted to Prof. Alexander Kazhdan for pointing out this citation. The literal Greek terms are "New Persia" and "Persians," but by this time these were conventional. A funeral oration for Manuel, by Eustathius, *Opuscula*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt/Main, 1832; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), 200, has an

A number of other individuals may be suggested as possibly having begun as captives among the Byzantines. Prosouch and John Ises are both stated to have been Turks by birth but reared in Byzantium; they may have been captured as children.<sup>57</sup> The fathers of Tziknoglos and Nicephorus Chalouphe might have entered the empire in this way.

Of the voluntary enrollment of Turks in imperial service, we hear in general terms, but only occasionally in precise detail. "Siaous" was won over by Alexius' persuasions and generous offers. Alexius' success was made possible in that case by "Siaous'" Christian ancestry, and the like may have happened in other instances, since there was extensive intermixture in Anatolia. The emperor's effort was worthwhile because of the valuable letter "Siaous" bore. Elchanes, under Byzantine attack, agreed that he and his relatives would accept Alexius' offers and come over to the Byzantine side. When Skaliarios heard of Alexius' generosity, he followed Elchanes into the imperial camp.

Twice, apparently, captive Byzantines succeeded in wooing their captors to join them in flight to Byzantium. Manuel Comnenus (Alexius I's elder brother) discovered that Chrysoskoulos was in difficulties with the sultan and pointed out to him that he could never succeed in his ambition to become sultan himself unless he secured Byzantine aid. Despite the ensuing defeat at Mantzikert, Chrysoskoulos remained true to the Byzantine cause. Anna Comnena and Zonaras both report the escape of Eustathius Kamytzes from Turkish captivity ca. 1113. In Anna's version, he simply fled during the confusion of a running battle with Alexius' troops. Zonaras, however, declares that he persuaded his captors to flee with him to the emperor, who welcomed them with gifts. Since Anna is imprecise about how Kamytzes actually got loose, it is possible that Zonaras gives the full story.<sup>58</sup>

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must remain slightly doubtful. Both Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 9, and Basilakes, *Orationes*, 87, specify that he came from Nikaia, but the city was surrendered directly into the hands of Alexius' generals, so that the Crusaders had no opportunity to take prisoners there. Perhaps he was seized while escaping Nikaia, in a skirmish, or in a neighboring fortress.

<sup>57</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 73, 238.

<sup>58</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 167–68, 170–71; Zonaras, *Epitome* (see note 8 above), III, 756–57; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 83–85. Anna (III, 168) reports that the principal Turkish emir (archisatrapes) Mouchoumet was acquainted with Kamytzes. The latter had been governor of Nikaia, and they could have encountered one another in the course of raids or in truce negotiations.

Reasons why Turks voluntarily joined Byzantium are not difficult to find. Some came because they were defeated in internal struggles, or felt threatened by powerful Turkish foes. Sultans of Ikonion and other Turkish rulers in Anatolia, temporarily excluded from power, turned almost spontaneously to Constantinople, and Kay Khusraw I stayed long enough to be integrated into Byzantine society. Only unexpected developments brought him back to Ikonion. Others were attracted to Byzantium by the gifts offered by the emperor. Skaliarios is depicted as rushing to share in Alexius I's lavish generosity to Elchanes and his relatives. While it is difficult to believe that Byzantine gifts and the salaries which went with titles exceeded the profits of plunder in Anatolia, the receipt and enjoyment of them might be more secure and long-lasting. We should not overlook the attractions of urban life and "civilized" luxury for Turks who were scarcely more than a generation removed from central Asia.

Several considerations which would seem to us to have hindered Turkish enlistment in Byzantine service had little force in the eleventh-twelfth century. The Turks' adhesion to Islam was evidently not very deeply ingrained. Only a few generations had elapsed since the Ghuzz Turks had become Muslim. Some of those born in Anatolia had Christian mothers, others were familiar with Christians of various sects and had grown up in an atmosphere of relative tolerance. No sense of Turkish "nationalism" or even ethnic solidarity troubled Amertikes, Elchanes, or others who came to fight for Byzantium. The Turks continuously fought one another; there was no reason not to do so and get paid for it. Finally, if we ask why any intelligent Turk would abandon rising Turkish power to join dying Byzantium, we must consider that the empire, at least from 1081 to 1176, did not seem on the verge of collapse. Whatever symptoms of internal decay the historian may detect, Byzantium under the Comneni preserved a splendid facade. The emperors were capable, even (in Manuel's case) magnificent individuals, success followed upon success, the gold hyperper was the standard of the Mediterranean, and wealth enough to hire mercenary armies and reward great generals was available in the treasury. Only with the defeat at Myriokephalon, and under the weak successors of Manuel I, was the attraction of Byzantium for its Turkish neighbors shattered.

Of the various activities Turks carried out within the Byzantine Empire, the greatest interest attaches to the role of two who served as playfellows

of future rulers. Of course, Tatikios was not chosen as a companion to an emperor-to-be; Alexius Comnenus was the third son of a cadet branch. He was presumably destined for a military career, and by the 1060s it was obvious that the Turks were going to be Byzantium's opponents on the eastern front for the foreseeable future. We do not know the exact age at which Tatikios and Alexius were brought together, but they were young enough that Tatikios could be called Alexius' *syntrophos*, indicating that they had grown up together.<sup>59</sup> The future John II and John Axouchos were ten years old at the time the Turkish captive was made a companion for the future emperor. In this case, the choice was evidently purposeful: a Turk was chosen to grow up alongside a future emperor. Manuel, to the best of our knowledge, never received a Turkish or any other non-Byzantine companion as *syntrophos*. But he was a fourth son, not an emperor designate, and his succession was unanticipated.

One reason for providing youthful Turks to Alexius and John Comnenus as companions may have been to give them some knowledge of Turkish. As a military commander, Alexius would constantly be in contact with Turkish mercenaries as well as Turkish opponents. His two elder brothers were at one time or another captured by the Turks. For John, as a future emperor, not to have to rely on interpreters was obviously important. Both Tatikios and John Axouchos as youths probably spoke Greek as well as Turkish: if Tatikios was born after his father's entry into the elder John Comnenus' household, this would be certain. Axouchos came from Nikaia, or near it; the city had been in Turkish hands since at least 1081, possibly earlier. If Axouchos was ten in 1097, he may have been the offspring of a Greco-Turkish union; in any case, some knowledge of Greek would have been normal in a city which had recently become Turkish. Thus the young people could have communicated from the beginning.

Another reason for utilizing a Turk of unfree status as a companion for a young Comnenus was that the lad had no connections in Byzantine society. Both Tatikios and John Axouchos grew up to become intensely loyal supporters of the Comnenian house; Axouchos seems to have been the most trusted companion of John II, deeper in his councils than any other. Such a relationship with the emperor raised the individual to the highest peak of the court hierarchy: other members of the no-

bility dismounted to do reverence to Axouchos. The danger of a future emperor having a childhood companion who came from within the established nobility is evident in the case of Manuel. His cousin Andronicus Comnenus is stated to have been reared alongside the future ruler, and they had shared in athletic competitions of every kind.<sup>60</sup> However badly Andronicus might behave, Manuel could never forget their past association and could rarely mete out the punishment Andronicus deserved. Alexius and John II had been more fortunate in their companions.

But of the numerous Turks who entered Byzantium, only a couple occupied the position of play-fellow for a future officer or ruler. The largest number were utilized as soldiers or military commanders. The background of the nomadic Turk prepared him for fighting or herding, but little else, and the Byzantines recruited Turks for their martial abilities. Most Turks whom we know by name were commanders: Amertikes, Tatikios, Elchanes, Skaliarios, Prosouch, and many more. In a few cases where the fact is not specified (Chrysoskoulos, Tzachas), their backgrounds allow us confidently to hypothesize positions of command. They often led foreign mercenaries because of the diminished numbers of native troops. Turks commanded Turks, but also we find Pairames in charge of Alans and Georgians alongside Ioannakios Kritoples, who appears to have been Greek.<sup>61</sup> In addition to officers we encounter an individual or two who served as a military aide or bodyguard. Poupakes is first seen close to the emperor, then specified to be a guardsman of John Axouchos, and finally appeared in the service of Andronicus Comnenus. Michael Isach had commenced his career as a favored member of the imperial household before being sent to round up deserters.

A handful of Turks, many of them second generation, engaged in non-military activities. "Siaous" arrived as an envoy from the Turks; after completing a delicate task in Pontus for Alexius I, he was appointed governor of Anchialos. While Alexius Axouchos commanded troops, his greatest ability seems to have been as a diplomat. He successfully executed a difficult mission in Italy, and opened friendly relations with the Armenian Church; he may have visited Ikonion to negotiate with the sultan. Nicephorus Chalouphe is first encountered as governor of Corinth, a position

<sup>60</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 127: the expressions are close to those used about Tatikios.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>59</sup> Bryennios, *Hist.*, 289.1.

which was evidently an entirely civil one, for he showed no military abilities or experience in defending the Acrocorinth. Later he succeeded as Byzantium's ambassador to Venice. Prosouch's son or grandson Nicephorus Prosouchos served as the civil governor of Greece. Tzikhoglos seemingly enjoyed a rhetorical education and entered the bureau of the *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia. Finally, Koutloumousios perhaps integrated himself more deeply into Byzantine culture than any other Turk, by becoming a monk and founding a monastery on Mount Athos.

The court was the focus of Byzantine social life, and a number of Turks had major roles there. Taktikos was in personal attendance on Alexius I when he frustrated Diogenes' plot. John Axouchos was wise enough to decline the gift of Anna Comnena's property and arrange its restoration to her, thus earning a reputation for fairness and avoiding the hostility of an important faction. Alexius Axouchos, despite his abilities as a diplomat, fell victim to an intrigue of his rivals. His son John was never more than a courtier, and foolishly allowed himself to be the front for an ill-conceived conspiracy. Nicephorus Chalouphes can be considered the quintessential courtier, becoming the husband of the emperor's mistress. Kay Khusraw I became so well established as a member of the court that he supposedly intervened in a quarrel between Alexius III and a Frankish mercenary and later fled from Constantinople in that emperor's company.

In the introduction of an individual Turk into Byzantine society, the necessary first step was baptism, whereby the individual abandoned his old, sinful, misbelieving life and was reborn a new person, free of sin, and (supposedly) believing in the truths of Orthodox Christianity. Since adherence to Christianity was the primary qualification for participation in Byzantine life and the receipt of the benefits thereof, those Turks who elected to enter Byzantine service showed no hesitation about accepting baptism. "Siaous" first carried out his agreement to secure Sinope for Alexius, then returned and received baptism. Elchanes, Skaliarios, and their followers were baptized, and Anna Comnena credits Alexius I with an intention to convert the whole East (Persia, Egypt, and Libya, in her terminology) to Christianity.<sup>62</sup> Poupakes, as he was about to ascend the ladder at Kerkyra, made the sign of the cross. Koutloumousios, who became a monk, must be considered the most thoroughly Christian of these Turks.

<sup>62</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 81; see *ibid.*, 66, on "Siaous."

Several circumstances made conversion (and specifically baptism) comparatively easy for Turks to accept. First, as we have stated, Islam was new to them, and in the eleventh-twelfth centuries they evinced few signs of fanaticism. Second, in Anatolia they were intermingled with a population still overwhelmingly Christian. In fact an interesting text reveals that baptism was in use among Turkish Muslims there during the twelfth century. Balsamon, writing late in that century, recorded an incident from the patriarchate of Loukas Chrysoberges, 1157–69/70:

In the days of the holy patriarch lord Loukas, Hagarenes appeared in the synod and, being required to be baptized, said that they were previously baptized in their lands. And being asked how, they responded that it was customary that all the infants of the Hagarenes were baptized by Orthodox priests. But they were not accepted, for they [the members of the synod] had heard that the baptism sought from Christians by the godless [Muslims] was not sought in good conscience and upright purpose, but for the sake of bodily healing. For it was deemed by the Hagarenes that their children would be subject to demonic possession and stink like dogs, unless they enjoyed Christian baptism; therefore they did not appeal for baptism as the purifier of every spiritual stain and giver of holy light and sanctification, but as a medicine or charm. But some of them said they had Orthodox mothers, and by their endeavor were baptized by Orthodox. But not even these were harkened unto, because there were no witnesses at hand attesting this. Rather, they were rejected, because they had not given a good presumption that they had correctly entered the faith. Therefore it was decreed that all these be baptized.<sup>63</sup>

While the text evidently exaggerates the universality of baptism for Muslim infants in Anatolia, it shows that the rite was familiar to some of them. Acceptance of at least the outward forms of Christianity was evidently not difficult.

A special case of more than passing interest is represented by Tzachas. He must have been baptized when he entered Byzantine service in the reign of Nicephorus III. Various considerations demonstrate this assertion. He accepted a court title from the emperor, and pledged allegiance (*douleia*) to him. Admission to the hierarchy of the court presupposed membership in Christianity and his promises of loyalty would only have been accepted if they were oaths of a Christian. Again, when he fled from Constantinople, he is explicitly

<sup>63</sup> Balsamon in Rh.-P., II (1852), 498; see Vryonis, *Asia Minor*, 179 note 267, 441–42. These Hagarenes or Muslims appearing before the synod must have been some of the numerous ones mentioned in the orations of Eustathius of Thessalonike: see note 53, above.

stated to have secured assistance from a Byzantine (i.e., Christian) shipwright (and his workmen) in the construction of his fleet. He thus gained more cooperation from the native inhabitants than any other Anatolian Turkish emir of that turbulent period. Arguably, he was able to present himself to the people of Smyrna as a Christian, a rebel general not significantly different from Roussel before him. Then, during his discussion with Constantine Dalassenos, Tzachas requested a marriage between their offspring. The terminology is such that one cannot tell which family was to provide the groom, which the bride; we do know that Tzachas had a daughter who then or later wedded Kilidj Arslan I, and possibly a son, the "Tzachas" who appears after the death of our Tzachas. In any case, Tzachas must have known, from his period in Byzantine service, that the marriage would be impossible except between Christians. Finally, Tzachas claimed the imperial throne for himself: "calling himself emperor, he used the symbols pertaining to emperors and, inhabiting Smyrna as if [it were] a palace, he prepared a fleet to ravage the islands again and come up to Byzantium itself and be carried to the very throne of the empire, if possible."<sup>64</sup> His pretension to the Byzantine throne would be unthinkable if he could not at least claim to be Christian. Without this primary qualification he would have been unable to attract support; if he had taken Constantinople, he would have been utterly unacceptable to the Byzantines save as a Christian.

Tzachas' Christianity was barely skin-deep, and the same is probably true of a good many others who entered Byzantine service as adults. Tzachas easily returned to the Turkish world, and undoubtedly remained Muslim so far as his Turkish followers were concerned. Kay Khusraw, whose conversion was apparently no more profound than Tzachas', also experienced no difficulty in reestablishing himself among the Turks of Ikonion. Given the intermingled state of Anatolian populations,

and the cross-cultural usage of baptism attested by Balsamon, passage between the two religions was comparatively easy. Presumably in the case of boys incorporated into Byzantium at a youthful age, the depth of acceptance of Christianity was comparable to that of native Byzantines. John Axouchos certainly attests full belief and a rather profound understanding of Christianity. His questions to Nicholas of Methone show some reading in Gregory of Nazianzen, and go beyond idle curiosity. Koutloumousios, founder of a monastery, was apparently imbued with Christian ideals.

After baptism, Turks were integrated into Byzantine society through the reception of titles and the incomes and gifts which accompanied them. Indeed, from the Turkish point of view, the wealth the emperor could offer was a primary motive for abandoning the free life of a raider and becoming a Byzantine. Anna Comnena's account of Skaliarios and his unnamed companion is explicit: when they learned how much Elchanes and his family had received, they hastened to enjoy the like.<sup>65</sup> From the Byzantine point of view, the grant of a title was even more important. A title of honor gave an individual a recognized position within the ladder of court dignities, superior to some, inferior to others. Social status and recognition followed. One of the most valuable aspects of a title, so far as the emperor was concerned, was the possibility of promotion to another title. Once a Turk had received a title, with its appropriate salary, he would be anxious to obtain another one, higher up the ladder. Thus he would be encouraged to render loyal service.

Rewards for service could include land-holdings. Nicetas Choniates complains that state-owned properties, together with the peasants working on them, were turned over to foreign mercenaries, including half-barbarians (*mixobarbaroi*), for exploitation. That the Turks received such grants is indicated by Eustathius of Thessalonike. After having been attracted into the empire, he says, "They do not possess property by verbal warranties alone, but by documents, on which hang golden finials, the imperial seals."<sup>66</sup> Such imperial documents, chrysobulls, were the means by which formerly tax-paying lands were transmitted to their new holders.

Baptism, ranks, and rewards were the first steps

<sup>64</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 158; on his title, oath, and plans for intermarriage, see *ibid.*, 114; on the Christian aid he gained, *ibid.*, 110. Tzachas' "Turks" were able to speak Greek well enough to call on God and hail the emperor in that language (*ibid.*, 111); perhaps a number were actually Byzantines who (like the master shipwright mentioned above) had enlisted under the pirate-emir. Alexius Comnenus was able to convince Kilidj Arslan I that Tzachas' real goal was the sultanate of Nikaia (*ibid.*, 165–66). Tzachas thus remained a Muslim so far as the Turks were concerned, while presenting himself as a Christian when it suited his convenience. Kurat, *Çaka Bey* (see note 8 above), does not discuss this problem. Savvides, Τζαχάς, 14:14, thinks Tzachas called himself emperor of Smyrna; he does not discuss the probability of Tzachas' having been baptized.

<sup>65</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 81.

<sup>66</sup> Eustathius of Thessalonike, in Regel, *Fontes* (see note 53 above), I, 78; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 208–9, who specifically mentions the imperial documents which granted fields and peasants to newly enrolled soldiers.

in integrating adult Turks into Byzantium; for young ones, education was equally important. Kinnamos says of Prosouch that he was "a Turk by race but one who had shared in a Byzantine nurture and education."<sup>67</sup> He makes a nearly identical statement about John Ises. Evidently Tatikios and especially John Axouchos had the same experience, and Axouchos put the intellectual aspects of this instruction to good advantage. The education of foreigners in Byzantium in the early twelfth century centered in the school founded by Alexius I in connection with the orphanage and retirement home at the Mangana. In it, Anna Comnena declares, Latin and "Scyth" (Petcheneg, Cuman, Russian?) studied alongside "Roman" (Byzantine) and Hellenic youths. The Turkish boys who had been brought back captive from Alexius' last expedition into Anatolia (1114) were entrusted to this institution to be brought up as free persons.<sup>68</sup> The intent of this education was clearly to acculturate foreigners into Byzantium. How long the school at the Mangana lasted is unclear. While we cannot point to any specific Turks trained at that school, Tziknoglos had received an advanced rhetorical education, since he could understand the letter Michael Italikos, perhaps his former teacher, addressed to him.

The fullest stage of incorporation into Byzantine society was represented by intermarriage. Turks generally did not bring their families with them when they entered Byzantium, although Eustathius reports that Manuel I's seizure of Turkish women and children had caused male Turks voluntarily to pass over into Byzantine service.<sup>69</sup> The individuals who came as slaves, refugees, or recruits into the empire had to find spouses as best they could, according to their personal circumstances. If the young Tatikios was taken captive with his father, he probably had a Turkish mother; if he was born after his father's enslavement, his mother was probably a fellow slave. We know nothing about the wives of many of these Turks, but some of them did marry, as witness the descendants of Tatikios, John Axouchos, the father of Tziknoglos, and Prosouch. It would have been interesting to know whether the emperor arranged marriages for such new arrivals in Byzantium as Elchanes, Skaliarios, and Prosouch. Intermarriage

bound a Turk more deeply into Byzantine society, supplementing baptism, rewards, and titles.

We do have information about the marriage of a few individuals, and in these cases the emperor was directly involved. Alexius Axouchos, a second-generation Turk, married the daughter of the emperor-designate Alexius Comnenus. This union certainly required the consent of the reigning emperor, whether John II or Manuel I. While the marriage tied the family of Axouchos closer to the dynasty, it also diminished Maria Comnena's claim to the throne. Even so, the relationship did not spare Alexius Axouchos from the emperor's suspicion. The marriage of Nicephorus Chalouphe, probably a second-generation immigrant, to Manuel's former mistress was certainly arranged by the emperor. By this marriage, Chalouphe rose from relative obscurity to a position which led to important posts as governor, envoy, and military commander. Only his unfortunate captivity cut off his promising career. The wedding of Kay Khusraw I to the daughter of Manuel Maurozomes connected the exiled sultan to the Comneni; it probably required the consent of Alexius III. Kay Khusraw apparently cared enough about his wife that he took her to Ikonion on his restoration—otherwise, he would not have defended the interests of his father-in-law. His second successor, Kay Kubad I, was the offspring of this marriage.<sup>70</sup>

By contrast, no Turkish women married into the dynasty or, so far as is known, into other aristocratic families. Maria of Bulgaria, Piroska-Irene of Hungary, Katae of Georgia, Bertha-Irene of Sulzbach, and Marie of Antioch are but a few of those of foreign descent who wedded Byzantine nobles or rulers. Byzantine princesses married Crusader kings and western rulers. To the Turks, cross-cultural marriage was within the realm of possibility: Malikshah requested a bride from the family of Alexius I,<sup>71</sup> and Tzachas desired intermarriage with the family of Constantine Dalassenos. But only those Turks who became assimilated by baptism and residence in Byzantium obtained Byzantine brides.

The number of Turks who entered Byzantine service cannot be known. The figures which Alexander Kazhdan developed for the ruling class in Byzantium in the eleventh-twelfth centuries permit a statement regarding the Turkish proportion at that level of society. Even incorporating such

<sup>67</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 73; for the statement on John Ises, see *ibid.*, 238.

<sup>68</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 214, 218.

<sup>69</sup> Eustathius, in Regel, *Fontes*, I, 77–78. Exceptionally, Elchanes is specified as having brought his relatives with him.

<sup>70</sup> Barzos, *Гев.*, II, 499.

<sup>71</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 65, 75–76.

temporary residents as Amertikes, Tzachas, and Kay Khusraw, the total reaches only twenty-three, or just one percent of the 2,300 individuals Kazhdan surveyed. For comparison, Kazhdan found ten to fifteen percent of the ruling class to be of Armenian origin, although many of these families were thoroughly Byzantinized. The greatest numbers of Turks in high positions are attested in the 1070–1100 period and in the reign of Manuel I, although this distribution may in part be due to the nature of the sources. Even though the number of Turks and their descendants was small, some of them reached positions of great trust and influence.<sup>72</sup>

When we consider the impact the Turkish immigrants had on Byzantium, we must ask about knowledge of their language. Specifically, it has been argued above that Tatikios and John Axouchos were selected as companions for Alexius Comnenus and his son in order to impart some knowledge of Turkish. As military commander or emperor, Alexius and John did not require a thorough knowledge of Turkish: the imperial bureau of translators could handle formal negotiations. But for battlefield use, to give commands to Turkish mercenaries, receive information from Turkish scouts, and interrogate prisoners, a working knowledge of Turkish would have been desirable. Such an elementary knowledge a ten-year-old such as Axouchos would have been able to convey to his high-born playfellow. There is, however, no textual evidence that Alexius I or John II understood Turkish. But twice Manuel I is shown conversing with Turks. In the final phase of the disastrous retreat from Ikonion in 1146, the emperor caused a Turkish soldier to be summoned by shouts. Kinnamos presents Manuel as speaking directly to this Turk, entrusting him with an arrogant message for the sultan.<sup>73</sup> Again, ca. 1160–61, when Manuel was invading the region of Sarapata Mylonos, the emir sent his nephew Poupakes to investigate the situation. Poupakes rode up, dismounted, and approached the emperor. Manuel spoke to him and gave him proud words to take back to the emir.<sup>74</sup> In neither case is the language specified, but no

interpreter is mentioned. It is possible an interpreter was used, or the Turks in question may have understood Greek—although the Turk in 1146 seems to have been a totally random individual. But there is also the possibility that Manuel spoke Turkish.

Knowledge of Turkish at lower social levels would seem to have been very slight. In the reign of Alexius I, Anna Comnena mentions only Monastras and Rodomir (more correctly, Radomir Aaronios) as knowing Turkish. Monastras was a *mixobarbaros*, probably half-Cuman, and so knew a Turkic language from birth. Rodomir, Anna reports, knew Turkish well because he had long been captive among them.<sup>75</sup> There were other returned captives in Byzantine society—Eustathius of Thessalonike has a story of how a group escaped thanks to the aid of St. Demetrius, and the Turkish soldiers settled within the empire must have spread some knowledge of the language.<sup>76</sup> Andronicus Comnenus probably learned some in his long wanderings in Turkish lands. But only after 1453 was spoken Greek influenced by Turkish.

Among the unexpected aspects of the effects of Turkish culture on Byzantium was a Persian or Turkish-style building constructed within the Great Palace in the eleventh or twelfth century. Called the Mouchroutas (from *mahruta*, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish for cone or dome), it was situated just west of the Chrysotriklinos, from which it was reached by a monumental staircase. The stair seems to have been adorned with multi-colored tiles made in cross-shapes. On the stair or in the chamber were representations of “Persians” in their varied costumes. The domed ceiling of the great chamber had, apparently, stalactite decoration, set with gold mosaic. The brilliance and color of this building must have been extraordinary. The exact date of its construction is uncertain. It did not exist at the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the description occurs in connection with John Comnenus Axouchos’ usurpation and death in 1200. Manuel I and Isaac II have been suggested as possible patrons of the building. The wealth of the empire under Manuel, and the ties

<sup>72</sup> Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyi sostav* (see note 12 above), 101, 200–218; A. P. Kazhdan, *Armiane v sostave gosподstvuiushchego klassa vizantiiskoi imperii v XI–XII vv.* (Erevan, 1975), 146–47, 167–68. The count includes: 5 Tatikioi, 3 Axouchoi, 3 Prosouchoi, Amertikes, Chrysoskoulos, Tzachas, Elchanes, Skaliarios, “Siaous,” Koutloumousios, Tziknoglos, Chaloupes, Pairames, Tzitas, and Kay Khusraw.

<sup>73</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 58–59.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 196–97. That this Poupakes (Abu Bakr) was probably

not the same as the guardsman in Byzantine service has been shown above.

<sup>75</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 15. On Monastras, see Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 192; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 213–15. On Rodomir, *ibid.*, 274–75.

<sup>76</sup> Eustathius of Thessalonike, In praise of St. Demetrius, *Opuscula*, 173–74.

with the Seljuks of Ikonion which then existed, suggest Manuel's reign as the more probable date. The visit of Kilidj Arslan II in 1162 may have been the occasion or the inspiration of the construction of the Mouchroutas. While there is no surviving Seljuk architecture from the twelfth century, there were certainly mosques and a palace in Ikonion. Probably any Muslim artists and architects brought to Constantinople for the construction of the Mouchroutas passed through Ikonion, even if they were Persian or Syrian in origin.<sup>77</sup>

The evidence of the Mouchroutas suggests that the Turkish and Byzantine worlds should not be seen as self-contained units, frozen into perpetual hostility. Rather they formed a continuum, with poles at Constantinople and Ikonion, between which persons and ideas flowed fitfully, as occasion allowed. The flow was not one-directional and not all Turks who came to Byzantium remained there. Amertikes returned to Muslim service in north Syria when pay for his soldiers was cut off. Tzachas, deprived of title and reward at the accession of Alexius I, shaped a career as a thalassocrator. Kay Khusraw, after having established a place for himself in Byzantine society, returned to Ikonion when fortune summoned him.

Did Turks in Byzantium retain contact with their compatriots in Anatolia? Certainly, those at the beginning and end of the period, Amertikes and Kay Khusraw, did. Chrysoskoulos was able to negotiate on familiar terms with Sulayman. Tzachas, who was only in the Byzantine Empire for a few years, evidently had not broken his ties with his fellow Turks. That "Siaous," Elchanes, Skaliarios, Prosouch, or others who joined after Alexius I's accession and before Myriokephalon kept up contact is doubtful. Youthful captives such as Tatikios and John Axouchos almost certainly did not. On the other hand, Alexius Axouchos, a second-generation Turk in Byzantium, was charged by Kinnamos with having maintained a treasonable

correspondence with the sultan. In all probability the accusation was unjust. In many cases, however, a Scotch verdict must be returned on this question.

Although this investigation is devoted to the question of Turks who came into Byzantium, the reverse aspect, Byzantines who passed over to the Turks, cannot be totally ignored. A number of prominent Byzantine nobles took refuge temporarily among the Turks. John II's brother Isaac fled in company with his son John ca. 1130, and passed through the courts of Gumushtegin Ghazi ibn Danişmend, Leo I of Cilician Armenia, and Mas'oud of Ikonion, before returning to Constantinople.<sup>78</sup> Isaac's younger son Andronicus also spent a lengthy exile in Syria and eastern Anatolia; he ended that period of his life as a raider under the protection of the Saltuqid emir of Erzerum.<sup>79</sup> But the most celebrated and permanent deserter from Byzantium was Isaac Comnenus' elder son John. After having accompanied his father on his wanderings, he was reconciled with John II. Then, during the latter's siege of Neokaisareia (Niksar) in 1139, John quarreled violently with the emperor and fled to the Turks. He declared himself a Muslim, settled at Ikonion, and married a daughter of the sultan.<sup>80</sup>

But most adherents to the Turks were of lesser rank. Michael the Syrian reports that ca. 1129 a Kasianos (the name is one known in twelfth-century Byzantium) surrendered his fortress in Pontus to Gumushtegin Ghazi and became his subject.<sup>81</sup> The most important of Byzantine landholders to enter Turkish service were members of the Gabras family, who held extensive lands in the interior of Pontus. While the family remained prominent in Byzantium, one branch of it sought employment with the sultans of Ikonion. A Gabras, said to have been of Byzantine descent, but raised among the Turks, was captured and executed by Manuel I during the retreat from Ikonion in 1146. Another Gabras acted as Kilidj Arslan II's envoy to Manuel before and after Myriokephalon.<sup>82</sup> After 1185, a series of pretenders who claimed to be Al-

<sup>77</sup>Nicholas Mesarites, Λόγος ἀφηγηματικός, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos* (Würzburg, 1907), 44–45, 72, trans. in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 228–29, with the alteration suggested in note 235, which is evidently preferable. See P. Magdalino, "Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace," *BMGS* 4 (1978), 101–14 (esp. 105, 108–9); Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 203; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1964), 122; Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration: Descriptions and Islamic Connections," in Michael Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX to XII Centuries*, BAR International Series 221 (Oxford, 1984), 138–56, suggests that Greek and Arabic craftsmen cooperated on the Mouchroutas.

<sup>78</sup>Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, III, 230–31; Barzos, *Γεν.*, I, 239–43 (no. 36). Isaac probably also visited the Holy Land; he apparently returned to John II ca. 1138.

<sup>79</sup>Andronicus' career is well known, but see Barzos, *Γεν.*, I, 517–30 (no. 87), on this period of wandering, ca. 1163–78.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 480–85 (no. 84).

<sup>81</sup>Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, III, 227.

<sup>82</sup>C. Cahen, "Une famille byzantine au service des Seldjuquides d'Asie Mineure," *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), 145–49; A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London, 1980), Parts IIIa and

exius II gained assistance from sultans of Ikonion and other Turkish rulers. While they did not intentionally seek service under the Turks, they effectively aided the Turks in their renewed advance in Asia Minor.<sup>83</sup> During the latter part of the century, as insecurity and abuses of tax-collection grew on the Byzantine side of the frontier, the Turkish sultan, by liberal grant of tax exemptions, attracted Byzantine peasants to settle on his lands.<sup>84</sup>

While refugees, opponents, and would-be rivals of the emperor formed part of the traffic from Byzantium to Ikonion, there is evidence of a handful of other persons, including a few merchants, who made the journey. We know of a Latin (probably a Venetian trader) who was capable of introducing a pretended Alexius II to the sultan.<sup>85</sup> Amongst these travelers there went, apparently, confidential agents of the emperor. Manuel Comnenus, in particular, allegedly paid large sums of money to a handful of the greatest men in the sultan's court. Thus, when Kilidj Arslan II triumphed to the point of being able to annihilate Manuel's army at Myriokephalon, these advisers influenced the sultan to hold back and make peace.<sup>86</sup> Manuel's encouragement of a pro-Byzantine faction in Ikonion exactly parallels what he did elsewhere, especially in fostering supporters in the Italian city-states. It is possible that Manuel sent his messages through some of the humbler Turks in his service: Michael Isach, John Ises, and the like.

The advisers of the sultan who favored Manuel included, but probably were not limited to, Christians. J.-L. van Dieten, in his annotations to the *History* of Nicetas Choniates, added sentences from the hitherto unpublished Tomos 26 of Nicetas' *Armor of Dogma*. These say, in part, "A certain Emir Hasan, having been adopted by Gabras, who

was very powerful with Kilidj Arslan, sultan of the Turks in our times, approached our blameless faith, but while being instructed he heard the words of this anathematization [of Mohammed's god] [and] was no little displeased, inasmuch as God the maker of all was slandered by the Byzantines and subjected to anathema. Then, sending to the emperor—this was Manuel Comnenus—and presenting in a statement the things in the catechism at which he hesitated, he seemed to say things which did not disagree with what was right."<sup>87</sup> Brief as it is, this text offers several important details. The Gabras mentioned was certainly Kilidj Arslan II's envoy to Manuel before and after Myriokephalon (1175–76); that he remained a Christian was previously unknown. Hasan ibn Gabras was an important person in Kilidj Arslan's court in the sultan's later years; he twice served as ambassador to Saladin. That he was an adopted son of Gabras had not been known. That he became a Christian at the time of his adoption, and was able to communicate his difficulties to Manuel, are illuminating details. Probably Gabras and his adopted son were not totally isolated in the court at Ikonion. With some confidence, one may hypothesize around the sultan a small group of Christian advisers who were in contact with Manuel and probably received funds from him. That Hasan felt no hesitation about apostasizing from Islam (technically a crime punishable by death), in a way which could scarcely have escaped the sultan's notice, suggests the tolerant atmosphere of that court.<sup>88</sup>

The date of Hasan ibn Gabras' conversion would seem to have been about 1179, for his complaints about the catechism stirred Manuel to his last ma-

IIIb. The Gabrades mentioned are Bryer's nos. 6 and 9. At the start of the 13th century, the Maurozomes family entered Turkish service, for the reasons indicated above. See Vryonis, *Asia Minor*, 229–34, for an excellent summary of Byzantines who voluntarily entered Turkish service.

<sup>83</sup> Brand, *Byzantium Confronts* (see note 38 above), 86–87, 135–36; J. Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210)* (Munich, 1974), 39–43.

<sup>84</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 494–95; Brand, *Byzantium Confronts*, 137.

<sup>85</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 420. K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, II, *IstForsch* 31 (Berlin, 1976), 115–16, 204, knows of no caravansaries prior to 1200, but acknowledges that many of them succeeded Byzantine xenodochia. Some of the earliest caravansaries were on the route from Ikonion to Constantinople, others on the road west from Ikonion.

<sup>86</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 188.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 213 ann. On the *Panoplia Dogmatike*, see J.-L. van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia Dogmatike des Niketas Choniates* (Amsterdam, 1970). The integral text of this work remains unpublished, but van Dieten has included in his notes to this section of the *Historia* all parts of Tomos 26 of the *Panoplia* which differ from or supplement the *Historia*.

<sup>88</sup> On Gabras and Hasan ibn Gabras, see Bryer, *Empire of Trebizond*, IIIa, 180–81 (nos. 9 and 10 of Bryer's catalogue). Hasan ibn Gabras was murdered in 1192. In 1234 a Giovanni de Gabra, a Christian, served as the envoy of Kay Kubad I to the pope and to Frederick II (ibid., 181, no. 12). We do not know his relationship to the above-mentioned Gabrades. Any surviving Christian descendants of Hasan ibn Gabras would have been joined after 1205 by members of the Maurozomes family, who continued to be Christian until the end of the 13th century. The Christian wives of the sultans probably assisted this group of prominent Christians at the court of Ikonion. These women seem to have had some influence. Kilidj Arslan II favored Kay Khusraw, his youngest son, child of a Christian wife. Kay Khusraw protected his Maurozomes relatives-in-law, and later sultans also had Christian wives.

jor theological effort, in the early months of 1180. The issue evidently struck a responsive chord in the emperor, probably not only because he desired to ease the difficulties of one convert in Ikonion, but because he wanted to smooth the path of numerous Turks within the Byzantine Empire who were becoming Christians. The Tomos which was finally published stated that the Muslims who were coming to be baptized hesitated in part because they "were very rustic and ignorant of literature" and did not understand the issue.<sup>89</sup> These phrases presumably did not refer to Hasan, but to humbler converts.

A Muslim who became Christian was required to repeat a lengthy denunciation of Islam, which included in its final portion "In addition to all these things, I anathematize the god of Mohammed, about whom it says that he is one god, a *holosphyros* god; he begets not, nor is begotten, nor is anyone like unto him begotten."<sup>90</sup> The allusion is to the Koran 112:1–4, where the Arabic word *samad* ("unique" or "eternal") was rendered *holosphyros*, "solid," "compact," "uniform throughout." Would-be converts like Hasan apparently feared that they were condemning the true God, while Byzantine theology held that Mohammed's god, being without the Logos and the Spirit (*pneuma*), was without reason and breath, so was only dead matter (*holosphyros*). To ease the path of Muslim converts, Manuel proposed to remove the condemnation of Mohammed's god from the catechistical book. Spurred by his advancing illness, he acted precipitately, without consulting his theologians. The members of the Holy Synod, when they heard Manuel's decree, reacted strongly against the implication that the god proclaimed by Mohammed was the true God. Eustathius of Thessalonike spoke in particularly violent terms. Manuel was forced into a series of compromises. In the final decree, issued in April 1180, the anathema against Mohammed's god was removed, and a new one against Mohammed, his teachings, and all who followed them was imposed. In practice, however, no change occurred, probably because Manuel died soon after (24 Sept. 1180) and his opponents al-

lowed the decree to be forgotten. A text of it survives, but copies of the convert's renunciation of Islam made after the twelfth century retain the previous phraseology.<sup>91</sup>

That Manuel made the effort to respond to the needs of converts to Christianity, in Ikonion and inside the empire, indicates the importance he attached to both groups of Turks. The sultan's advisers had been crucial to his own survival at Myriokephalon, and Hasan was already powerful in Ikonion. The numerous Turks settled within Byzantium needed to be assimilated. The failure of his alteration in the catechism to endure beyond his death indicates the fading importance of the Turkish element within the empire. In part, their diminution was due to circumstances, but another aspect of their decline was the appearance of a group of Byzantines who were hostile to the Turks in imperial service.

There is no sign of animosity to such Turks in authors of the first half of the twelfth century; Anna Comnena, John Zonaras, and Michael Italikos all seem neutral or uninterested in the question. Nicephorus Basilakes, in his oration to John Axouchos, would have us believe he was extremely favorable, at least to John. Traces of antipathy begin to appear in the middle of the century. George Tornikes, metropolitan of Ephesos, complained, in a letter seeking the retention of his uncle in an official position, that barbarians, by nature slaves, were being raised above the Hellene, the lover of the Muses and of Hermes. In a funeral oration for Anna Comnena, he was more specific. Speaking about Anna's parents, Alexius I and Irene, he said, "For many from these [remote ends of the earth], the greatest occasion for fame was only that they had been called their servants and had come into their presence under their authority and heard their commands, barbarians from captivity or even slaves bought from the sales-room of the market who were introduced into the palace—how much [greater] should it be for her [Anna] that she was engendered and nurtured by them."<sup>92</sup> The allu-

<sup>89</sup> J. Darrouzès, "Tomos inédit de 1180 contre Mahomet," *REB* 30 (1972), 195. This article, plus van Dieten's discoveries, substantially replaces K. G. Mpones [Bonis], 'Ο Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐστάθιος καὶ οἱ δύο "τόμοι" τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Α' Κομνηνοῦ (1143/80) ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὴν Χριστιανικὴν ὁρθοδόξαν μεθισταμένων Μωαμεθανῶν, *Ἑτ.Ἑτ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 19 (1949), 162–69.

<sup>90</sup> Darrouzès, loc. cit.; see also PG 140 (Paris, 1865), 133–34.

<sup>91</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 213–19, with the variants from the *Panoplia Dogmatike* given in the notes; Darrouzès, "Tomos inédit de 1180," 187–97; A.-Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam: Textes et auteurs (VIII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)* (Louvain, 1969), 187–93, 249–50; S. Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine Attitudes toward Islam during the Late Middle Ages," in his *Studies on Byzantium* (see note 50 above), no. VIII, 272–73, whose particularly clear presentation of the theology I have followed.

<sup>92</sup> George Tornikes, in George and Demetrius Tornikes, *Lettres et discours*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1970), 235.4–8; see the letter to John Kamateros, *ibid.*, 129.1–10. Both date from ca. 1153 to

sion to those who have risen through slavery and service in the Great Palace must be to such Turks as Tatikios and John Axouchos.

The most virulent propagator of slanders against Turks of this type was John Kinnamos. In his history, written between Manuel I's death and the accession of Andronicus I, Kinnamos delights in denigrating such persons. John Axouchos is presented, in the description of the retreat from Ikonion, as being more interested in saving his own skin than in assisting the emperor or rescuing the army. Fearing his own capture, supposedly, he took some troops, who were on their way to aid Manuel, to form a bodyguard for himself at a spot he considered defensible. Later, Kinnamos blames Axouchos for failing to conduct a fleet he commanded to Italy. The historian alleges Axouchos was either corrupted by the Venetians or too inexperienced in naval matters to carry out his mission. Part of the fleet, he claims, was lost in a storm because Axouchos did not take appropriate precautions.<sup>93</sup> Against Michael Isach, Kinnamos fulminates at length, probably with exaggeration. In 1175 Isach was dispatched to punish deserters from Manuel's army. Supposedly he blinded everyone he met, whether runaway soldier, peasant, trader, or any other person. Isach's actions cannot have been excessive, for Manuel declined to penalize him, and indeed exonerated him from the accusations. Kinnamos, however, exhibits *Schadenfreude* in mentioning Isach's ensuing death and the disasters which overtook his descendants.<sup>94</sup>

The fall of Alexius Axouchos afforded an occasion for Kinnamos to unleash the full extent of his anti-Turkish sentiments. He rejoiced in the opportunity to vilify the former protostrator, attributing to him a variety of political crimes, not to mention acts of unbelievable folly. Alexius is stated to have plotted with the sultan, placed unpatriotic paintings on the walls of his villa, conspired with a magician to impair the emperor's virility, made treasonable statements to a number of persons, disdained Manuel's efforts to correct him, and finally assembled a band of mercenaries to attack the emperor.<sup>95</sup> While Alexius Axouchos' over-

throw was primarily the result of a struggle for power within the palace (his judges presumably represent the victorious faction), it gave a moment of triumph to the anti-Turkish group.

Kinnamos' younger contemporary, the historian Nicetas Choniates, was free of enmity to the Turks. Nicetas, who wrote in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, avoids using the term "Perses" ("Turk") in connection with most individuals. He specifies John Axouchos as a "Perses" the first time he mentions him, but afterwards simply gives his title. Alexius Axouchos is called Alexius the eldest son of the grand domestikos, and thereafter, Alexius the protostrator. Other Turks or their descendants (Poupakes, Prosouch, Nicephorus Chalouphe, John Comnenus Axouchos, Constantine Tatikios) are not so designated. (Kinnamos, on the other hand, uses the term "Perses" in most such cases.) Nicetas was extremely favorable to John Axouchos and his son Alexius. He praised John's character very highly; indeed, Axouchos is one of the few personages who emerges as wholly admirable in Nicetas' lengthy history. Nicetas regards Alexius as a noble-minded man, pulled down by petty jealousies and the paranoia of the emperor.<sup>96</sup>

The case of John Comnenus Axouchos "the Fat" allows an appraisal of the extent of hostility to the Turks in Byzantine service at the start of the thirteenth century. When his story was recorded, he was dead; as a fallen usurper, he was a "tyrant" in Byzantine terminology. There was no reason to spare him vilification; there was (in the immediate aftermath) every reason to flatter the triumphant Alexius III. We have five accounts of John's usurpation: Nicetas Choniates' *History*, written in final form after 1204, an oration by Nicetas, and orations by Nicholas Mesarites, Nicephorus Chrysoberges, and Euthymius Tornikes. All four speeches were composed shortly after the event. Nicetas' *History* contains no reference to John's Turkish origin, but mentions his Comnenian ancestry. Nicetas' oration declares that John was not pure-blooded, but, like ancient Ishmael, home-born of a noble stock. ("Ishmael" or descendants of Ishmael is a term constantly applied to Muslims.) Nicetas, however, introduces this only in passing. Nicephorus Chrysoberges avoids mentioning John's descent. Nicholas Mesarites holds back any allusion to that subject until the fugitive is depicted entering the Mouchroutas, when its construction by his grand-

1155. On the concepts of Hellene and barbarian, see K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner: Die alten Bezeichnungen als Ausdruck eines neuen Kulturbewusstseins* (Munich, 1954).

<sup>93</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 51, 102.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 298–99.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 265–69.

<sup>96</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 9–11, 97, 143–46.

sire's relative is noted. But his Turkish descent is not stressed.<sup>97</sup>

While Nicetas Choniates, Chrysoberges, and Mesarites do not make a special point of John "the Fat's" Turkish ancestry, Euthymius Tornikes expatiates on the subject. Euthymius was the nephew of George Tornikes, and perhaps inherited his anti-Turkish feeling. He says:

Oh, that Turkish race, ill-intentioned, swollen, obdurate and stiff-necked like the Egyptians, as it was anciently spiteful against the Byzantines, raising conflicts against the Byzantines' realm and hostile to us from the beginning. For a descendant of that Turkish race, reared and nurtured here for his own evil fate—you know well that empty fellow, heavy-fleshed and useless, the graceless seed of Ishmael, whose God is his belly (I speak the divine and holy [word] according to Paul [Phil. 3:19])—he, although he was nigh the imperial race, although he had been warmed and nurtured in the merciful bosom of the emperor, yet he was not desirous to put aside his inborn baseness, the crooked serpent. A Turk is still a Turk—like an ape is an ape, according to the proverb—he did not reject his ancestral viciousness and haughty, Turkish spirit: "for eating he was filled and kicked, was fattened and broadened and forgot who nurtured him, and revolted from him" [Deut. 32:15, slightly altered], and like Jeroboam, another slave and rebel, assembling a foolish and unwise people, he usurped that great honor and renowned name, the empire.<sup>98</sup>

The faction which opposed the Turks in Byzantine service, to judge by the material we have, was not numerous. The chief evidence for its existence is the writings of a number of rhetoricians and of the historian Kinnamos, a bureaucrat. The triumph of the group lay in the destruction of Alexius Axouchos; perhaps, indeed, the group began as a reaction to the high authority attained by John Axouchos, and the successes of his son. George Tornikes saw the Turks as upstarts, to be suppressed in favor of free-born, native Hellenes. Kinnamos highlighted the ancestry of every Turk, and denigrated John Axouchos and his son. Euthymius Tornikes seized an opportunity to ventilate his spleen in the most extreme language. Nevertheless, the size and popularity of the group

cannot compare with that of the opponents of the "Latins," especially of the Italian merchants. The Turks occupied high positions at court and thus attracted the jealousy of courtiers and of writers who hoped to win positions in the bureaucracy. There must have been thousands of Turks settled in the countryside, to judge by Eustathius' remarks about "New Turkey" and "European Land of the Turks," but they were not concentrated enough to attract widespread popular hostility. The Latins formed visible colonies in the cities, and their economic power injured a great many persons. Anti-Latin feeling was largely inarticulate, but expressed itself violently in the great Latin Massacre. Nothing so bad befell the Turks.

The Turks were only one of many peoples whose members (voluntarily or involuntarily) became part of Byzantine society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Soldiers from England, Scandinavia, Normandy, France, Italy, Germany, and Russia voluntarily enlisted. Large numbers of Serbs and Hungarians were captured in the campaigns of John II and Manuel I and settled within the empire. Georgians and Armenians still appeared in Byzantine forces. The vast majority of Turks who entered Byzantium were humble persons, residing on the islands or in Macedonia, probably with military obligations. Because they were few compared to the total number of the population, and because there were many other ethnic groups within the empire, there was no great wave of popular hostility against them.

On the other hand, the number of Turks in the Byzantine army, and the high position of Turkish officers, probably contributed to the belief of Western Crusaders that the Byzantines were in alliance with the Turks. Tatikios was vilified by most of the historians of the First Crusade for his conduct at the siege of Antioch. Prosouch commanded the forces which strove to keep the Second Crusade in check. Hostility to Byzantium and suspicion of the emperors rose in the twelfth century, and the use of Turks contributed thereto.

Turks were not the only foreigners to ascend in the empire's service, and intermarry with the imperial family. John Rogerios, Boris of Hungary, and Renier of Montferrat were among the most prominent. But Alexius Axouchos surpassed them in wedding the only offspring of the emperor's eldest son. The Latins, Hungarians, and others who achieved high status in Byzantium and intermarried with the aristocracy or the reigning house generally came from noble or knightly back-

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 526–28; Nicetas Choniates, *Orationes et epistolae*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 3 (Berlin, 1972), 104; Nicephorus Chrysoberges, *Ad Angelos orationes tres*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau, 1892), 1–12; Mesarites, *Palastrevolution*, 45. The lemma of Nicetas' speech (*Orationes*, 101) alludes to John the Fat's descent "from the Grand Domestikos named Axouch, who was Turkish," but it may have been written by the scribe.

<sup>98</sup> Euthymius Tornikes, Speech to Alexius III (see note 38 above), 66–67. I am grateful to Prof. Samuel Lachs for the citation to Deuteronomy (the reference in the edition is incorrect).

grounds. They arrived in the empire with a claim of outstanding descent to support their pretensions. Ancestry carried great weight in twelfth-century Byzantium: Anna Comnena could excuse her father's preference for the incompetent Aspietes (Oschin) on grounds of his descent from the Arsacids of Armenia.<sup>99</sup> Only a handful of Turks who entered Byzantium could claim status by birth: Amertikes, Elchanes, and Koutlounousios, for instance. But most of the Turks who gained leading roles in the empire were of obscure origin. Tzachas is explicitly stated to have been of undistinguished background. Servile beginnings or captivity did not bar advancement. Tatikios and John Axouchos owed their rise first to the fortune which brought them into contact with the future emperor, but most of all to their personal qualities. With no claim to noble ancestry, in competition with members of the Byzantine, Western, and other aristocracies, the Turks mounted through ability and loyalty to the emperor to positions of high command and great influence at court.

Indeed, the early Comneni probably turned toward the Turks exactly because they had no connections with the established aristocracy. "Siaous," Elchanes, Tatikios, and John Axouchos could all be

relied on because they lacked ties in society, and were totally dependent on the emperor's favor. Alexius Axouchos, however, possessed a link to the reigning dynasty which could be made to seem a potential threat to Manuel. Hence Alexius was cast down from his high position. Nicephorus Chalouphe's obscure Turkish origin probably made him seem appropriate as the husband of Manuel's former mistress. During the period of their greatest prominence, the Turks' lack of social connections made them valuable to the emperor.

Byzantium benefited by their presence. Tatikios, John Axouchos, and Prosouch were capable generals. Alexius Axouchos and Nicephorus Chalouphe managed diplomatic missions with delicacy and success. John Axouchos rose highest, as the emperor's principal adviser. The disappearance of loyal and capable Turks from positions of command and influence after Manuel's death left leadership to aristocrats with largely civilian backgrounds, and to eunuchs. The only Turks then in Constantinople, John Comnenus Axouchos and Kay Khusraw, acted as courtiers rather than leaders. In a letter to John Axouchos, Michael Italikos called him "an unshaken tower of the Romans' realm."<sup>100</sup> The empire was weakened by the disappearance of the Turks in Byzantine service.

Bryn Mawr College

<sup>99</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 58–59; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 29–31. On the Latins who entered Byzantine service, see D. M. Nicol, "Symbiosis and Integration: Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th Centuries," *BF* 7 (1979), 113–35; Elizabeth Jeffreys, "Western Infiltration of the Byzantine Aristocracy: Some Suggestions," in Angold, *Byzantine Aristocracy* (see note 77 above), 202–10.

<sup>100</sup> Michael Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, 223.14–15 (no. 37), quoted at the beginning of this paper. On the nature of the elite from 1180 to 1204, see Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyi sostav*, 263–64.

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Author(s): Speros Vryonis, Jr.

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# NOMADIZATION AND ISLAMIZATION IN ASIA MINOR

SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

The following paper is substantially the same as that delivered at the Symposium on "The Decline of Byzantine Civilization in Asia Minor, Eleventh-Fifteenth Century," held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1974.

List of terms:

<i>achi</i>	member of a mystical-artisanal organization in Seljuk Anatolia
<i>amir-i-hadjib</i>	chamberlain of the sultan's palace
<i>cadi</i>	muslim judge
<i>dhimmî</i>	member of a protected religious minority in Islam
<i>feredje</i>	veil
<i>ghazi</i>	Muslim warrior for the faith
<i>gulam</i>	young male slave, recruited from non-Muslims for military and governmental service in Islamic states
<i>jiḥad</i>	Muslim holy war
<i>okka</i>	a Turkish weight
<i>sema</i>	musical ceremony, of a mystical nature, performed by dervishes
<i>synoikismos</i>	the joining of scattered settlements into one city
<i>tariqa</i>	dervish order
<i>ulama</i>	Muslim religious official
<i>zawiyya</i>	dervish convent

ONE cannot discuss the decline of Byzantine civilization in Asia Minor without examining closely the two phenomena of nomadization and Islamization. In a sense, nomadization and Islamization were the consequences of the double nature of the Turkish conquests in Asia Minor, nomadic and sultanic. Although it is true that the sultans were ultimately of tribal origin and that the nomads were converted to Islam, the institutions of the sultan were basically Islamic whereas those of the Turkmens were nomadic. The nomadic and sultanic conquests and patterns of settlements operated in different fashions, and their immediate effects on Byzantine society were of a different nature. First, I shall attempt to examine the dynamics of nomadic expansion in a particular region of Asia Minor, then the mode of life of the nomads, and finally their impact upon Byzantine society. Inasmuch as other aspects of this Anatolian nomadism have received detailed treatment elsewhere, they will not be dealt with here.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the invading tribes, as a result of a variety of factors, came to be fixed on the north, west, and south in the strongholds of the high mountainous perimeters of the Anatolian plateau. Their presence in these regions is imperfectly attested by a wide variety of sources, so that there can be no doubt about their presence and significance there. For the purposes of this paper, however, I shall concentrate on the nomads in western Asia Minor, where their activities are best documented. In addition, the sources, as we shall see, indicate that their concentration in this region was relatively dense. Finally, it was these groups which consummated the Turkish conquest of western Anatolia and successively gave rise to the world of the beyliks and the Ottoman state.

The peculiar geographical configuration within which the Turkmens settled played a vital role in the history of events from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. The broadest general extent of this crucial area reaches from the two vital urban centers of Asia Minor in this area, Ankara (elev. 851 m.) and Konya (elev. 1027 m.) in the east, to the Marmara, Aegean, and Mediterranean seas in the west. This area, of roughly 225,000–250,000 sq. km., consists of three definite regions. The easternmost part constitutes the western edge of the great Anatolian plateau whose elevation varies in the vicinity of 1000 m. The section immediately to the north, west, and south is made up of mountain ranges which attain altitudes of up to 2000 m. in the north, about 2500 m. near Bursa, and over 3000 m. in the southwest. The third region that concerns us here, comprising the most western, northern, and southwestern area, is that of the fertile, low-lying riverine lands. This maritime region consists of the rich alluvial plains of the Sangarius, Macestus (Susurlu), and Granicus (Kocabaş) rivers in the north, the Caicus (Bakır), Hermes (Gediz), Cayster (Küçük Menderes), and Maeander in the west, and the Indus (Dalaman), Xanthus (Koca), Cestrus (Aksu), and Eurymedon (Köprü) in the southwest. In strategic terms, the

<sup>1</sup> S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1971), 184–94.

crucial area which controlled movement between the riverine and plateau regions was the intermediate mountainous zone, traversable along certain river valleys and key mountain passes. Further, movements of large groups were easier from the mountains westward than from the mountains eastward. The plateau, aside from being climatically inhospitable, was less hospitable in terms of pasturage and water than were the river valleys, and the mountains did not inhibit movement in the west. Thus the plateau was secure behind the outlying mountain ridges, whereas the maritime regions were easily accessible from the mountains via the river valleys.

I shall attempt to trace very broadly certain developments in this critical western region of Asia Minor from the reign of Alexius Comnenus in the eleventh century until the final conquests by Turkmen groups in the second half of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries. The process affords us a glimpse of uncontrolled nomadism and its cultural significance, and a glimpse into the fate of Byzantine society.

By the time of the early years of his reign, Alexius I Comnenus was faced with the fact that Byzantine control had disappeared almost completely from Asia Minor, and that western Asia Minor had been occupied by various nomadic groups under their own chieftains. By chance, Anna Comnena gives an incomplete count of these chieftains and their domains.

Tzachas and his brother Yalvac controlled Smyrna, Clazomenai, Phocaea, Samos, Mitylene, and Chios. Tangripermes and Merak possessed Ephesus and the neighboring towns. Elchanes ruled Apollonias and Cyzicus, whereas Anna relates that Scaliarius and other chieftains had also carved out domains for themselves in these western parts. Thus the conquests, the temporary settlements, and the emergence of a number of independent Turkmen emirs in western Anatolia during the eleventh century are similar to those which occurred in this area during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. When in 1097 the Crusades inflicted a succession of defeats on these Turks at Nicaea, Dorylaeum, Pisidian Antioch, and Iconium, Alexius sent military forces to reoccupy Smyrna, Ephesus, Sardes, Philadelphia, Laodiceia, Lampe, and Polybotus, so that in the year 1098 Alexius was able to go as far east as Philomelium. The Emperor, taking advantage of the Crusader victories, had been able to push the Turkmens back to a line running through Dorylaeum, Santabaris, Amorium, Cedrea, Polybotus, Philomelium, and southward to Attaleia. But this repulse of the nomads eastward had intensified their numbers in the mountainous zone between the plateau and the maritime districts. The combination of high mountains and dense Turkmen settlements henceforth provided Konya and Ankara (which soon returned to Turkish hands) with admirable security, and indeed even Philomelium could not be held by Alexius. Consequently, by the end of the reign of Alexius I, the rough boundary between Turk and Greek, Muslim and Christian, sedentary and nomad was fixed in this large mountainous area between the plateau and the coast which stretched from the Sangarius River in the north to Attaleia in the south.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-17.

John II Comnenus (1118–43) seems to have held the advantage in the struggle with the sultan of Iconium and with the Danishmendids around Castamon and Neocaesarea in the north, and was able to campaign in Cilicia and to go to Antioch in the south and east. He was also successful in his military expeditions against the nomads of the central mountainous zone. But if one looks very briefly at his actions it becomes clear that the nomads seemed to operate constantly, independently, and despite the weakness of the sultanate at Iconium. Indeed, they seem to have ignored the treaty of Alexius with the sultan and to have threatened the towns of the upper Maeander. In 1119 John had to retake the city of Laodiceia from its Turkish conqueror Alpcharas and his numerous retinue; he took the occasion to wall the city. In 1120 he retook the city of Sozopolis about 120 km. to the northeast of Laodiceia and was then forced to recover Hieracoryphites and a number of unnamed fortified places in the direction of Attaleia. At the northern end he cleared nomadic raiders from the Sangarius upon his return from Syrian Antioch, and because of this constant pressure he rebuilt the fortresses of Lopadium and Achyraous.<sup>3</sup> Toward the end of his reign (1142) he turned his attention once more to the districts of Lycaonia, Lycia, and Pisidia, for the enemy was once more besieging Sozopolis, and other towns had fallen.<sup>4</sup> Though John had attained successes in northern Asia Minor and Cilicia, it was only with great difficulty that he partially contained the nomads who now sorely pressed the cities of Phrygia, the upper Maeander, Pisidia, and Lycia. The fact that the Turkmens had taken Laodiceia 200 km. southwest of Polybotus (the eastern boundary under Alexius) indicates not only the constancy of the nomadic pressure but the fluidity of the boundaries in this mountainous zone. In addition, Attaleia appeared to be isolated by the imposition of nomadic groups in the mountains overlooking the city.

The long reign of Manuel Comnenus (1143–80) is crucial in the history of the nomadic push toward the river valleys. There can be no doubt that his grandiose foreign policy involving both Italy and northern Syria caused him to diffuse Byzantine resources and strengths, while it is possible that the number of Turkmens in the borders increased during the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> Like his father before him, Manuel early in his reign found it necessary to chase the nomads from the regions of Melangeia and to secure Bithynia.<sup>6</sup> Soon after, in 1146, the raids of the Turkmens extended to Pithecas, Celbianon in the Cayster valley, Lydia, and to the cities of the Maeander and Phrygia, with the result that Manuel had to campaign to relieve them, marching as far as Philadelphia and Konya.<sup>7</sup> The Second Crusaders (1147) received rough treatment from the Turkmens of Mamplanes near Melangeia, encountering them on both sides of the Maeander as they advanced to Laodiceia, and were

<sup>3</sup> Nicetas Choniates, Bonn ed. (1835), 17, 19, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Cinnamus, Bonn ed. (1836), 22; Nicetas Choniates, 49–50.

<sup>5</sup> C. Cahen, "Selgukides et Allemands au temps de la troisième croisade," *WZKM*, 56 (1960), 21–31; Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 120ff.

<sup>6</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 71.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 71–72.

defeated outside Attaleia.<sup>8</sup> In 1158, while making his way to Cilicia, Manuel defeated Turkmens in Little Phrygia,<sup>9</sup> and despite the peace treaty concluded with Kilidj Arslan in that year, on his return from Cilicia Manuel again campaigned against the nomads. Since on his return he had been attacked near Dorylaeum, in 1159 he appeared in the Tembris and Bathys valleys near Cotyaeum whence he drove the nomads and their flocks.<sup>10</sup> In his campaign of 1160 he set out from Philadelphia to plunder the district of Sarapata Mylonos, the domain of the enemy Solymas and his followers. Upon Manuel's departure the Turks reentered the area, captured Philetas, and killed many of the inhabitants of Laodiceia.<sup>11</sup> Though Manuel and Kilidj Arslan concluded another treaty in 1161/62, when the sultan made his celebrated visit to Constantinople, the nomadic pressure continued unabated until the disastrous battle of Myriocephalum. They pushed into the Phrygian Pentapolis in search of pasture, into the region between Lampe and Graos Gala near Chonae, and into the plain of Panasium and Lacerium, and even succeeded in sacking the city of Laodiceia at the edge of this heavy nomadic settlement.

Manuel fortified the regions of Pergamum and Adramyttium to protect the inhabitants, drove the nomads out of Dorylaeum, and rebuilt that city and Choma-Soublaeum. His defeat at Myriocephalum in 1176 was in part the result of the incessant nomadic harrassments and attacks before, during, and after the battle. Soon after, Turkish raiders appeared in the Maeander valley where they sacked Tralles, Phrygia, Antioch, Louma, and Pentacheir.<sup>12</sup>

It is obvious that the reign of Manuel marks a major advance of the Turkmens toward the river valleys. In the north, the pressure which they exerted from Dorylaeum and Cotyaeum toward Bithynia and Mysia was constant. They raided as far west as the Caicus River (Bakır), while their encampments had already reached the headwaters of the Hermus River where only the strong Byzantine outpost of Philadelphia blocked any further westward settlement. For a distance of some 125 km. east and northeast of Philadelphia we have indications of dense nomadic groups during Manuel's reign: at Lacerium and Panasium, between Graos Gala and Lampe, and in the Pentapolis. After the battle of Myriocephalum they raided almost the length of the Maeander, and Attaleia in the south remained isolated. All of Pisidia, practically all of Phrygia, and substantial areas of Lycia were now occupied by Turkmens.

With the disintegration of the Empire, which followed the death of Manuel and continued until Theodore Lascaris in 1211 slew the Seljuk sultan Giyath al-Din in the Maeander valley, thus halting further losses, the sultan's forces and the nomads made the next great advance toward the west. For the next fifty years the boundary of Byzantium in this area lay west of a line extending through Sinope, Castamon, Cotyaeum, and Laodiceia to the Gulf of Macri or

<sup>8</sup> F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)* (Paris, 1922), 285-86, 290 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cinnamus, 179-80; Nicetas Choniates, 134-35.

<sup>10</sup> Cinnamus, 191.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 196-98.

<sup>12</sup> Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 123-26.

Fethiye, Attaleia having finally fallen in 1207 so that Lycia was now in Turkmen territory.<sup>13</sup>

So long as Nicaea remained the focus of Byzantine political and economic life the final Turkmen push was halted. The transfer of this political and economic focus from Nicaea to Constantinople resulted in first the neglect and then the penalization of these Anatolian provinces at a time when the sultanate of Iconium was itself undergoing decline. This left the nomadic groups literally unopposed and without any effective centralized control. From 1261/62, when the Turco-Mongol armies had to suppress Turkmen disorders in the plain of the Dalaman River, until the great Turkmen upheavals connected with Baybars' invasion of Asia Minor, these western Udj or Turkmen borders slipped from Seljuk control, and the Turkmen groups began to conquer and settle in the remainder of the river valleys.<sup>14</sup> Some two decades subsequent to Michael VIII Palaeologus' reconquest of Constantinople, these formerly prosperous riverine regions were defenseless and in a state of severe economic decline.<sup>15</sup> Seven years after the Turkmen upheavals in the Dalaman plain, Michael Palaeologus sent an army under his brother John to contain the Turkmen threat. Once on the scene he had to concentrate on the Maeander valley as far as Tralles, and the Cayster, since Caria (the district south of the Maeander and north of the Dalaman) had been definitively conquered by the Turks. This indicates clearly that the Turkmens had occupied most of Caria, including the ports of Strobilus, Stadia, and Trachia, in a seven- or eight-year period.<sup>16</sup> Nine years later (1278) Michael sent another expedition to the Maeander to halt further deterioration of the situation, but by this time Priene, Miletus, and Magedon had fallen, the Turks had occupied the Cayster valley to the north, and the Turkmen advance down the Maeander had already taken Antioch and Caria.<sup>17</sup> Though it was rebuilt and recolonized, Tralles (Aydın), as well as Nysa (Sultanhisar), was the next conquest of Monteshe in 1282 as he approached the mouth of the Maeander River. In 1304 Ephesus fell, while Thyraia and Pyrgi fell to the north. The Turks had captured Pergamum by 1302, and by 1326, 1331, and 1337 respectively, the last Bithynian strongholds of Prusa, Nicaea, and Nicomedia had fallen. There arose eight major and a few smaller Turkmen principalities in the combined riverine and mountainous districts of western Asia Minor; these included the Ottomans, Germiyan, the two Hamids, Monteshe, Aydın, Saruhan, and Karası. Thus, we see the successive nomadic occupations over a period of two centuries of Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, Ionia, Mysia, and Bithynia.<sup>18</sup>

It is noteworthy that throughout the long period of over two and one-half centuries, during which the Turkish conquests and settlements of western Asia

<sup>13</sup> P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Montesche. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13.-15. Jh.* (Amsterdam, 1967), 1; C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), 117-20.

<sup>14</sup> Cahen, *ibid.*, 280 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Pachymeres, Bonn ed. (1835), I, 502-5; G. Arnakis, *Οι πρώτοι 'Οσωμανοί* (Athens, 1947), *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> Pachymeres, I, 310-12.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 468.

<sup>18</sup> Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 250-53, 138.

Minor transpired, the principal agents and initiators were the nomadic groups and their chieftains. The Seljuk sultans participated but occasionally and fitfully.

The Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Syriac sources conclude that this long mountainous zone was inhabited by significant numbers of Turks, that they were by and large nomadic, and that they gradually conquered Western Anatolia. They are variously referred to as *Turkomanioi*,<sup>19</sup> νομάδες, ποιμνίται,<sup>20</sup> πολυθρέμμονες,<sup>21</sup> and σκηνίτας<sup>22</sup> by the Greek authors. The Latin chroniclers and observers called them *Bedewini* or *silvestres Turci*,<sup>23</sup> and the Arab and Syriac authors describe them as *Turkmens* of the *Udj*.<sup>24</sup> These authors leave no doubt as to what they understood by these terms. Cinnamus says of them: "As yet unpracticed in agricultural undertakings they drank milk and ate meat, like the Scythians, always dwelling in tents and scattered about the plain. . . ."<sup>25</sup> On his return to Constantinople from Syria, John Comnenus expelled the Turkish raiders from the Sangarius "...and herds of livestock of every kind,"<sup>26</sup> a sure indication that the marauding invaders were *Turkmens* who had brought their flocks with them. Nicetas Choniates remarks of Manuel: "Sometimes repulsing the Turks who were scattered about the Rhomaic boundaries like broad herds, he attacked those around the Pentapolis and having captured many human bodies and many animals...returned victorious."<sup>27</sup> Shortly thereafter he ordered Gudelius Tzykandeles and Michael Angelus to attack the Turks. "All those who, having great flocks, seek after grassy meadows and fall with all their race upon the borders of the Rhomaiioi."<sup>28</sup>

The Turks, whom the armies of Manuel attacked at Panasium and Lacerium, were tent dwellers,<sup>29</sup> and those around Charax are described as herdsmen.<sup>30</sup> In some cases, even the names of the tribal leaders are recorded. For instance, when Manuel returned from Philomelium to the region where the Maeander River rises (near Choma-Soublaeum), he came upon a great encampment of Turkmen tents where the chieftain (γενναρχης) was a certain Rama. The *Turkmens*, who were pasturing their horses, were accustomed to raiding the neighboring Greeks for booty (there is a careful description of how they protect their animals during retreat and battle).<sup>31</sup> Late in the twelfth century we hear of another Turkmen chief, Arsanes (Arslan?), who must have been the head of

<sup>19</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1937-43), III, 169; Cinnamus, 208.

<sup>20</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 255.

<sup>21</sup> Theodore Scutariotes, in K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη ἐπιστολαί*, VII (Venice, 1894), 254.

<sup>22</sup> W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum*, II (Petropolis, 1917), 261.

<sup>23</sup> Ansbert, *Historia Peregrinorum*, ed. A. Chroust, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, MGH, *ScriptRerGerm*, N.S., V (Berlin, 1928), 155.

<sup>24</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus, being the First Part of his Political History of the World*, trans. E. A. W. Budge, I (London, 1932), 360; Wittek, *op. cit.*, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Cinnamus, 9.

<sup>26</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 44.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

a large group of nomads in western Phrygia. The rebel Pseudo-Alexius was able to recruit several thousand followers from him and with them to conduct pillaging forays.<sup>32</sup> Sometime later, Alexius III sent an army against the "herdsmen" of the emir Arsanes, undoubtedly the same chieftain.<sup>33</sup> The members of the Third Crusade encountered the nomadic groups, often with unpleasant consequences, when they fought their way through Phrygia to Iconium. Unlike the Greeks, who were more familiar with their neighbors and took them for granted, the Latins describe their nomadism much more clearly. One author says of them: "It is, however, the habit of the inhabitants in this land, who are called pastoral Turks or Bedouins, to be without houses and to live all the time in tents [and] to move from one pasturage to another with their flocks and herds."<sup>34</sup> Further, a Latin source remarks, "They have no cities, but live in the fields."<sup>35</sup>

It is thus clear that one is dealing here with a nomadic invasion. The nomads have not yet settled in towns or taken up sedentary life as full-time agriculturists. Their livelihood comes from their flocks and from booty taken in Byzantine territory. They were, at least superficially, Muslims who were further motivated by the spirit of the Holy War against the Greek Christians. When the Arab traveler al-Harawi passed through these border regions in the second half of the twelfth century, he noted the existence of a shrine on the Byzantine-Turkish borders (near Afyon-Karahisar) which was reported to be the tomb of the Muslim martyr Abu Muhammad al-Battal, and at Amorium the tombs of those who fell there in the celebrated siege of the city in 838. These constitute fascinating testimony to the fact that the *ghazi-jihad* tradition was closely intertwined into the nomadic society of Phrygia.<sup>36</sup> Not only was there evidence of a nomadic invasion but also of an epic society in its heroic age, and it is from this milieu that the Turkish epics were shaped: the Battalname, the Danishmendname, and the Dusturname.

This point gains certain fullness if one considers the question of numbers. The mere fact that the nomads successfully pushed westward and eventually (independently of any sultanic authority) reached the sea indicates that the pressure of the nomads was in part due to their number. At the same time the sources, though vague and inexact, give definite indications of heavy Turkmen settlements which provided a resource for the conquest of the maritime regions, as they did also for Greek rebels who found them willing recruits for raiding expeditions.<sup>37</sup> Pseudo-Alexius recruited 8,000 of them in western Phrygia;<sup>38</sup> 2,000 were encamped around Dorylaeum in the reign of Manuel.<sup>39</sup> They were so numerous in the Maeander plain, with their families and livestock, in the

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 551.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 658.

<sup>34</sup> Ansbert, *Historia Peregrinorum*, 155.

<sup>35</sup> *Gesta Federici*, ed. O. Holden-Egger, MGH, *ScriptRerGerm* (Hannover, 1892), 87.

<sup>36</sup> Al Harawi, trans. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage* (Damascus, 1957), 131.

<sup>37</sup> Cinnamus, 59–60; *Ibn el-Athiri chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, XII (Uppsala, 1853), 113.

<sup>38</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 551.

<sup>39</sup> Cinnamus, 295.

late thirteenth century that they were compared to a deluge. Planudes calls them "a flood of barbarians."<sup>40</sup> At the time of Barbarossa's march, his chroniclers report that they numbered 100,000 in the regions from the upper Maeander eastward toward Konya.<sup>41</sup> Michael the Syrian relates how, in groups of 5,000 to 10,000, they attacked Manuel's army en route to the battle of Myrioccephalum, and that some 50,000 of them pillaged his camp.<sup>42</sup> An Arab source of the thirteenth century asserts that the districts of Laodiceia were inhabited by 200,000 Turkmens with their tents, and the river valley just below Chonae came to be known as Türkmenova.<sup>43</sup> The Arab geographer of the early fourteenth century, al-Umari, gives a great deal of specific information about the Turkmen beys and their principalities in western Asia Minor. Specifically, he lists the armies of these beys, which must have often, though not always, consisted of Turkmens. He gives a double set of figures from his two sources, Orian and Balaban. According to the former there were 152,000, and according to the latter 555,500, followers in the armies of these various beyliks. The real number was probably somewhere between these two extremes, for Orian omits figures for three of these principalities.<sup>44</sup> Though one cannot put complete confidence in such figures, they constitute yet one more testimony to the large number of nomads.

All these circumstances demonstrate further that we have been dealing not with a typical military conquest and occupation of western Asia Minor, but with an ethnic migration of nomadic peoples of substantial numerical proportions. Having established the fact that the conquest and settlement of much of western Asia Minor was, substantially, the accomplishment of nomads, one must next examine the character of such a conquest and its impact on Byzantine society.

The process itself is described in its essential details by the Georgian chronicle for northeast Asia Minor and the adjoining Georgian regions, and we may turn to this text momentarily. The process which it describes was not unique to the northeast, for we see it in the west and the south of Asia Minor as well, but inasmuch as it is the best example of the character and effect of nomadic conquest, it is of some advantage to consider it.

The emirs spread out, like locusts, over the face of the land. . . . The countries of Asis-Phorni, Clardjeth, up to the shores of the sea, Chawcheth, Adchara, Samtzkhe, Karthli, Argoueth, Samokalako, and Dchqon-did were filled with Turks, who pillaged and enslaved all the inhabitants.

<sup>40</sup> *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae*, ed. M. Treu (Amsterdam, 1960), 163.

<sup>41</sup> Salimbene, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, XXXII (Leipzig/Hannover, 1905-13), 11.

<sup>42</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot, III (Paris, 1905), 371.

<sup>43</sup> Wittek, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 13), 1-2; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, IV: *Das östliche Lydien und südwestliche Phrygien* (Gotha, 1914), cf. map of the region of Laodiceia; X. de Planhol, "Le cadre géographique: Le pays de Laodicée-Denizli," in *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée. Campagnes 1961-63*, eds. J. des Gagniers, P. Devambe, L. Kahil, and R. Ginouvès (Paris, 1969), 394.

<sup>44</sup> F. Taeschner, *Al-'Umari's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masâlik al-abşâr fî mamâlik al-amşar* (Leipzig, 1929), 21 ff.

In a single day they burned Kouthathis, Artanoudj, the hermitages of Clardjeth, and they remained in these lands until the first snows, devouring the land, massacring all those who had fled to the forests, to the rocks, to the caves...."<sup>45</sup>

The calamities of Christianity did not come to an end soon thereafter, for at the approach of spring, the Turks returned to carry out the same ravages and left [again] in the winter. The [inhabitants] however were unable to plant or to harvest. The land, [thus] delivered to slavery, had only animals of the forests and wild beasts for inhabitants. Karthli was in the grip of intolerable calamities such as one cannot compare to a single devastation or combination of evils of past times. The holy churches served as stables for their horses, the sanctuaries of the Lord served as repairs for their abominations [Islam]. Some of the priests were immolated during the Holy Communion itself, and others were carried off into harsh slavery without regard to their old age. The virgins were defiled, the youths circumcised, and the infants taken away. The conflagration, extending its ravages, consumed all the inhabited sites, the rivers, instead of water, flowed blood. I shall apply the sad words of Jeremiah, which he applied so well to such situations: "The honorable children of Zion, never put to the test by misfortunes, now voyaged as slaves on foreign roads. The streets of Zion now wept because there was no one [left] to celebrate the feasts. The tender mothers, in place of preparing with their hands the nourishment of the sons, were themselves nourished from the corpses of these dearly loved. Such and worse was the situation at that time...."<sup>46</sup>

As Isaiah said: "...Your land is devastated, your cities reduced to ashes, and foreigners have devoured your provinces, which are sacked and ruined by barbarian nations."<sup>47</sup>

By the time of the reign of David (1083–1125), the nomads had effected permanent settlement in these regions, moving into the abandoned and devastated areas with their tents, families, and flocks of livestock. They no longer departed at the onset of winter. Further, they quickly established the transhumant pattern of movement with flocks and families between a summer highland and a winter plain. By October, the month of vintage, they were settled in Gatchian on the banks of the Mtcouar, on the banks of the Ior, and in all the other regions where winter was milder. Here they found pasturage, forest, water, and various wild game for themselves and their countless horses, sheep, mules, and camels. In the spring they began to ascend the mountains of Somkheth and Ararat, where again they found the necessary pasturage and relief from the heat. But at no time did they cease to raid and devastate the adjoining territories of their Christian neighbors for booty and prisoners.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I (St. Petersburg, 1849), 346–47.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 348.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 349–50.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 358–59.

We see here described the full cycle of nomadic raid, conquest, and settlement. It begins with the seasonal raids of spring and summer, followed by withdrawal at the onset of the winter snows which made existence for the nomads and their flocks impossible. The raids are renewed annually at the onset of the vernal season until the invaded region is depopulated through flight, death, or enslavement, and agriculture comes to a halt. Then the cities, isolated from their agricultural hinterland, eventually fall also. With the flight of the agricultural population the nomads occupy the land, which is turned over to their flocks; thus a complete social entity, a nomadic society, is interposed. The situation depends on whether the host society is sufficiently strong militarily either to contain this foreign body and restrict its spread or else to remove it altogether. If there is no strong central authority, the nomadic core is free to spread until an equilibrium between land and nourishment on the one hand is sufficient for the number of men, livestock, and the acquisitive hunger of the pastoral group on the other. That which pushed this dynamic forward was the nature of this type of nomadism. The very process by which the agricultural society was eroded strengthened and enriched the nomads and stimulated them to further expansion. Thus, we are witnessing the timeless struggle of farmer and herdsman, the sown and the desert.

This process, described in great detail for northeastern Asia Minor and Georgia, was repeated in parts of northern, in southern (where Bertrandon de la Broquière depicted its results so graphically in the first half of the fifteenth century), and in western Anatolia.<sup>49</sup> For this latter area, where the Byzantine emperors struggled against nomadic encroachment, we have a considerable amount of detailed information. I shall give a few examples to illustrate the process and its effect on Byzantine civilization in western Asia Minor where the development of Byzantine civilization had been so intense.

As we saw from the earlier account of events, the regions between the Sangarius and the Bathys-Tembris Rivers were prime areas of Turkmen raids and settlement. Indeed, as late as the reign of Manuel Comnenus the important towns of Pithecas, Malagina, and Dorylaeum were still in ruins, and the Emperor finally rebuilt them as outposts against the unceasing nomadic incursions and depredations.<sup>50</sup> Particularly instructive was the situation of Dorylaeum in 1175, when Manuel rebuilt and colonized the city. Cinnamus gives the following description:

There was a time when this Dorylaeum was one of the great cities of Asia and very noteworthy. A gentle breeze blows upon the land, and it has about it very extensive level plains of extraordinary beauty [which are] so rich and fertile that they give forth rich grass and supply rich ears of grain. A river sends its stream through it and it is beautiful to see and sweet to taste. There is such a quantity of fish swimming in it, that no matter how much those fishing take, fish are never lacking. Here, formerly,

<sup>49</sup> C. Schefer, *Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière* (Paris, 1892), *passim*.

<sup>50</sup> Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 166: the catalogue of destroyed towns.

splendid mansions were built by the Caesar Melissenus, the villages were populous, and [there were] natural hot springs, stoas and baths, and all such things as bring pleasure to men. These things did the land provide in abundance. But the Persians [Turks], when the invasion of the land of the Rhomaioi was at its height, had razed the city to the ground and made it completely destitute of people, and they obliterated everything in it, even the thin trace of its former dignity. It was such a city. Then about 2,000 Persian [Turkish] nomads were encamped about it in tents as is their custom.<sup>51</sup>

Nicetas adds a very small but fascinating detail.

The Turks were upset [at the prospect of] retreating from the plains of Dorylaeum, in which their herds of cattle and goats passed the summer romping in the grassy meadows.<sup>52</sup>

This was obviously an important base in their winter-summer transhumance. Such was the extent of nomad settlement in this area that the toponymy of the immediate area was markedly affected into modern times: immediately to the south of Dorylaeum rises a mountain 1566 m. in altitude, which is still known as Turkmen Dag, the nomad mountain. A few kilometers to the east was the important Turkmen religious shrine of Seyit Ghazi (1130 m.) and next to it was Kirgiz Dag (1301 m.). The southern slopes of Turkmen Dag, as late as the nineteenth century, carried the place names of Bajat and Düşer, and the north-west slope the name Kargın.<sup>53</sup> All three of these place names are probably quite old, and designate three Seljuk sub-tribal groups. Turkmen Dag, undoubtedly occupied by the Turkmens early in the conquest, separated the two key Byzantine centers of Dorylaeum and Cotyaeum, and thus from this mountain the nomads were able to raid and harass at will. To return to Manuel's rebuilding of Dorylaeum, the nomads began to gather and to attack Manuel's army, harassing the Byzantines when they foraged for food and timber. After it became obvious to the nomads that they could not halt the rebuilding of the city, they scorched the earth, burned their tents, and withdrew. This is, in short, a classic moment in, and example of, the struggle between sedentary and nomadic societies. We see the struggle for the land, and the resistance of the nomads who had destroyed Dorylaeum and its environs for over a century and had turned it into a habitation for their flocks of animals. Finally, and crucially, we see an instance of the temporary victory of the centralized power in reclaiming the desert for a sedentary society.<sup>54</sup>

Manuel faced the same problem in southwestern Phrygia which was thoroughly nomadized by the time of his reign. Passage through the districts of

<sup>51</sup> Cinnamus, 294–95.

<sup>52</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 228.

<sup>53</sup> Philippson, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 43), III: *Die östliche Mysien und die benachbarten Teile von Phrygien und Bithynien* (Gotha, 1913), for the relevant map.

<sup>54</sup> Euthymius Malaces, ed. C. Bones. Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη, μητροπολίτου Νέων Πατρῶν (᾿Υπάτης), δύο ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ λόγοι, νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενοι, εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μανουὴλ Α' Κομνηνόν (1143/80), in *Θεολογία*, 19 (1941–48), 526.

Lacerium, Panasium, Charax, and the Phrygian Pentapolis was difficult because of this heavy nomadization. The local populace had fled and scattered, towns had been destroyed and abandoned, and there was no focal point at which the Byzantines could center their own activities, protect their passing armies, and provision them. Consequently, Manuel decided to rebuild Choma-Soublaeum, near the sources of the Maeander. The Byzantines then rebuilt this long destroyed and abandoned city "in the midst of the Persian land," as the text says. Again the nomads resisted and tried to thwart the rebuilding, fearing the reassertion of control by a centralized government from a rebuilt, refortified, and recolonized city. Upon retreating, after their failure to halt the work of reconstruction, they once more scorched the earth and burned their tents. Henceforth Dorylaeum, Pithecas, Malagina, and Choma-Soublaeum became the bastions of Byzantium in the midst of the nomads.<sup>55</sup> After the battle of Myriocephalum, the Seljuk sultan made strenuous efforts to force Manuel to dismantle these two fortified areas, realizing full well what their existence meant for the Turkmens of the borders.

This struggle between sedentary and nomad peoples did not restrict itself to the border areas but spilled out into the heart of many of the maritime districts in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, and was intensified there in the late thirteenth and very early fourteenth centuries. The fate of the region of Adramyttium is again illustrative of the great chaos which the nomadic invasions caused. When the first wave of nomadic conquest and occupation had receded from western Anatolia before the combined attacks of the Crusaders and Alexius Comnenus, the cities of Adramyttium, Achyraous, and Lopadium to the north were in ruins. Anna Comnena relates in regard to the first: "It was formerly a most populous city. At that time when Tzachas was plundering the regions of Smyrna, destroying, he also obliterated it [Adramyttium]. The sight of the obliteration of such a city [was such] that it seemed that man never dwelled in it."<sup>56</sup>

The nomadic depredations continued through the reigns of John and Manuel with the result that substantial rural districts were abandoned by their inhabitants, and agricultural production was halted completely. In the second half of the twelfth century, the rural districts of Adramyttium, Chliara, and Pergamum were still uninhabited despite the fact that they were well within the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. Inasmuch as the nomadic raiders did not recognize firm boundaries, they had largely depopulated these fertile areas. It was not until Manuel built a series of rural fortifications that the area knew security, people returned to the land, agricultural production began again after several decades of disruption, and the area once more yielded handsome taxes to the imperial treasury in Constantinople.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 227–28; Cinnamus, 298; Theodore Scutariotes (*supra*, note 21), 283; Euthymius Malaces, 546–47.

<sup>56</sup> Anna Comnena (*supra*, note 19), III, 143.

<sup>57</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 194–95. This work of refortification as evidenced in the sources has been confirmed by the preliminary archaeological investigations of W. Müller-Wiener, "Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien," *IstMitt*, 11 (1961), 29–36.

Finally, one more example from another riverine region at the time of the final nomadic push of the late thirteenth-fourteenth century will suffice to demonstrate the effect on the local society. Pachymeres writes of the Maeander districts: "Whence the Maeander was emptied not only of people in most of the extensive lands, but also of the very monks. For the land about the Maeander was another Palestine. It was very good not only for the increase of flocks and herds of animals, and for nourishing men, but excellent for assembling earthdwelling, heavenly citizen-monks.... And thus after a little the Maeander regions became desolate as the inhabitants withdrew deeper because of the attacks of the foreigners."<sup>58</sup> The Maeander valley had, of course, been a primary corridor of struggle between the Turkmens and Greeks throughout the twelfth century, but the foundation of the Nicaean state had halted the Turkmen push until the late thirteenth century.

By the early fourteenth century, the rural areas had all fallen and only isolated fortified cities had survived the nomadic settlement. The populace of the rural areas often fled to the cities or to the nearby isles and Constantinople. Pachymeres continues: "You saw at that time a pitiful sight, namely those who were carrying away their possessions and crossing over to the city [Constantinople], who had despaired of their salvation. And the straits received a throng of people and animals daily who had not been freed without the greatest tragedies. There was no one who did not lament the privation of the members of his family, one recalling her husband, another her son or daughter, another a brother and sister, and another some name of a relative."<sup>59</sup>

The characteristics and impact of a continuing, repeated nomadic conquest and settlement are obvious. They had a partially destructive and very disruptive effect on Byzantine society.<sup>60</sup> The initial brunt was borne by the village populations which lay exposed and undefended before the nomadic warrior-herders. Consequently, many rural areas were abandoned before the pressure of the nomads and their flocks, a fact attested by the heavy Turkish influence on the rural toponymy of the area concerning us here.<sup>61</sup> The degree of insecurity of the farming population in the nomadic belt stretching from the Sangarius to Antalya was substantial. One Latin author who visited Anatolia in the thirteenth century recorded that: "Those Greeks thus fear the Turkmens so that they do not dare to go out from their cities or castles if they do not take with them a bridled [horse] to which they are bound. For they assert that the Turkmens will kill him straightway if he does not take with him, prepared, the bridled [animal] to which he is bound. And on that account when they go out to sow or for wood or for whatever work, each one brings his bridled horse, to which he is tied."<sup>62</sup> This insecurity of the farmer in the Trebizondine rural

<sup>58</sup> Pachymeres, I, 310-11.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 335.

<sup>60</sup> Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 166.

<sup>61</sup> W. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia. Being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest* (Oxford, 1895-97), *passim*.

<sup>62</sup> Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, *Liber peregrinationis*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* (Leipzig, 2nd ed., 1873), 114; Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 282.

areas is confirmed by the monastic documents of Vazelon, which list villagers carried away by the Turks.<sup>63</sup>

As late as 1333, when the conquest of western Asia Minor was largely over and some of the Turkmen chieftains had become sedentary princes, many of their followers remained nomads, and Ibn Battuta, the Arab traveler, was struck by this fact during his voyage in Anatolia. He, as well as al-Umari, still referred to them as Turkmens,<sup>64</sup> and he had ample opportunity to see them and to note their disruptiveness during his travels in western Asia Minor. When he left from the lake districts of Eğirdir and Burdur via the road to Karagaç (Acıpayan, 45 km. south and southeast of Denizli), he had to pass through a plain inhabited by Turkmens. The prince of Ladik (Denizli) sent troops of cavalry to lead him and his party safely to Ladik and to protect them from the Turkmen bandits who infested the roads in that region.<sup>65</sup> Ibn Battuta tells his readers the reasons for extending his stay in Ladik once he had arrived there: "We remained for some time in that city because of the danger on the roads. When, however, a caravan was being prepared we traveled with it for a day and part of the following night until we arrived at the fortress of Davas.... We passed the night outside of its walls and approached the gate in the morning. The inhabitants of the fort interrogated us, high on the walls, on our arrival and we satisfied their questions. Then the commander of the castle, Ilias beg, came out at the head of his troops in order to reconnoiter the environs of the fortress and the road out of fear that the bandits might attack the flocks. When these men had made the circuit the flocks came out [of the castle]. And it is thus that they always act."<sup>66</sup> At a later point in his journey he passed through Izmir, mostly in ruins he says, and once he passed Magnesium and Sipyllum his party arrived in the area of hostile nomadic encampments. Here they were not given any fodder for their animals, and during the night the nomads robbed them. They then made their way to Pergamum, a city also in ruins.<sup>67</sup>

Obviously nomadism was still uncontrolled, and the nomads posed for the Turkish princes in their towns the same problems that these cities had experienced prior to the Turkmen conquests. The lack of security around Ladik and the town of Davas, the refusal of the commandant to open the gates to Ibn Battuta at night, and the necessity to reconnoiter the neighborhood before driving out the livestock to pasturage confirm what the Greek sources say about the effect of nomadism. In the twelfth century, many of the Byzantine towns which had survived the nomadic penetration became centers of Byzantine administration and Christianity isolated in a sea of nomads. Such was Laodiceia, which in order to survive had to undergo a *synoikismos*. Its scat-

<sup>63</sup> F. Uspenskij and V. Benešević, *Vazelonskie Akty* (Leningrad, 1927), 7, 17, 39, 40, 57-58, 76, 78.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Battuta, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battūṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, II (Cambridge, 1962), 415, 417, 419; *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1969), II, 257.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Battuta, eds. Defremery and Sanguinetti, II, 270-71.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 277-78.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 314-15.

tered suburbs were condensed into a centralized area and then walled. The city of Chonae, 25 km. to the east, became a similar isolated Byzantine center, surrounded by nomads with whom it reached, to varying degrees, a symbiotic relationship.<sup>68</sup> The area remained for centuries an area of nomadism, as the toponymy testifies. The plain of Chonae was known as Türkmenova, and the nomads moved seasonally between this plain and Honas Dag, across from Naldöken Dag. Other toponyms bearing testimony to nomads include Türkmenoglu, Bajat, Yürük Köy, Akkoyunlu, Mentesh, Cepni, Bayindir, and Düver (Düğer).<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, the powerful threat of the nomads to the south completely isolated Attaleia, as a twelfth-century author reports: "It [Attaleia] possesses very rich fields, which are, nevertheless, of no advantage to the townspeople, for they are surrounded by enemies on all sides who hinder their cultivation. Therefore, the fertile soil lies fallow, since there is no one to work it. . . . The grain supply is brought from overseas."<sup>70</sup> When the second Crusaders complained about the paucity of supplies furnished them by the Greeks, the latter pointed to the abandoned and wasted lands outside the walls.

To come back to the impact and overall effect of the nomadic settlement of western Asia Minor, we have seen that it was an ethnic migration which brought with it a differing way of life and partial destruction and disruption of the local society, particularly in the rural areas, and which provided the basis for the Turkification of the area. Recent studies have shown in detail the numbers of towns and villages which were destroyed, some permanently, others temporarily, and a number repeatedly. Obviously this condition began to change after the mid-fourteenth century when the Turkish princes became sedentary rulers and began the rebuilding of the society. But the effect on Byzantine civilization and society was a severe shock from which they never recovered.

Up to this point the discussion has focused upon the development of nomadism and the effect of nomadic institutions upon a significant portion of Byzantine society in western Asia Minor. It is of equal importance to consider the impact of sultanic or Islamic institutions upon Byzantine civilization in Asia Minor, and specifically to examine their effect in terms of Islamization. One begins with the indisputable fact that in the eleventh century (prior to the Turkish invasions) the Anatolian populace was, overwhelmingly, Christian. It consisted primarily of Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and Syrians, of whom the most numerous were the Greek-speaking Christians, and it is primarily with these that we are concerned here. A glance at the *notitia episcopatum* records the following data: in the eleventh century in Anatolia there were 47 metropolitanates and more than 400 bishoprics that were subservient to the Constantinopolitan patriarch.<sup>71</sup> A *notitia* of the fifteenth century records that

<sup>68</sup> S. Lambros, *Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τα σωζόμενα* (Athens, 1879), I, 56.

<sup>69</sup> Philippson, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 43), consult the relevant map.

<sup>70</sup> William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, ed. and trans. Emily A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1943), Book XVI, Chap. 26: vol. II, p. 178.

<sup>71</sup> Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 302-5, for further references.

of this large number of hierarchical seats in Anatolia there remained 17 metropolitanates, one archbishopric, and three bishoprics, whereas an ecclesiastical document of the seventeenth century relates the fact that 430 bishoprics had disappeared from Anatolia in the past. The official ecclesiastical documents are confirmed by the Ottoman registers of the early sixteenth century. Of 1,032,425 taxable hearths, 953,967 were Muslim, 77,869 were Christian, and 559 were Jewish, that is to say 92.4 percent Muslim, 7.5 percent Christian, and 0.1 percent Jewish.<sup>72</sup> When one considers the basic facts of the religious affiliation of the inhabitants of Anatolia in the eleventh century and then in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the impression of a profound historical-cultural transformation is inescapable, as an ecclesiastical author of the fifteenth century recorded:

What a frightful decline! Read all [of the following] and you shall greatly lament.

There were also other metropolitanates, archbishoprics, and bishoprics as appears written in the diatyposis of the emperor lord Leo the Wise, and in that of the emperor lord Andronicus the second, of the Palaeologoi. . . . Of these, many were made desolate and were completely obliterated by those who rule us.

And neither is a metropolitan to be found in the metropolitanates, nor an archbishop in the archbishoprics, nor a bishop in the bishoprics, nor priest in church, nor monk in monastery or pious foundation or cell, nor other Christian layman in a castle or land. . . .

Fifty-one metropolitanates, eighteen archbishoprics, and four hundred and seventy-eight bishoprics are desolate. In the diatyposis of the said emperor lord Leo the Wise are ninety metropolitanates. . . .

And not only were those metropolitanates, archbishoprics, bishoprics, the monasteries and churches obliterated; But also the provinces of the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Neither will you find a single metropolitan there, nor other Christian, layman or clergy.

But on the thrones of those patriarchates you will find barely a few priests, monks, and laymen. Because the churches of their provinces have been obliterated completely and Christ's people, that is the Christians, have been utterly destroyed.<sup>73</sup>

There remains the problem of explaining what happened during the centuries interspersed between the *notitia* of the eleventh century on the one hand and the fifteenth-century *notitia* and Ottoman tax registers on the other. It is very difficult to determine the proportion between the indigenous population at the time of the first Turkish invasions and the number of invaders who eventually settled on the land. At very best it is possible to make some very rough and very general estimates on the basis of broad categories of evidence.

<sup>72</sup> Ö. L. Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1 (1957), 20.

<sup>73</sup> Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 307.

First, there is the fact that the majority of the early invaders and settlers seems to have been nomadic. Not only did many of the towns remain predominantly Christian, but when the sultans finally began to establish order from the mid-twelfth century onward, they sought to recolonize rural areas with large numbers of Christian farmers. They frequently abducted them in raiding expeditions from one another or from the Christian-held lands in western and southern Asia Minor. The Muslims were not yet themselves numerically sufficient to replenish the demographic gap which the invasions had caused. In addition, it would seem that the nomadic groups had not yet become sedentary in any sizable number. As for the indigenous Christian populations, there is considerable evidence that points to substantial diminution of their numbers as a consequence of flight, enslavement, massacre, famine, and drought. But as of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries a variety of sources indicates that they still formed an important proportion, perhaps the majority, of the Anatolian populace.<sup>74</sup>

If this be the case, then it follows that the majority of the Anatolian Christian populace was absorbed by the conquerors through the process of religious conversion. The reverse is also true, that a substantial proportion of the Muslims in sixteenth-century Anatolia was ultimately of Byzantine or mixed ancestry. Indeed, the twelfth-century canon lawyer Balsamon notes specifically that the process of Islamization was observable in his day. In explaining Canon eighty-one of St. Basil, which deals with renunciation of Christianity under duress, Balsamon relates that Islamization was widespread: "Some say that the contents of the present canon are at rest [not in use] because by the grace of God the faith has been firmly set in Orthodoxy, and the tyrants have, many years ago, been stoned by the engines of martyrdom. But today, once more, many are captured by the hands of the Agarenes, and being tortured some abjure the Orthodox faith and accept the godless faith of Muhammad. Others willingly throw themselves into the pit of unbelief. According to the present canon all these shall be healed after confession and fitting repentance."<sup>75</sup>

When Ludolph of Suchem passed through Anatolia in the mid-fourteenth century he remarked that the Turks were in part made up of Christian renegades. In addition, we know that from the early twelfth century onward, there emerged a class of Graeco-Turks, the offspring of mixed parents, who formed a distinct category in the society, usually known as *mixovarvaroi*, Turcopoli, or *igdiş*, often bilingual, who were Muslim or Christian depending upon whose domains they inhabited.<sup>76</sup>

The factors and atmosphere which were instrumental in the conversion of this Greek-speaking Orthodox population have been studied in detail elsewhere so that I may here give but brief attention to this background. There are first the negative factors which undermined the cultural foundations of

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 182–83, for the evidence.

<sup>75</sup> G. Rhalles and M. Potles, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, IV (Athens, 1854), 247.

<sup>76</sup> Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 228–29.

Byzantine civilization in Anatolia. The Turkish conquests, by their prolonged and disruptive character, destroyed first the Byzantine administrative structure and then that of the ecclesiastical institution. These two forces, the Byzantine State and the Church, gave firm tone to the formal aspects of Byzantine culture which, upon the removal of these forces, suffered disastrously.

Particularly crucial was the catastrophic decline of the Church occasioned by the Turkish conquests, for with the disappearance of the Byzantine state only the ecclesiastical institution remained as a force capable of maintaining certain elements in the formal culture of the Anatolian Greek-speakers. The invaders destroyed the Church as an effective socio-cultural institution by depriving it of most of its property and revenues, by taxing it, and by excluding the metropolitans and bishops from their seats for extended periods of time. With the virtual destruction of the episcopacy, which at best remained as a passive cultural instrument, the Anatolian Christians were deprived of effective Christian leadership and of their basic social and eleemosynary institutions. The Church no longer had the economic power to support education, hospitals, orphanages, monasteries, and the like on an extensive scale. The disappearance of the Byzantine state and the precipitous decline of the Church were accompanied by a basic alteration in the outlook of the Greeks, increasingly characterized by defeatism, despair, and a cultural weakness.

The positive forces and factors in this great cultural transformation are to be sought in the sultanic or Islamic institutions and in the favorable conditions which attended them as the institutions of a militant, victorious, and ruling group. The sultans and emirs, though ultimately of tribal origin, became rulers according to the traditional Islamic patterns; that is, they abandoned tribalism as the basis of society and assumed the traditional sedentary patterns. These they gradually implanted throughout most of Anatolia by the building of towns, palaces, mosques, madrassas, imarats, turbes, caravanserays, hospitals, and the like. In the process they utilized sedentary Arabs, Persians, and Turks from the Muslim world who began to move toward Anatolia, especially after the Mongol invasions. In addition, the local sedentary populations were incorporated into this newly forming Islamic society as *dhimmî*'s. Underlying this Islamic society, which emerged through the spread of the traditional Islamic institutions, is the economic factor as exemplified in the very rapid growth and development of *waqf*, the Islamic pious foundation. The foundation of a mosque, madrassa, caravansary, or of any other Islamic institution was grounded on the gift of lands, revenues, and serfs. Thus the extensive lands, revenues, and manpower of the Christians were appropriated and put in the hands of the corresponding Muslim institutions. Very often the churches themselves were converted into mosques, as was the case with the famous church of St. John at Ephesus, to give but one of many spectacular examples.<sup>77</sup> A brief

<sup>77</sup> M. Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos. Über sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Potsdam, 1901), 56; S. Kourouses, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς εἶτα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/72–1355/60). Α', Τὰ βιογραφικά* (Athens, 1972), 179–80.

glimpse at the *waqf* documents will suffice to illustrate the importance of the *waqf* and of the Islamic foundations it supported. Djalal al-Din Karatay, a Seljuk emir of Greek origin, founded a magnificent caravansary 25 miles from Caesareia, a madrassa in Konya, and a *dar as-suleha* in Antalya. At the caravansary travelers could expect free lodging, baths, medical care, and fodder for their animals. In addition, each traveler, whether Muslim, Christian, or Jew, was entitled to an *okka* of meat and a jar of food each day gratis. The revenues which made all of this possible came primarily from the two Christian villages of Likandon and Sarahor, whose inhabitants were required to pay 20% of their produce to the *waqf*.<sup>78</sup> Of great interest also is the madrassa in Konya which the *gulam* Shams al-Din Altun-Aba founded and endowed in the thirteenth century. The *waqf* provided a special revenue for the conversion of non-Muslims; specifically it was to pay for instruction in the Koran and prayers, and for the ceremony of circumcision, as well as for food, new clothes, and shoes which were to be presented to the converts. It is significant that of the three villages from which much of the *waqf*'s revenues came two were Christian.<sup>79</sup>

As the religion of a militarily victorious and politically dominant group, there can be no doubt that Islam enjoyed not only enormous economic rewards and political preferment but also enormous moral prestige. In Islamic society, non-Muslim religious groups were openly tolerated and there can be no doubt whatever that this was the case in Anatolia. But the position of the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians was debased and they constituted what we would call today second-class citizens. Though the sultans most frequently observed a policy of formal toleration, conversionary zeal was a definite and marked phenomenon in this new and exuberant Anatolian Islam, particularly among dervishes and *achi*'s, but also among the ruling classes and society at large. We know from the accounts of Palamas, Manuel Palaeologus, and Matthew the metropolitan of Ephesus that religious debates were passionately and keenly pursued in Ankara, Ephesus, and Bithynia during the fourteenth century.<sup>80</sup>

With this background of negative and positive factors it is much easier to comprehend the Islamization of the Greek Christians. The favored position of the conquerors and the regression of defeated societies is an old and familiar theme in Islamic history, one which caused Ibn Khaldun to formulate historical laws of a more comprehensive type: "The vanquished always want to imitate the victor in his distinctive mark[s], his occupation, and all his other conditions and customs.

"A nation that has been defeated and comes under the rule of another nation will quickly perish."<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> O. Turan, "Celaledin Karatay, vakıfları ve vakfiyeleri," *Belleten*, 12 (1948), 17-68.

<sup>79</sup> *Idem*, "Şemseddin Altun-Aba, vakfiyesi ve hayatı," *ibid.*, 11 (1947), 201-7, 211.

<sup>80</sup> Treu, *op. cit.*, 57; Manuel II. Palaeologos. *Dialoge mit einem "Perser,"* ed. E. Trapp (Vienna, 1966); S. Lambros, 'Επιστολή ἥν ἐξ Ἀσίας αἰχμάλωτος ὢν, πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέστειλεν, in *Νέος Ἑλλ.*, 16 (1922), 3-21.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*, trans. E. Rosenthal, I (London, 1958), 299.

"The dialects of the urban population follow the language of the nation or race that has control of [the cities in question] or has founded them."<sup>82</sup> Ibn Khaldun clearly understood the negative factors in cultural change. An imperial author and a contemporary of Ibn Khaldun, Manuel Palaeologus realized that many of his countrymen were converting to Islam for more positive reasons. He writes: "They desire to find that for which they originally went over to the enemies of the faith, namely wealth, glory, and all those things which are pleasant in this life."<sup>83</sup>

The Christian populace was increasingly integrated into the tempo and style of life of their Muslim neighbors via the traditional Islamic institutions. As *dhimmi*'s they had a legalized place in the society, and because of their numbers and special skills many were directly integrated into the political and economic life of Islamic society at several levels. At this initial stage of absorption, one observes Christians in the Islamic court, administration, and economic life who preserve their religious affiliation. Such were the emirs Gabras and Mavrozomes, and the two uncles of Izz al-Din Kaykaus II, all of whom played major roles either in the Seljuk army or court. The chancery had a special bureau of Greek scribes or "notaran," and the Seljuk armies had special contingents of indigenous Greek troops with their own officers and uniforms. We encounter Greek physicians and musicians in the sultan's service, as well as Greek tax collectors in the provinces. The Christians also played a significant role in the commercial, industrial, and agricultural life of Muslim Anatolia as merchants, as craftsmen with their own specialties, and as the agricultural inculcators of the Turks. This represents the first stage of absorption.<sup>84</sup>

An examination of the conversionary process will reveal how members of various of these classes apostacized to Islam, the forces and motives which prompted them to do so, and the considerable variety in the process.

The conversionary process is observable at the very highest level of Byzantine society, an important phenomenon not only because as its leaders the aristocracy set the example for their inferiors, but also because they undoubtedly brought many of their retinue with them. John Comnenus, nephew of the Emperor John II Comnenus, deserted to the sultan at Konya, turned Muslim, and married the sultan's daughter; the same apostatic phenomenon was observed among Georgian and Armenian princes as well.<sup>85</sup> The most spectacular case of acculturation and then apostasy is to be seen in the Gabras family, originally magnates of the Trebizondine regions where they were preeminent in the armies. Theodore Gabras played an important role in the border warfare with the Danishmendids. He was taken captive in the district of Paipert-Erzerum by the Turkish Emir Ali, who attempted to convert to Islam his illustrious captive. Subsequent to his refusal to apostatize he underwent mar-

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 300.

<sup>83</sup> S. Lambros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, III (Athens, 1926), 46.

<sup>84</sup> Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 229ff. for details, sources, and bibliography.

<sup>85</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 42-43, 48-49; Brosset, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 45), 331, 349; Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 42), III, 247; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique de 952 à 1136*, trans. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), 195-96.

tyrdom, and so became the first of the neo-martyrs that appear in Greek hagiolatry during the Turkish period. A branch of this family seems to have become established at the Seljuk court in Konya comparatively early, for we encounter members of the family in very high position there. Manuel Comnenus, on the occasion of one of his earlier Turkish campaigns, inflicted a defeat on the Turkish armies and among the slain foe was a certain Gabras of whom Cinnamus says: "There was a certain person in the army of the barbarians whose clan goes back to the Rhomaioi. Having been raised among the Persians [Turks] and having been promoted by some fortune he was in charge of a satrapy among them at that time."<sup>86</sup> Some years later, at the fateful battle of Myriocephalum (1176), it was another Gabras, again an official at the sultan's court, who arranged the terms of peace between the sultan and the emperor. This was, probably, Kilidj Arslan's *amir-i-hādjib*, Ihtiyar al-Din Hasan ibn Gabras. Choniates says of the encounter between Manuel and Gabras: "The sultan sends to the emperor Gabras who had been honored by him with the highest and greatest [offices]. . . . Gabras greets him with profound and barbaric honor and proskynesis."<sup>87</sup> The name of this official leaves no doubt that he had converted to Islam, for the name is Muslim and the *kunya* is Gabras, an indication that his father had no Muslim name. In his person we are at the crucial moment of cultural absorption, for he had converted to Islam, the result no doubt of long association by the family with government service under the sultans. The fate of Ihtiyar al-Din is of further interest in that it illustrates the special situation of converts at such high levels. During the civil strife that broke out between the sultan and his son, Ihtiyar al-Din was dismissed from service, and as he made his way to the plain of Kanyukh with his sons, retinue, and 200 horsemen the Turkmens killed him and his sons. Bar Hebraeus relates: "They hacked him limb from limb, and hung him on the points of spears, and carried him round about Sebasteia on the day of the Festival of the Cross."<sup>88</sup> Another example of conversion at the highest level and as a result of association with service to the sultan has to do with the famous Köse Mihal, a Greek magnate of Bithynia who during Osman's reign entered Ottoman service with his troops and played a crucial role in the Bithynian conquests. The details of his conversion are forthcoming in the chronicle of 'Āshīqpašazāde who relates that Osman forced him to convert to Islam upon threat of burning his lands.<sup>89</sup>

One of the most efficient and comprehensive methods by which Greeks were recruited for the armies and administration, and forcibly converted, was the *gulam* system. In this method of military and governmental recruitment, the neophytes were circumcised and given a Muslim education appropriate to their

<sup>86</sup> Cinnamus, 56.

<sup>87</sup> Nicetas Choniates, 245–46.

<sup>88</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 24), I, 330. On the family, C. Cahen, "Une famille byzantine au service des Seldjuquides d'Asie Mineure," *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), 145–49; A. Bryer, "A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades, c. 979–c. 1653," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, XII, 2 (1970), 164–87.

<sup>89</sup> F. Giese, *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Āshīqpašazāde* (Osnabrück, 1972), 24–25.

future station, with the result that next to the sultans themselves they came to be the most generous founders and patrons of Islamic foundations and architecture.<sup>90</sup> Beyond the substantial number of Greeks converted via the *gulam* system there are cases of individual bureaucrats and translators who, once in the service of the Muslims, converted. Ducas reports one such case, that of Michael Pylles: "This Pylles was from Ephesus, a Rhomaiois by race, a Christian by religion, was of the well-born of this city, [was] by vocation and craft a scribe in the palace of the sultan in Greek and Arabic letters, and in deed and manner [was] intractable, lustful, prodigal, profane. . . . Having fettered and tortured him unmercifully, for he was hated by all, they then kindled a fire and placed the miserable one in it asking him if he wished to renounce the faith of the Christians that he might be saved. If not, the fire should devour him. Then did he, already before his denial a Turk in his deeds, deny the [Christian] faith, and they circumcised him and paraded him."<sup>91</sup> In this case, we see the combination of service in the administration of the court and forced conversion.

Up to this point the discussion has focused upon the conversion of isolated individuals and upon the milieu of the court, administration, and army. The Christians who found themselves in this official circle were subject to strong conversionary pressure. But what of those classes which were removed from the upper echelons of the social hierarchy?

This brings our discussion to one of the principal missionizing forces in the Muslim society of Anatolia, the dervishes. One may characterize these brotherhoods as latitudinarian in religious approach, and as emphasizing the emotional approach in bringing religion to the common man. In contrast to the legalist *ulama*, the dervishes played directly on the religious sensitivity by employing music, dance, poetry, and the vernacular tongues of both Greeks and Turks. The second characteristic feature of the orders was their compulsive missionary spirit. Jalal al-Din Rumi gave voice to this compelling spirit in the *Manaqib al-Arifin*: "...The first Cause...has brought us from Khurasan and sent us to Asia Minor...so that we might generously spread the philosophical stone of our mysteries over the copper of the existence of its inhabitants, in such a manner that we shall transform them alchemically, and they shall become confidants of the world of gnosis and companions of the mystics of the entire world. 'It is thus that he said: "You brought me from Khurasan to the land of the Greeks that I might mingle with them and lead them to the good doctrine..."' ' ' ' '92

From the thirteenth century the number of dervishes and *zawiyya*'s grew until they had penetrated most regions of the Anatolian peninsula. Kalandars, Rifais, and Kazarunis streamed into the region where their numbers were swelled even-

<sup>90</sup> S. Vryonis, "Seljuk Gulams and Ottoman Devshirmes," *Der Islam*, 41 (1965), 224-52.

<sup>91</sup> Michael Ducas, *Istoria turco-bizantină*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 235. Another bilingual translator and convert was the Greek of Ankara who served as an interpreter in the theological debate between Manuel Palaeologus and the Ancyrene *muderris*; Manuel Palaeologos, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 80), 79.

<sup>92</sup> Eflaki, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, ed. and trans. Cl. Huart, I (Paris, 1918), 190.

tually by the foundation of the local Mawlawis and Bektashis.<sup>93</sup> Some of these orders, particularly the Kazarunis, had enjoyed a successful history of religious conversion before ever coming to Anatolia. Of these *tarîqa*'s the most important in the conversion of the Byzantine Christians were the Bektashis and Mawlawis. The Bektashis, probably oriented toward rural society in the beginning, were successful in presenting a syncretism of Muslim and Christian elements at a sufficiently low level to make conversion attractive to rural Christians. The text of the semi-legendary Vilayatname tells us that Hadji Bektash sent four of his disciples to the Udj district in the west, precisely in that mountainous region where we saw the Turkmens so densely settled. Their appearance there coincides with the conquests of these lands by the Turkmen emirs in the late thirteenth to fourteenth century. Furthermore, the Bektashi tradition, probably embodying historical kernels for this critical period, relates that Sarî Ismail transformed the Christian church of Tavas into a mosque and converted its inhabitants to Islam. His fellow Bektashi, Rasul Baba, transformed both the church and the Christian inhabitants of Altıntaş.<sup>94</sup> The conquests of these regions, the conversionary activities of both Bektashis and Mawlawis, coincide with and are the causes of the drastic diminution of Christianity in these areas that we see reflected in the *notitia episcopatum*.

The other major order founded in Asia Minor, the Mawlawi, was oriented more toward the urban centers.<sup>95</sup> We have already noted Rumi's conviction that God had brought him to missionize, and this order, which traces its origin to him, made use of a lavish *sema*', that is, dance and music, in a mystical liturgy which eventually united the adept with God in that supreme love so dear to the soul of mystics. Rumi and his successors appealed to both the upper and lower classes. But, like Socrates, Rumi spent most of his time in the market place discoursing on mystical love with the merchants and craftsmen, where the tic-tac of the hammer of the goldsmith Salah al-Din Zerkub established the cadence of Rumi's ecstatic dance.<sup>96</sup> His followers, much to the shock of the upper classes, included merchants, butchers, bakers, tailors, carpenters, painters, goldsmiths, and prostitutes. After Rumi's death, his son Sultan Walad and grandson Amir Arif spread the order throughout the cities of Anatolia, including those of the west: Ladik, Tavas, Afyon Karahisar, Akshehir, Alaya, Antalya, Begshehir, Egridir, Kutahya, and Birgi. By this expansion, his missionary Sufism brought a mystical and popular Islam to the conquered Christians.

If we return to the lifetime and activity of Rumi in Konya, we clearly see that his contacts with the Konyiotes comprehended not only all social classes from sultan to lowly slave, but all the ethnic and religious groups: Muslim

<sup>93</sup> For the details which follow, Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 351-402.

<sup>94</sup> E. Gross, *Das Vilayet-name des Haggi Bektash. Ein türkisches Derwischevangelium* (Leipzig, 1927), *passim*.

<sup>95</sup> See, above all, the extraordinary book of A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlanadan sonra Mevlevilik* (Istanbul, 1953), and his article "Mevlevilik," in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, VIII (Istanbul, 1957), 164-71. For a detailed bibliography, see Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 381-82.

<sup>96</sup> Eflaki, ed. Huart, I, 336-37; II, 198-99. For a miniature depicting this celebrated event, see the plates in Ş. Uzluk, *Mevlevilikte resim, resimde Mevleviler* (Ankara, 1957).

Persians, Arabs, and Turks, Greek and Armenian Christians, and even Jews. In particular, he and his followers had very close relations with the Christian monks of the area, a tradition that still lived in Konya until the First World War. Rumi and his adepts were wont to visit the Greek monastery of St. Chariton, or of Plato as they called it, in the vicinity of Konya where they were always hospitably received by the monks.<sup>97</sup> Some time after Rumi's death his grandson Arif and a number of the Mawlawis visited the monastery, and Eflaki (a contemporary and himself a Mawlawi) relates the incident:

"There was, in the monastery of Plato, a very old and wise monk. Every time that the companions made a promenade and came to this monastery he served them in every manner and manifested his confidence in them. He very much loved Chelebi Arif. One day the companions interrogated him on the cause of this confidence, on the opinion that he had of the Master, as well as on the manner by which he had come to know him. He replied, 'What do you others know of him? I, I have witnessed from him countless miracles and unlimited astonishing things; I became his sincere servant. I have read the biographies of past prophets in the Gospels, and I found the same thing in his blessed person, and I believed in his truth....'"<sup>98</sup>

He goes on to relate that on one occasion when Rumi had come to spend a retreat of 40 days in the monastery, he had taken the opportunity to ask Rumi about a Koranic passage which says that "There is not any among you who will not enter the fires; this shall be, . . . an ordained decree." Immediately Rumi took the monk to a bakery near the outskirts of Konya and took off his *feredje* and the black silk garment of the monk, which he then placed in the lighted oven. After a period of time the baker retrieved the *feredje*, intact, which Rumi put on. The monk's cloth had been completely consumed, whereupon Rumi told the monk: "It is thus that we [Muslims] enter, while as for you it is thus that you enter." Immediately, says the monk, "I prostrated myself and became his disciple."<sup>99</sup>

While it is true that the monk remained a Christian, it is obvious that he also became a disciple of the Mawlawis. Cases of such split religious personalities are known from other literary sources and correspond to the double sanctuaries, for both Christians and Muslims, that came to exist in Anatolia, and also to the equation of certain Muslim and Christian saints that appear in dervish religiosity (i.e., Charalamabos-Hadji Bektash, and George-Chidr).

A clear case of conversion within the milieu of Rumi and the dervishes has to do with a Greek of Konya, Thiryanus, an individual who came to play an important role in the order after his conversion. Thiryanus occupies a certain importance in the Manaḳib al-Arifin, where Eflaki recounts his crime (murder), his arrest by the police, and Rumi's intervention. Rumi took the young Greek under his protection, and then surrounded by companions accompanied him

<sup>97</sup> F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929), II, 373-74; S. Eyice, "Konya ile Sille arasında Ak manastır, Menâkib al-'Arifin' deki Deyr-i Eflatun," *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, 6 (1966), 135-60.

<sup>98</sup> Eflaki, II, 67-68.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 68.

to the ceremonial bath, after which Thiryanus underwent circumcision and turned Muslim. The ritual was succeeded by a mystical concert and the bestowal of a Muslim name upon Thiryanus: "'What is your name,' asked the master. 'Thiryanus,' replied the young man. 'Henceforth,' said Djatal al-Din Rumi, 'you shall be called "Ala' al-Din Thiryanus.'"'<sup>100</sup>

The story has been reduced to its barest essentials: the occasion on which the convert was subject to the convenience of conversion (the alternative would have been execution); his ablutions, circumcision, and profession of Islam; the dervish ritual; and finally the adoption of a Muslim name. These were the standard steps in the departure from the Christian community and entrance to the Muslim congregation. Usually the process was accompanied by celebrations, music, and parades.<sup>101</sup>

Eflaki tells us that the Islamization of the Greek painter 'Ayn al-Dawla Rumi was the result of intellectual persuasion rather than of the force of ominous circumstances:

Kalo-Yani the painter and 'Ayn al-Dawla Rumi were two Greek painters who were beyond compare in this art and in that of representing figures. They became disciples of the Master. One day Kalo-Yani said: "In Constantinople a picture of . . . Jesus has been painted that is beyond compare . . . The painters from throughout the world have gone there but have not been able to reproduce similar figures." 'Ayn al-Dawla, moved by an intense desire to see this painting, set out and for one year remained in the great monastery of Constantinople (where it was kept) in the service of the monks. One night, when he found a favorable opportunity, he took the painting under his arm and left. After arriving in Konya he went to visit the Master: "Where were you?" asked the latter. He told of the adventure of the painting. "Let us see this charming painting," said the Master. "It must be very beautiful and gracious." After having contemplated it for some time, he continued: "These two beautiful figures complain bitterly of you. They say: 'He is not proper in his love for us. He is a false lover.'"' "How is that?" replied the painter. "They say: 'We never sleep or eat, we are awake at night and fast during the day, while 'Ayn al-Dawla has abandoned us. . . .'" "It is absolutely impossible," said the painter, "for them to sleep and eat. They are not able to speak, for they are figures without a soul." "You, who are a figure with a soul," replied the Master, "you who are so richly talented in the arts, you who have been created by a Creator whose work includes the universe, Adam, and everything on the earth and in the skies, are you allowed to abandon Him and to fall enamoured of a painting without soul and mind? What can result from these nonconscious figures? What profit can you derive from them?" Immediately the painter repented and . . . was converted to Islam.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 245.

<sup>101</sup> J. Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger aus München in Europa, Asia und Africa von 1394 bis 1427*, ed. K. F. Neumann (Munich, 1859), 130-32; Bertrand de la Broquière (*supra*, note 49), 219.

<sup>102</sup> Eflaki, II, 69-70.

This painter, as we are told in another passage, was patronized by the court and indeed had been commissioned by Gurdji Khatun, wife of the sultan, to paint a portrait of Rumi. Of the two painters, only 'Ayn al-Dawla converted to Islam, undoubtedly because of economic and social factors, whereas the other painter, Kalo Yani, remained a disciple of Rumi without undergoing conversion. Again we see the two steps of religious absorption represented by the status of these two painters.

Other Greek craftsmen, with economic advantages accruing to them via their association with the circle of Rumi, also converted, and here one notes in particular architects and builders: "One day . . . a Greek architect constructed a chimney in the house of the Master. The friends, by way of joking, said to him: 'Since Islam is the best religion, why do you not become a Muslim. . . ?' He replied: 'I have been a follower of Christ for fifty years. I fear Him and would be ashamed to abandon His religion.' The Master suddenly entered and spoke: 'The mystery of faith is fear. Whosoever fears God, even though he be a Christian, is religious not irreligious.' After having pronounced these words, he disappeared. The Christian architect was converted, and became a disciple and sincere friend as well."<sup>103</sup>

Other examples of conversion include episodes involving the monks of other areas, rabbis, and people of the streets. But certainly the most spectacular testimony to the effect of Rumi's personality, mysticism, and missionizing in Konya is the description of his funeral:

After they had placed his body on the litter, all the great and humble uncovered their heads . . . and raised such a tumult that it resembled that of the great resurrection. All wept, and most of the men marched in the procession, uttering cries and tearing their clothes. . . . The members of the different communities and nations were present, Christians, Jews, Greeks, Arabs, Turks, etc. They marched forward, each holding on high their sacred scriptures. In accord with their customs, they read verses from the Psalms, the Pentateuch, and Gospels and uttered funeral lamentations. The Muslims were not able to restrain them either by blows from clubs or from swords. . . . There arose an immense disturbance, the news of which reached the sultan . . . and his minister. [Accordingly] they summoned the chiefs of the monks and priests and demanded what possible connection this event could have with them, since the sovereign of religion [Rumi] was the director and imam of the Muslims. They replied: "In seeing him we have comprehended the true nature of Christ, of Moses, and of all the prophets. . . . such as we have read about in our books. If you Muslims say that our Master [Rumi] is the Muhammad of his period, we recognize him similarly as the Moses and Jesus of our times. Just as you are his sincere friends, we also are one thousand times over his servants and disciples. It is thus that he said:

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 2-3

"Seventy-two sects hear from us their own mysteries. We are as a flute which, in a single mode, is in tune with 200 religions."

"Our Master is the sun of truth which has shone upon mortals and accorded them favor; all the world loves the sun which lights their abodes." Another Greek priest said: "Our Master is much like unto bread which is indispensable to all the world. Has a hungry man ever been seen to flee from bread?"<sup>104</sup>

The examples of Eflaki illustrate conversions both of individuals and of larger groups (as at the funeral), whereas the early Ottoman sources record that the conquest of Bithynia was accompanied by mass apostasy in the districts of Yalova, Taraklı-Yenidjesi, Goynuk, and Modreni, during the reign of Orhan.<sup>105</sup>

Less well documented, but possibly widespread at this time, was the incomplete conversion induced by fear and which is usually called Crypto-Christianity. It is in evidence in Nicaea within two decades of the Ottoman conquest of that city, as we learn from a patriarchal letter of about 1338:

Since the attack of the Ismaelites prevailed over us by God's permission as a result of the multitude of our sins, they have captured and enslaved many of our own and violently forced them and dragged them along, alas, so that they took up their evil and godlessness; and to those having fallen into such a depth of evil occurred a realization [that] they were evil and [this] aroused them to seek the ways of the Christians again. But another thought came to them, and they hesitate and wish to learn for certain whether they will not fail utterly or shall achieve their salvation. The church of God pledges itself to all such and gives definite information; that it [the church] will heal and cure and number among the side of the Christians again those taking up the true belief in God and [those] removing [themselves] from the evil of the Muslims into which they fell. Nor shall they find any obstacle to the salvation of their own souls because of the failure, as it is said, which occurred to them. But as many of these who will show their repentance openly and freely so that they choose to suffer for the faith in God, these will bind on the crown of martyrdom (an exact proof of this is the great martyr of Christ, Jacob the Persian). As many as wish to live in secret, practicing and keeping in their heart the Christian way, because of the fear of punishments against them, these also shall attain salvation. Only, they shall try as much as possible to keep the commands of God. And this present letter of the church of God became an assurance concerning this.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 96-97.

<sup>105</sup> F. Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken in Text und Übersetzung herausgegeben*, II (Leipzig, 1925), 18-19, 23.

<sup>106</sup> F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, I (Vienna, 1860), 183-84.

The crypto-religious phenomenon is, of course, a generic phenomenon known in many other cultural areas, and was still in evidence in nineteenth-century Anatolia.

At the other extreme of the course of peaceful conversion, which we saw in evidence when discussing the Mawlawi dervishes, is the case of the neo-martyr Nicetas the Young, who was martyred for the faith between 1282–1304 or 1307–8. He and two other Greek merchants set out from Ankara to Nyssa, where they arrived during the Muslim fast of Ramadan. Having outraged Muslim religious sensitivities by taking their meal inside the city of Nyssa during the Muslim fast, they were brought before the Muslim governor and the *cadi*. During the interrogation, which degenerated into a debate between Christianity and Islam, the three merchants were beaten and condemned to death by the judge. Marched off to the site where they were to be burned alive, they were attacked by the mob, at which point two of the terrorized merchants apostacized to save their lives. Nicetas persevered to the end, proclaiming his Christianity and anathematizing Islam. He was hung by the feet and roasted over the burning embers.<sup>107</sup>

These examples will suffice to illustrate the rich variety in the conversionary process. Vertically, the process reached every social class; horizontally, it spread over all the rural and urban areas of Asia Minor from Ephesus to Edessa and from Trebizond to Tarsus. The motives and factors for apostasy involved economic advantage, religious conviction, social mobility, fear and duress, cultural weakness, even aesthetics and hedonism. Ibn Khaldun realized all of this when he stated: "The common people follow the religion of the Ruler."<sup>108</sup>

There can be no doubt that the discrepancy between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries in the numbers of Anatolian Christians is largely due to the conversionary process, which operated at every social, ethnic, and religious level of the Christian population, and which was the result of the institutions and conditions created by the Islamic states of the area. Incidental sources mention conversion in sixty-one Anatolian towns at various periods.<sup>109</sup>

Whereas the nomadic conquests and settlements produced a state of disruption and disequilibrium in substantial areas formerly inhabited by the Greek Christians, the sultans brought a stable Muslim society which absorbed the disoriented Christians.

The Manaqib al-Arifin ascribes to Rumi an anecdote which describes the great cultural metamorphosis of Anatolia with almost classical simplicity and clarity and with which I shall close. The text begins:

There is a well known story that the sheikh Salah al-Din one day hired some Turkish workmen to build the walls of his garden. "Effendi Salah al-Din, said the Master [Rumi], you must hire Greek workmen for

<sup>107</sup> H. Delehayé, "Le martyre de Saint Nicétas le Jeune," *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), I, 205–11.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Khaldun (*supra*, note 81), I, 300.

<sup>109</sup> Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 394 and *passim*.

this construction. It is for the work of demolition that Turkish workmen must be hired. For the construction of the world is special to the Greeks, and the demolition of this same world is reserved to the Turks. When God created the universe, he first made the carefree infidels. He gave them a long life and considerable force in such a fashion...that in the manner of paid workmen they constructed the earthly world. They erected numerous cities and mountain fortresses...so that after centuries these constructions serve as models to the men of recent times. But divine predestination has disposed of affairs in such a way that little by little the constructions become ruins. He created the people of the Turks in order to demolish, without respect or pity, all the constructions which they see. They have done this and are still doing it. They shall continue to do it day in and day out until the day of the Resurrection."<sup>110</sup>

This Muslim anecdote is quite symbolic. The Greek workmen represent the Christian society of Asia Minor; the Turkish workmen symbolize the Turkmen nomads who caused such destruction and displacement to the Christian sedentary society. It was Jalal al-Din and his followers, as well as other representatives of Muslim or sultanic institutions, who played such an important role in successfully rebuilding the ruined Anatolian world on the models of Islamic society.

University of California, Los Angeles

<sup>110</sup> Eflaki, II, 208-9.



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# NOMADIC SOCIETY AND THE SELJŪQ CAMPAIGNS IN CAUCASIA

ANDREW C. S. PEACOCK

University of Cambridge

The conquest of much of the Middle East by the Seljūq Turks from Central Asia in the eleventh century had a profound impact on the culture and demography of the region, while the invaders' brutality horrified contemporary witnesses, both Muslim and Christian. A *ḥadīth* current in the period states, "God said, «I have an army that I have named the Turks and I have settled them in the East. When I am angry with a people, I send against them the Turks»".<sup>1</sup> The Turks had been known in the central Islamic lands before, particularly as soldiers in the 'Abbāsid caliphate's armies. However, it was these invasions of the Seljūqs that started the settlement of much of Anatolia, the Caucasus and northern Iran with Turkish populations, although many more immigrant Turks arrived in the region in the Mongol period, completing its ethnic transformation. The coming of the Seljūqs also had dire consequences for the Byzantine Empire. Although the latter had defended itself reasonably successfully during centuries of warfare against Persia and later the Arabs, it was to lose most of its Anatolian territories to the Turks within a few decades.

The Seljūq conquests were thus extremely significant, not just for the Middle East but also for Europe. They fatally weakened the Byzantine Empire, and the Seljūq capture of Jerusalem was one of the immediate inspirations for the First Crusade. Yet the invasions themselves remain surprisingly unstudied, even in those areas where they had the most profound consequences. For instance, very little work has been done on the material in the Persian and Arabic sources on the Turkish conquests in Anatolia since Cahen's articles, mostly written in the 1960s.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, much modern secondary literature relies on

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<sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd Kashghārī, *Divanü Lügat-it-Türk*, ed. Besim Atalay (Ankara, 1939-1943), I: xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Claude Cahen, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London, 1974), Studies I-VII. Unfortunately Nodar Šengelia, *Sel'ukebi da Sak'art'velo XI saukuneši* (Tbilisi, 1968) has been unavailable to me.

Yınanç's study published in 1944,<sup>3</sup> which contains very little analysis, aiming mainly to establish the chronology of the various Seljūq campaigns.<sup>4</sup> In general, research on the invasions has attempted to understand what happened, rather than why it did. In particular, the relationship between the Seljūqs and their tribal followers, the nomadic Türkmen,<sup>5</sup> has received little detailed attention despite it being the key to understanding many aspects of Seljūq rule. The importance of the Türkmen was noted by the famous Seljūq vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1092), who commented that "they have a long-standing claim (*haqq*) upon this dynasty (*dawlat*), because at its inception they served well and suffered much, and also they are attached by ties of kinship".<sup>6</sup>

This paper is a study of the Seljūq invasions of eastern Anatolia and southern Caucasia in the mid to late eleventh century. There are several reasons for focussing on this region. Firstly, the earliest settlements of Turkish tribesmen in the Middle East were concentrated in it. Secondly, there is a wealth of local sources in Georgian, Armenian and Arabic to supplement the surviving Arabic and Greek general chronicles, enabling us to get a much fuller picture of the nature of the conquests than is possible for many other regions affected by the Seljūq invasions. Thirdly, the Seljūqs themselves were particularly interested in this region, with each one of the first three Seljūq sultans, Ṭughril, Alp Arslan and Malikshāh, leading major campaigns there. It is thus natural that Caucasia should form the background for many of the tales of Dede Korkut, a popular mediaeval Turkish epic which re-

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<sup>3</sup> Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, *Türkiye Tarihi I: Anadolu'nun Fethi* (Istanbul, 1944). More recently, Yaşar Bedirhan, *Selçuklular ve Kafkasya* (Konya, 2000), adds some details but does not fundamentally revise our understanding of the conquests.

<sup>4</sup> More work, most recently the studies of S. Vryonis on Michael Attaliates (see Speros Vryonis Jr, "A Personal History of the Battle of Mantzikert", *Byzantine Asia Minor 6th-12th centuries* (Athens, 1998): 225-244) has been done on the non-Muslim sources. Nonetheless, reference is still frequently made to J. Laurent's *Byzance et les Turcs Seljoucides jusqu'en 1081* (Nancy, 1913) and R. Grousset's *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), although both are based almost entirely on Greek and Armenian sources and are rather dated. See Robert Bedrosian, "The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13-14th Centuries" (unpublished dissertation, Columbia University, 1979; available at [www.rbedrosian.com](http://www.rbedrosian.com)), Chapter One, for a survey of more recent literature, especially in Armenian, on the conquests.

<sup>5</sup> In this paper I use the term Türkmen to describe these nomadic Turks, while the sources describe them variously as "Ghuzz", "Türkmen", and "Turks". It is not clear what (if any) difference there was in meaning between Ghuzz and Türkmen, although originally *Ghuzz* was used to refer to non-Muslim Turks. I do not make a strict distinction between Turks and Türkmen for the purposes of this article (see Cl. Cahen "Ghuzz", *EI2*, II: 1106-1110, esp. 1106; Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "Türkmen", *EI2*, X: 682-685, esp. 682).

<sup>6</sup> Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyar al-Mulūk/Siyāsatnāma*, ed. Hubert Darke (Tehran, 1340): 130; idem, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, tr. Hubert Darke (London, 1960): 105.

flects stories of the heroic past of the Turks in the period.<sup>7</sup> A Georgian chronicler records one Turkish leader saying to another, "Why are you setting out for Greece [Byzantium]? Behold Georgia depopulated and full of such riches" and apparently the Turks then "changed direction and spread out over the face of the land [of Georgia] like locusts".<sup>8</sup>

The conventional view of these conquests is best expressed by C. Cahen, who distinguished four types of campaigns, which he described as follows: "celles du prince [selğükide] lui-même, celles que font des lieutenants plus ou moins autonomes au service de sa politique directe, celles que font ces lieutenants en marge de cette politique afin d'alimenter et de détourner l'appétit de bêtes et l'instinct de pillager des Turcomans, enfin celles que font des Turcomans en dehors de toute intervention selğükide, voir en rébellion contre lui".<sup>9</sup> Yet Cahen believes that the Seljūq sultans were generally more interested in securing recognition as legitimate sovereigns by the Muslim world, and their campaigns against Caucasia and Anatolia aimed largely to divert the Türkmen's attention away from plundering the more important provinces of Iran and Iraq.<sup>10</sup> This view is also adopted by Bosworth and Lambton, who likewise believe that the aim of the policy of early sultans such as Alp Arslan was to keep the Türkmen pre-occupied outside the *dār al-Islām*.<sup>11</sup>

This view of the sultans' interventions in Anatolia and Caucasia more as reluctant—and unsuccessful—attempts to control their tribal followers than as motivated by a desire for conquest, and certainly not to destroy the Byzantine empire, derives from the depictions of the Seljūq rulers in the Islamic sources. Written in Arabic and Persian, frequently in honour of later sultans, these sources tend to emphasise the civilised, Islamic aspects of Seljūq rule, such as the Seljūqs' role as

<sup>7</sup> The exact date of both the text and the contents of *Dede Korkut* is a matter of some controversy, and given the work's originally oral character, one unlikely ever to be resolved conclusively. Some elements probably do reflect the period just after the conversion of the Turks, while other parts of the frontier narratives seem to recall the wars between the Aqquyunulu Türkmen and the Georgians in the fifteenth century (see *The Book of Dede Korkut*, tr. Geoffrey Lewis (Harmondsworth, 1974): 10-12, 18-19).

<sup>8</sup> R. W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: the Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation* (Oxford, 1996): 310.

<sup>9</sup> Claude Cahen, "La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure", *Byzantion* XVII (1946-1948), 12 (Reprinted in idem, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus*).

<sup>10</sup> Idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071-1330*, tr. J. Jones-Williams (London, 1968): 23.

<sup>11</sup> C. E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (1000-1217)": 43; A. K. S. Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Seljūq Empire": 246, both in J. A. Boyle (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V: *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge, 1968).

defenders of Sunni Islam and builders of *madrasahs*. Yet they were generally written by authors of Arab or Iranian, not Turkish, descent, and reflect an ideal of Islamic kingship more than the reality. Moreover, none of these works were written until long after the initial conquests.<sup>12</sup> Thus it is unsurprising that they rarely linger on the question of the relationship between the sultan and the Türkmén.<sup>13</sup> Yet, it is clear from chancery documents issued in the twelfth century that even then the Türkmén retained an important role in the Seljūq state.<sup>14</sup> It is also evident that many of the so-called raids of the mid to late eleventh century were in fact led by leading members of the Seljūq family, including the sultans themselves. Indeed, even under Malikshāh (d. 1092), when it is generally thought that traditions of Perso-Islamic government had reached the peak of their influence partly through the offices of the sultan's famous Persian vizier Nizām al-Mulk, it is evident that such pillaging and seemingly mindless destruction continued on border areas, apparently with the participation of the sultan himself.<sup>15</sup>

This paper will consider why Caucasia and eastern Anatolia were so attractive to the Seljūqs and the Türkmén, suggesting that the importance of these regions derived not from their place outside the *dār al-Islām*—for much of the area was in fact Muslim already—but rather to the existence of conditions ideal for a nomadic lifestyle. It will be argued that nomadic society profoundly influenced the nature of both the Seljūq conquests and Seljūq rule. First, however, it is necessary to understand the political situation in Caucasia on the eve of the Turkish invasions.

There had been a Muslim presence in the region long before the arrival of the Seljūq Turks. Arab tribes had first settled in Caucasia in the eighth century, mainly for military reasons.<sup>16</sup> Those around Derbend were to man the Caliphate's defences against its great enemy, the Khazar Empire in southern Russia. Some were settled around Lake Van to ensure the continued obedience of the Armenian lords who

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<sup>12</sup> See Julie Scott Meisami, *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh, 1999): 141-145; C. Hillenbrand, "Some reflections on Seljuq historiography", Antony Eastmond (ed.), *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2001): 74, 83, 86.

<sup>13</sup> A. K. S. Lambton, "Aspects of Saljūq-Ghuzz settlement in Persia", D. S. Richards (ed.), *Papers on Islamic History, III. Islamic Civilization 950-1150* (Oxford, 1973): 107-109.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*: 109-110.

<sup>15</sup> Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 307.

<sup>16</sup> See Aram Ter Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, tr. N. G. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1976): 29ff.

had a tendency to revolt against their overlords, whoever they were, for so independent-minded was the Armenian nobility that in an earlier age it had successfully petitioned the Persians to abolish the Armenian monarchy itself.<sup>17</sup> Other Arabs came to take part in the ongoing war against Byzantium. In addition to these Arab tribes, in the tenth century Kurdish dynasties became important, especially the Shaddādids based in the fertile province of Arran.<sup>18</sup> Although Arabic remained a spoken language in parts of Caucasia until at least the twelfth century, to the surprise of travellers from elsewhere in the Middle East,<sup>19</sup> the Arab tribes, who had by now established themselves as independent dynasties, were strongly influenced by the culture of the region. Both Kurdish and Arab dynasties started to adopt ancient Iranian names, particularly those typical of the Caspian region of Daylam, which exerted a strong cultural influence on the territories to the north of it. Thus among the Sharwānshāhs, descended from the Arab governors of Sharwān, by the beginning of the eleventh century Arab names had been supplanted by Iranian ones such as Manūchihr and Fariburz. Some dynasties, meanwhile, such as the Rawwādids, who had probably also been of Arab origin, started to Kurdicise themselves, adopting typically Kurdish names such as Mamlān and Ah-madīl.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, the literary language of the Muslims of Caucasia remained Arabic, or sometimes Persian.

Until the early eleventh century, Armenian and Georgian kingdoms and principalities had existed among the patchwork of Muslim states. At least among the ruling classes, intermarriage between Muslims and Christians was common, and among members of the Shaddādīd dynasty typically Armenian names such as Ashot are found.<sup>21</sup> However, this should not necessarily be taken to indicate the development of a friendly symbiosis: the Shaddādīd ruler Abū-'l-Aswār was quite happy to invade and occupy the lands of his Armenian neighbour, David of Tashir, despite being married to his sister.<sup>22</sup> Most of these Armenian kingdoms had been annexed by Byzantium in the

<sup>17</sup> Artexias IV was removed as king in 428 by the Sāsānians at the request of the nobility: Nina Garsoian, "The Aršakuni Dynasty", Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, Vol. I. The Dynastic Periods: From Antiquity to the Fourteenth Century* (New York, 2004): 93.

<sup>18</sup> See Aḥmād Kasravī, *Shahriyārān-i Gumnām* (Tehran, 1377): 226ff.

<sup>19</sup> Vladimir Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries* (Cambridge, 1958): 170-172.

<sup>20</sup> C. E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh, 1996): 140-142, 150-152.

<sup>21</sup> V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (Cambridge, 1953): 22, 24.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.: 51-52.

early eleventh century, and their rulers or their descendants had been pensioned off with estates elsewhere in Anatolia.<sup>23</sup> In place of these local rulers who had played an important role in supporting Byzantine power in the region, for its eastern defences the empire came to rely on a system of forts which has been compared to a Maginot line, that, if breached or circumvented, became useless.<sup>24</sup> The Byzantines had further weakened their own border by replacing levies of local troops with mercenaries, and had made themselves distinctly unpopular with the local Armenian population by persecuting it on religious grounds.<sup>25</sup> Together, these policies would contribute to the fall of Anatolia to the Turks.

Apart from the handful of petty principalities that had survived the Byzantine cull such as Tashir,<sup>26</sup> only two significant Christian powers in the region survived, the two Georgian Kingdoms of Abxazet'i-K'art'li and Kaxet'i-Heret'i. Tiflis, which did not become capital of a united Georgia until 1122, was a city-state in Muslim hands at this point,<sup>27</sup> and other Georgian lands such as the provinces of Tao-Klarjet'i and Šavšet'i in modern Turkey were under Byzantine control. Nonetheless, the early eleventh century marks the beginning of a unified Georgia for the first time since the Roman period, with its two principal regions, Kart'li and Abxazet'i, joined together under the rule of a branch of the Bagratid family.<sup>28</sup>

Such, in outline, was the situation in Caucasia on the eve of the Seljūq invasions. These Muslim dynasties of Kurdish or Arab origin sometimes competed with Byzantium and Georgia, and sometimes were allied to them. Byzantium's desire to extinguish the Armenian principalities occasionally led it to call on neighbouring Muslim dynasties like the Shaddādids for assistance; conversely, sometimes fearful of the Muslims becoming too powerful, it would strike directly at the Shaddādids in their principle cities, Ganja and Dvin.<sup>29</sup> As a result, a new front line between Byzantium and the Muslim world was drawn up in the Caucasus, beyond traditional Byzantine territory. The Shaddādīd capital, Ganja, became a magnet for religious warriors who

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<sup>23</sup> See Nina Garsoian, "The Byzantine Annexation of the Armenian Kingdoms in the Eleventh Century", Hovannisian (ed.), *Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. I: 187-198.

<sup>24</sup> Jean-Claude Cheynet, "La conception militaire de la frontière orientale (IX<sup>e</sup> - XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)", in Eastmond, *Eastern Approaches*: 63

<sup>25</sup> Garsoian, *op. cit.*: 193, 196-197.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*: 192-193.

<sup>27</sup> V. Minorsky, C. E. Bosworth, "al-Kurdj" *EI2*, V: 489.

<sup>28</sup> W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932): 83-85.

<sup>29</sup> Minorsky, *Studies*: 52-64.

wished to fight the Byzantine threat. Kaykā'ūs b. Iskandar, later ruler (1049-1087) of the Ziyārid state on the south Caspian, remarks in the *Qābūs-nāmah*, a mirror for princes dedicated to his son, that he spent much of his youth engaged in *jihād*, firstly in India, and subsequently at the Shaddādīd court in Ganja, where he stayed for several years fighting the Byzantines.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, when the first Seljūq Turks arrived in Caucasia, probably in the late 1020s, the region was deeply fragmented politically. Yet, it was by no means territory outside of the *dār al-Islām*, but a patchwork of Muslim and Christian states. Seljūq attacks were not, however, restricted to the Christian territories of Caucasia, but affected the Muslim ones at least equally. Nor were these attacks on Muslim lands necessarily carried out by irregular groups of Türkmēn, but rather were often led by the sultan himself, as will be demonstrated below. Thus, the Seljūqs' interest in Caucasia cannot have been prompted by a desire to find lands outside of the *dār al-Islām* for their followers to pillage, because many of these lands not only formed part of the Muslim world, but had also, as Kaykā'ūs the Ziyārid indicates, gained a reputation as a centre of the *jihād*. Attacking the Muslim centres of the *jihād* does not easily lend itself to being interpreted as part of a strategy of promoting an image of the Seljūqs as protectors of Islam. We must seek elsewhere an explanation for the Seljūq conquests in the region, and thus we will turn to a detailed examination of the conquests. However, as Cahen correctly states, there were a variety of different types of campaigns, ranging from those conducted by rebellious Türkmēn to those led by the Seljūq sultan himself. The former were often quite small in scale, sometimes involving as few as twenty men,<sup>31</sup> while the latter were usually much more considerable affairs. Here, we shall focus only those campaigns against Caucasia led by members of the Seljūq family themselves. These are naturally by far the best documented campaigns and are of the greatest interest as they illustrate the priorities of the sultans themselves.

The exact causes of the migration of the Seljūq Turks westwards are obscure, although it seems in part they were obliged to leave Central Asia by a combination of famine and pressure from the rulers of the area.<sup>32</sup> When they arrived in the Middle East, they were only recent

<sup>30</sup> Kay Kā'ūs b. Iskandar, *Qābūs-nāmah*, ed. Ghulāmriḍā Yūsufī (Tehran, 1371): 41 (Chapter 7).

<sup>31</sup> Sibṭ ibnū 'l-Cevzi, *Mir'ātū 'z-Ẓaman fi Tarihi 'l-Ayan*, ed. A. Sevim (Ankara, 1968) (henceforth, Sibṭ, *Mir'āt*): 21.

<sup>32</sup> On the early Seljūqs see C. E. Bosworth, "Political and Dynastic History": 11-23.

converts to Islam, and many still clung to their nomadic ways, although ʿTughril, the first Seljūq sultan, adopted this Islamic title in 1038, shortly after his conquest of Khurāsān.<sup>33</sup> However, attacks on the region by Türkmen connected to the Seljūqs had started before this, although ʿTughril did not appoint his cousin Qutlumush b. Isrāʾil b. Seljūq over the provinces of Armenia and Azerbaijan until this date.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, the sources for this period only contain passing references to Turkish attacks and it is difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events with any accuracy. Enough, however, survives to make an attempt possible, and a rough chronology of known major attacks is presented in an appendix to this article.

The Rawwādid territories in what is now Iranian Azerbaijan were one of the first regions to be settled by Türkmen fleeing Central Asia, and were used by them as a base to extend into Armenia and eastern Anatolia. The earliest credible reference to Turkish attacks in these areas is in an inscription recording the death of Vasak Pahlavuni, prince of the local Artsruni dynasty, in 1029.<sup>35</sup> This is confirmed by Ibn al-Athīr, who mentions an attack on Armenia by Türkmen based in Urmīyah in Azerbaijan in this year.<sup>36</sup> Cahen believes there was then a lull until 1035, when more attacks occurred. Already by 1038 the Türkmen had penetrated so far and were so dangerous that the Georgians were forced to abandon their attempt to capture Tbilisi from the Muslim Jaʿfarid dynasty for fear of them.<sup>37</sup> However, the main wave of attacks does not seem to have started until the early 1040s, and was probably prompted by Vahsūdān the Rawwādid's massacre of Türkmen in Tabrīz, which resulted in a migration further westwards.<sup>38</sup> A Seljūq attack is recorded sub anno 434 A. H./1042-3 by al-ʿAẓīmī (d. late 12th century), who states that Turks commanded by the amirs Būqā, Anaşughli, Bektash and Manşūr at-

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.: 23.

<sup>34</sup> Šadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Saljūqīyyah*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl (Beirut, 1404/1984): 17 (references throughout to this edition unless otherwise specified). Armenian sources indicate that the first Turkish attacks on the Van region may have occurred as early as 1015, and this date is still frequently cited in modern secondary literature as the date of the earliest Seljūq incursions. However, as Cahen has demonstrated, it must be rejected, and the earliest Turkish attacks probably did not occur until 1029, followed by a lull until 1035: C. Cahen, "A propos de quelques articles du *Köprülü Armağanı*", *Journal Asiatique* 242 (1954): 275-279 (reprinted in idem, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus*).

<sup>35</sup> Grousset, *op. cit.*: 551, n. 4, citing Alishan, *Shirak* (Venice, 1879): 148.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 383.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., IX: 457.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., IX: 384-385; Bosworth, "Political and dynastic history": 41; Kasrāvī, *Shahriyārān-i Gumnām*: 170-173.

tacked first Armenia and Azerbaijan, and then the Kurdish Marwānid dynasty in the Diyār Bakr.<sup>39</sup> The first significant Seljūq victories appear to have come in the wake of this campaign with the capture of the Byzantine constable of Erciş on the northern shores of Lake Van by forces possibly commanded by Qutlumush in 1044 or 1045.<sup>40</sup> For the next few years the situation is extremely confused, although it is clear that Seljūqs maintained an interest in the area. Especially intriguing are the activities of Qutlumush, who is found one year fighting off a Byzantine attack on Shaddādīd Dvin and the next is himself besieging the Shaddādīds in Ganja, a siege which apparently lasted a year and a half, scarcely the behaviour of nomads interested solely in plunder.<sup>41</sup>

Around 1048-9, another cousin of ʿUghril, Ibrāhīm Yinal, led a major campaign in eastern Anatolia, which in 1054 was followed by one commanded by ʿUghril himself. More or less annual attacks on one part or other of the region ensued, culminating in the great campaign against Georgia and Eastern Anatolia led by Alp Arslan in 1064, shortly after his accession to the sultanate. Alp Arslan led three campaigns in the region, a second one against Georgia, Arrān and Anatolia in 1067, and thirdly and most famously, the campaign that culminated in the defeat of the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071. Unfortunately, the region is virtually completely ignored by the Islamic sources during the reign of Malikshāh (1072-1092), although it is given detailed attention by the Georgian chronicles, although it is clear that Malikshāh himself appeared on campaign in Caucasia in 1080.<sup>42</sup> Seljūq attacks continued, although towards the end of this period the political situation in Caucasia changed to their disadvantage with the emergence of a strong Georgian kingdom, which expanded at their

<sup>39</sup> *Azimi Tarihi: Selçuklularla ilgili bölümler* (H. 430-538=1038/9-1143/4), ed. Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1988), Arabic text: 3. 'Azīmī's account is partly confirmed by his contemporary Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, who mentions an attack on the Marwānids in the same year, led by the amirs Būqā and [A]naşughlī, sent to the Diyār Bakr by ʿUghril who had granted it as *iqṭāʿ* to them (Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Taʾrikh al-Fāriqī: al-dawlah al-Marwāniyyah*, ed. Badawī 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Awād (Beirut, 1974): 160).

<sup>40</sup> *Azimi Tarihi*, Arabic text: 4, s. a. 435/1042-3; *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, tr. Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham and London, 1993) (henceforth, Matthew, *Chronicle*): 74. (1045); these two authors attribute the capture of the constable of Erciş to the amirs Būqā and Anaşughlī on their return from the Diyār Bakr. However, Jean Scylitzes, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, tr. Bernard Flusin (Paris, 2003), Greek text: 446/tr.: 371; Nicephorus Bryennius, *Histoiarum Libri Quattuor*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975): 96-99; and Zonaras, *Epitome Historion*, ed. M. Pinder (Bonn, 1841-1897), III: 636-7, state that it was carried out by Qutlumush in the wake of his defeat at Mosul.

<sup>41</sup> *Azimi Tarihi*, Arabic text: 6.

<sup>42</sup> al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*: 63.

expense under David the Restorer (1189-1125).<sup>43</sup> Quṭb al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Yāqūtī, the sultan's cousin, was appointed over the entire area of Arrān and Azerbaijan, and the Shaddādids, who had proved to be decidedly unreliable allies, were deposed, although the Sharwānshāhs retained power as Seljūq vassals.<sup>44</sup> Insufficient details survive to construct a reliable chronology for the campaigns under Malikshāh.

Forty years separate the first major Seljūq intervention in the region, Ibrāhīm Yinal's campaign against Rūm in 1048-9, and the start of the Georgian recovery in the north with King David's accession. However, many of the campaigns during this period share certain features. Firstly, the Seljūqs show a definite tendency to return to places they have already attacked (see map). Thus, the mountainous province of Tao was attacked by Ibrāhīm Yinal, Ṭughril, Alp Arslan and Malikshāh, while Somxit'i was attacked by both Alp Arslan and Malikshāh, and Xordzean was attacked in 1048 and 1057. Manzikert, most famous as the site of the crucial battle between Alp Arslan and the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes in 1071, had previously been subjected to two major attacks, the first by Ibrāhīm Yinal in 1048-9, and the second by Ṭughril in 1054-5. Standard Seljūq tactics were for the army to divide into several wings, which is why so many attacks on several places in the same expedition are recorded.<sup>45</sup>

Secondly, it is interesting to note that many of the places attacked by the Seljūqs were heavily fortified. Manzikert, for instance, was always strongly defended, but the sources state that Ṭughril besieged the town in a determined and professional manner, first of all sending in sappers to undermine its walls, and when this failed using mangonels.<sup>46</sup> Nor was this an isolated event, for Alp Arslan used similar tactics and siege machinery against Ani in 1064.<sup>47</sup> The accounts by al-Ḥusaynī and Ibn al-Athīr of Alp Arslan's campaign of 1064 indicate that the principal targets were in fact fortresses and fortified cities. It might be argued that this campaign, under the command of the sultan, cannot be assumed to be representative of the Türkmen attacks in the region. However, lesser known campaigns, such as Qutlumush's year and a

<sup>43</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*: 95-100; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 309ff.

<sup>44</sup> Bosworth, "Political and Dynastic History": 94-5. Minorsky, *History of Sharvan and Darband*: 68, 120; al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhhār*: 73; al-Bundārī, *Żubdat al-Nusrah*, ed. M. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889): 140. A branch of the Shaddādids survived at Ani.

<sup>45</sup> See M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie* (St Petersburg, 1849), I, 347, n. 4; Allen, *op. cit.*: 91.

<sup>46</sup> Matthew, *Chronicle*: 86-88; Aristakès de Lastivert, *Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, tr. Marius Canard and Haig Berbérian (Brussels, 1973): 89ff (references to the page numbers of the classical Armenian text).

<sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X: 40-41.

half long siege of Ganja around 1047, and the attacks of 1056-7 on well-fortified Kemah and Koloneia, the latter described by Bryer and Winfield as “the most formidable of the Pontic natural strongholds”,<sup>48</sup> indicate that Türkmen acting in smaller groups were equally ready to attack strongly defended locations. Aristakes specifically mentions that among the targets of Ibrāhīm Yinal’s campaign of 1048-9 were “the castles of Tao and Aršarunik”.<sup>49</sup> Far from avoiding the “Maginot line” of Byzantine forts, the Seljūq Turks, whether acting under the command of their sultan or not, deliberately attacked it.

Furthermore, it is clear from Arabic, Armenian and Georgian sources that when the Seljūqs had conquered a town or fort, they would often then systematically destroy it, most often by fire. Thus fire was used against Ani and against Axalk’alak’i,<sup>50</sup> and there was a unit of *naffāṭūn* (naphtha-throwers) in the Seljūq army, whose job seems to have been to burn anything that hindered the Seljūq advance.<sup>51</sup> The anonymous author of the Georgian chronicle known as *The History of David, King of Kings* comments that “fire, an unexpected adversary, con-

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Bryer, David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1985), I: 146.

<sup>49</sup> Aristakes, *Récit*: 67. Aršarunik is the region to the south west of Ani.

<sup>50</sup> al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*: 38-39; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X: 39. I follow Bunyatov’s reading of Axalk’alak’i for the place mentioned by these two authors as *أعالي* (or similar forms), which is not, however, entirely certain. See the discussion in Marius Canard, “La campagne arménienne du sultan seljuquide Alp Arslan et la prise d’Ani en 1064” *RÉArm.* 2 (1965): 241 (reprinted in idem, *L’expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions* [London, 1974]) and Šadr ad-Dīn Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār ad-dawlat as-Seldžukīyya*, ed. and tr. Z. M. Bunyatov (Moscow, 1980): 180, where the editor identifies it with Axalk’alak’i. Phonetically Axalk’alak’i is the obvious choice, and other evidence confirms that it was taken by the Seljūqs, most importantly a Georgian inscription at the nearby village of Mirashkhani recording the death of Parsman, lord of Mesxet’i, in Axalk’alak’i during the Seljūq conquest (published by V. Silogava, “Ert’i epigrap’uri jegli t’urk-seljukt’a šemosevis šesaxeb XI saukunis sak’art’veloši”, *Aspinja. Same’xisa da ħavaxet’is sazğvarze* (Axalc’ixe, 2000): 201-244). However, the description of the town given in the accounts of al-Ḥusaynī and Ibn al-Athīr (which draw on the same source) clearly does not refer to Axalk’alak’i. Firstly, it is described by the Arabic sources as having walls 100 *dhira*’s in length, whereas the Georgian sources relate that Axalk’alak’i was inadequately defended by its walls at this point (Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 299). Secondly, the city is described as being surrounded by a mountain on all sides but the south, and with many forts nearby on smaller mountains and with a great river the size of the Oxus running in front of the walls. Axalk’alak’i in fact is situated on a high plateau with mountains nearby but not surrounding the city, and has only a very small river. It seems likely that the name of the place given by al-Ḥusaynī and Ibn al-Athīr does indeed recall Axalk’alak’i. However, the source for this report in his description has confused Axalk’alak’i with another city in the region. At any rate, the account is clearly exaggerated as there is no river even remotely as large as the Oxus in Javakheti.

<sup>51</sup> al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*: 39, 44; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*: 65.

sumed all dwellings".<sup>52</sup> Occasionally a castle was allowed to stand untouched after its conquest and used by the Seljūqs, as in the case of Kaputru near Ararat.<sup>53</sup> The Arabic sources mention one such occasion during Alp Arslan's Georgian campaign of 1064, which witnessed the destruction of Axalk'alak'i and Ani. Alp Arslan's son, the prince Malikshāh, was accompanying the expedition, and intended to destroy a castle they had conquered but was prevented from doing so by the vizier Nizām al-Mulk who wished it to become "a frontier fortification for the Muslims" (*thughr li-l-muslimin*). However, even when such fortifications were preserved, the Seljūqs usually preferred to grant them to a local Muslim lord than to garrison themselves: in this case the castle was given to the amir of Nakhichevan.<sup>54</sup> The defeat of Christian kings—whether the Georgian rulers of Kaxet'i-Heret'i or Abxazet'i—did not result in any attempt to annex their kingdoms, but rather the imposition of poll-tax, leaving the monarchs in place (although Akhsartan of Kaxet'i-Heret'i converted to Islam, presumably to save himself from having to pay the *jizyah*).<sup>55</sup> Moreover, we are frequently explicitly told by the sources that the Seljūqs did not stay permanently in many of these places. This is perhaps most vividly illustrated by the conquest of Ani, one of the most important cities in the region and an ancient Armenian capital. This is portrayed by the Muslim sources as a great victory for Islam, greeted with celebrations in Baghdad and the congratulations of the Caliph.<sup>56</sup> After such a prestigious conquest, it is surprising to find that the Seljūqs sold the city to their unreliable Shaddādid vassal a few years later.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the objective of these expeditions was not the annexation of these territories in any conventional manner.

It is also interesting to note that these campaigns that led to such destruction were conducted by senior members of the Seljūq family themselves. Scholarship has tended to emphasise that much of the damage done to Anatolia by the Turks was a result of the depredations of bands of nomads acting without the permission or even tacit encouragement of the Seljūq government. It is certainly true that some atrocities were indeed committed by individual bands of Türkmen. Sometimes these might be very small groups indeed, such as the loot-

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<sup>52</sup> Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*...: 311

<sup>53</sup> Matthew, *Chronicle*: 78-79.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X: 38.

<sup>55</sup> al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhhār*: 44.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X: 41; al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhhār*: 35-6.

<sup>57</sup> Minorsky, *Studies*: 81.

ing of a monastery and the killing of all its monks by a group of Turks twenty-strong recorded by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī.<sup>58</sup> However, some of the campaigns in Caucasia under discussion here clearly fall into a different category: they were led by the sultan himself and senior officials in the Seljūq state. In Alp Arslan's campaign of 1064, the best documented of all the attacks on Caucasia, there participated not only Alp Arslan's son, the future sultan Malikshāh, but also the governor of Khurāsān, the prosperous heartland of the Seljūq empire, and the vizier Nizām al-Mulk himself. Nizām al-Mulk was not, of course, a Turk, but rather a highly cultivated Persian who came from an urban milieu totally alien to that of the nomadic Turks. Even if it may be argued that Alp Arslan and his son maintained enough of the traditions of the steppe to enjoy pillaging expeditions—although it is hard to see why these would be necessary for the masters of some of the richest areas of Muslim world such as Baghdad and Khurāsān—it certainly cannot be suggested that Nizām al-Mulk was motivated by any such Turkic traditions. Rather, the presence of the most senior figures of the Seljūq family and their government is testament to the great importance with which these campaigns were held by the Seljūq family.

So we are presented with the slightly perplexing situation of the Seljūq state engaging in a war of apparently mindless destruction against territories it had seemingly had no intention of holding permanently. No simple explanation for this situation is given by any of the sources. The Armenian and Georgian chroniclers lament the massacres, the burning of their towns and villages, and the depopulation of their homelands. Arabic sources, on the other hand, merely present us with a list of conquered cities, with equally little suggestion as to what exactly the Seljūqs were trying to achieve. However, some less direct indications in the sources suggest some reasons why the Seljūqs were so interested in the region, which I shall now turn to examining.

According to al-Ḥusaynī, Caucasia was granted to Qutlumush, the cousin of Ṭughril, in 1038, even before it had been conquered.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Sibṭ, *Mir'āt*: 21; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, tr. Earnest A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), I: 210.

<sup>59</sup> Other sources do not agree with al-Ḥusaynī, suggesting that Qutlumush was granted the Caspian provinces of Iran while Yāqūtī was sent to Azerbaijan. However, as Cahen has correctly demonstrated ("Qutlumush et ses fils avant l'Asie Mineure", *Der Islam* 39 (1964): 14-27, esp. 20 (reprinted in *Turcobyzantina*)), al-Ḥusaynī's account is corroborated by the references in other sources to Qutlumush's involvement in the campaigns against Vaspurakan, Ganja and Kars. However, Caucasia was not the sole area, in which Qutlumush was involved, for he is also reported as fighting the 'Uqaylids of Mosul, while it was in Northern Iran, where he made last

Azerbaijan had, however, already gained a substantial Türkmen population, estimated by Kasravī at around 40,000 individuals.<sup>60</sup> Yet, neither Qutlumush nor the Türkmen of Azerbaijan had a happy relationship with ʿUghrīl, who considered himself their leader, yet was not necessarily recognised as such by the Türkmen. In these complicated relationships lies an important clue to understanding Seljūq activities in Caucasia. The roots of these tensions are to be found in the story of the Seljūq family's rise to prominence in Central Asia in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

The first prominent member of the family whose career is reasonably well attested is the elder son of Seljūq, Arslan Isrā'īl, who in the late tenth century is found fighting on the side of the Sāmānid rulers of Central Asia. In the 1020s, economic circumstances, in particular severe famine, seem to have obliged Arslan's followers to flee to the rich province of Khurāsān where they settled. Whether or not this was with the permission of the government of the Ghaznavid ruler Maḥmūd, as later writers claim,<sup>61</sup> they soon made a nuisance of themselves through plundering. Arslan was eventually captured by Maḥmūd and imprisoned, and his nomadic followers fled further west towards Azerbaijan.<sup>62</sup> Thus, the first Turks to arrive in the region, in 1029, were the followers of Arslan, known as the *'Irāqīyyah* Türkmen due to the settlement of many of them in 'Irāq-i 'Ajam, i. e. western Iran. It has already been noted that many of these settled in Azerbaijan, where initially the Rawwādid ruler Vahsūdān welcomed them despite their plundering.<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, with Arslan in prison, another branch of the Seljūq family, Arslan's nephews ʿUghrīl and Chaghri, rose to prominence as

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stand against his cousin Alp Arslan in 1064. Other sources indicate ʿUghrīl granted him the Caspian provinces of Gurgan and Damghan, and he is mentioned campaigning as far away as Iṣfahān (for summary of his career, see Cahen, *op. cit.*). These differences in the sources reflect the nomadic basis of the Seljūq state (if it can even be called a state at this date) and are not necessarily contradictory. Qutlumush may have been allotted territories to north of Iran and/or in Caucasia by ʿUghrīl, but that does not mean that he would have felt constrained to remain within them, particularly as they were still unconquered. As Lambton «Internal Structure»...: 218) states, "[the Seljūqs] probably thought that their rule extended wherever their people roamed in search of pasture, and not, in any case at first, that it was tied to a given area" (for another example of ʿUghrīl granting unconquered territories to his followers, see Ibn al-Azraq, *Ta'rikh al-Fāriqī*: 160, where the Marwānid lands of Diyār Bakr are granted to Būqā and Ana-sughli).

<sup>60</sup> Kasravī, *Shahriyārān-i Gumnām*: 159.

<sup>61</sup> E. g. Bundārī, *Ẓubdat al-Nuṣrah*: 5.

<sup>62</sup> On these developments, see Bosworth, "Political and Dynastic History": 11-23; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 377-8.

<sup>63</sup> Kasravī, *Shahriyārān-i Gumnām*: 156-8; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 381-383.

chiefs of other groups of Türkmén whom they led out of the famine-stricken lands of Central Asia to the province of Khurāsān so recently evacuated by the followers of Arslan. There were thus two distinct main waves of Seljūq migration westwards. The brothers ʿUghrīl and Chaghri seized control of the main towns of Khurāsān, so that with his capture (albeit temporary) of Nishāpūr in 1038, ʿUghrīl was able to proclaim himself sultan, indicating a desire to be recognised as more than just a nomad chief. At this point the territories that had fallen to the Turks, so far along with those yet unconquered, were divided up between the members of the family of Seljūq.<sup>64</sup> Division of territories among members of the ruling dynasty was a characteristic of Turkish states, which shied away from investing one individual with absolute sovereignty.<sup>65</sup> Qutlumush received Caucasia, and possibly the Caspian provinces of Iran.

The sources contain few references to relations between Qutlumush and ʿUghrīl during this period. Sometimes they cooperated, for Qutlumush's expeditions against the Byzantines in Dvin and against the ʿUqaylids in Mosul seem to have been conducted at ʿUghrīl's request. To judge from the scanty information that survives about his activities, he was not particularly successful from a military point of view. Neither did his long siege of the Shaddādids in Ganja nor his intervention against the ʿUqaylids and their ally al-Basāsīrī, the Turkish soldier who was ʿUghrīl's rival for Baghdad, bear fruit.<sup>66</sup> His loyalty to ʿUghrīl was probably more a matter of expediency than anything else, for he does not seem to have shown any enthusiasm for the sultan when his cousin Ibrāhīm Yinal rebelled.<sup>67</sup> Nonetheless, he doubtless commanded too much support among his own Türkmén followers to be suppressed easily.

The death of ʿUghrīl in 1064 brought to the fore the problems of succession that bedevilled mediaeval Turkish states. According to the traditional Turkish conception, authority rested in the Seljūq family as a whole rather than in one particular member of it. Nonetheless, amongst the members of the family, there might be one who held a senior position, through having won it by feats of arms and the recognition of the tribesmen. As Rudi Lindner explains, "tribesmen sup-

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<sup>64</sup> al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār...*: 17; Bundārī, *op. cit.*: 8; Ṣāḥīb al-Dīn Nishāpūrī, *The Saljūqnāma*, ed. A. H. Morton (n.p., 2004): 14.

<sup>65</sup> Lambton, "Internal Structure": 218. This attitude persisted even much later in the Seljūq period (see Bosworth, *op. cit.*: 105).

<sup>66</sup> Cahen, "Qutlumush et ses fils": 20-21.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*: 22.

ported not the eldest son, but the candidate who best represented their interests, for their welfare and survival depended upon their chief's ability to represent them in the search for pasture, plunder or a *modus vivendi* with stronger neighbours".<sup>68</sup> While ʿTughril seems to have attempted to make himself the superior Seljūq, he still had to recognise his brother Chaghri, ruler of the eastern part of the Seljūq empire, who does not seem to have ever acquiesced in ʿTughril's pretensions to superiority.<sup>69</sup> On the death of ʿTughril, whom Chaghri had predeceased, succession to his position as sultan was inevitably disputed. Initially, his obscure nephew Sulayman became sultan, but he was swiftly removed in favour of Alp Arslan, another son of ʿTughril's brother Chaghri. The accession of Alp Arslan did not go unchallenged, and his cousin Qutlumush now declared himself sultan claiming as his justification that "my father was the best and most senior of the tribe".<sup>70</sup>

Alp Arslan successfully defeated Qutlumush, who died while attempting to flee. It is clear, however, that Qutlumush had attracted substantial support from the Türkmen.<sup>71</sup> According to Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, the horsemen alone supporting him numbered some 50,000,<sup>72</sup> and in the eyes of the Türkmen his claim to the sultanate would have been at least as good as Alp Arslan's, and possibly better. While the *ʿIrāqīyyah* were nominally subjects of ʿTughril, they had always proved most reluctant to accept any of his attempts to exert his authority over them.<sup>73</sup> Certainly, amongst the descendants of the followers of Arslan, the most senior Seljūq until his imprisonment and death at the hands of the Ghaznavids, one can imagine that the claim of the son of their late leader would have had much appeal. It was these followers of Arslan, the *ʿIrāqīyyah* Türkmen, who populated Armenia and Azerbaijan, the provinces where Qutlumush was active.

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<sup>68</sup> Rudi Paul Lindner, "What was a Nomadic Tribe?", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982): 693.

<sup>69</sup> Richard W. Bulliet, "Numismatic Evidence for the Relationship between ʿTughril Beg and Chaghri Beg", Dickran K. Kouymjian (ed.), *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974): 239-6.

<sup>70</sup> Rashid al-Dīn, *Cāmiʿ al-Tawārīh: II. Cild, 5. Cüz*, ed. A. Ateş (Ankara, 1960): 28.

<sup>71</sup> Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*: 77: "*wa-inḍamma ilayhi al-Turkmān wa-l-Atrāk*".

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*: 110. This figure is doubtless somewhat exaggerated, as on Kasravi's calculations, it would mean Qutlumush had a greater number of cavalry alone than the entire *ʿIrāqīyyah* population of Azerbaijan, which is difficult to believe even if we accept that most nomads would have been mounted. Nonetheless, Sibṭ's figures can be understood as reflecting great number of Türkmen joined with Qutlumush.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 386, 389, 507.

In light of this, the aims of Alp Arslan's campaign of 1064, the year of his accession, become more comprehensible. The reason the sultan evinced so little interest in making permanent territorial gains is because he was concerned less with conquering the Georgians than in gaining the loyalty of the *'Irāqīyyah* already settled in Caucasia. Likewise, it was because this campaign was central to establishing the sultan's authority over the tribesmen that the expedition was accompanied by key figures in the Seljūq state such as Niẓām al-Mulk. That this Caucasian campaign is related more to Seljūq internal politics than disorganised pillaging can be illustrated by considering what is known of patterns of Turkish settlement in Caucasia in the Seljūq period. Virtually nothing is said about this by the Islamic or Armenian sources, but fortunately the Georgian Chronicles do give us detailed, although not complete, information as to where Turks settled.

The Turks that came to Caucasia were, of course, nomads. The nomadic lifestyle is characterised by transhumance between summer pastures, called *yaylāqs*, and winter pastures, called *qishlāqs*. Summer pastures tend to be in the cool highlands, and winter pastures in the warm lowlands.<sup>74</sup> The Georgian Chronicles allow us to trace these movements in Caucasia with some accuracy (see map). Summer pastures were apparently in the foothills of Ararat, Somxit'i and in the mountainous province of Tao-Klarjet'i and Šavšet'i.<sup>75</sup> On one occasion apparently, the Turks made use of Tao in winter as well, seeking refuge from attacks by Georgian armies in this remote and inaccessible province.<sup>76</sup> Tao, however, cannot have been a regular winter pasture as conditions are far too cold to allow this, but rather just an emergency place of refuge, known to the Turks as a summer pasture.<sup>77</sup>

Winter pastures, the Chronicle tells us, were in Gač'ianni, around Samšvilde and along the banks of the Kur and Iori rivers. The chronicler has left a vivid description of the behaviour of these Turks:

"They would settle ... in all those beautiful winter quarters, where in winter, as in the season of spring, grass is mowed and wood and water are found in abundance. A multitude of all kinds of game exists there and there is every sort of recreation. In those regions they would settle with their tents; of their

<sup>74</sup> *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, ed. and tr. P. Jackson and D. Morgan (London, 1990): 72.

<sup>75</sup> Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 310, 323. According to the Chronicle (: 310), the Turks spread as far north as Kut'aisi and Kart'li, and their settlement certainly included the *yaylāqs* of Samc'xe-Javaxet'i, i. e. the region near Axalk'alak'i.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*: 324.

<sup>77</sup> For the location of some *yaylāqs* in Tao-Klarjet'i, especially near Barhal, see Wakhtang Djobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klarjet'i and Šavšet'i* (Stuttgart 1992): 158, 178, 190.

horses, mules, sheep, and camels there was no reckoning. They led a blessed existence; they would hunt, relax, take their pleasure, and they experienced no lack of anything. They would engage in commerce in their cities, but would invade our borders for their fill of captives and plunder. In spring they would ascend the mountains of Somkhiti and Ararat. Thus during summer they would have ease and recreation on the grass and pleasant fields, with springs and flowering meadows. So great was their strength and multitude that you could say: «All Turks of the whole world are here»”.<sup>78</sup>

The Georgian Chronicle thus allows us to locate some of the pastures, but due to its own regional perspective not all of them. However, detailed information about the pastures used by the Mongols and other Türkmen tribes survive, for Caucasia was favoured by later nomads too for its summer and winter pastures. It is likely that exactly the same pastures were used by the Türkmen immigrants of the eleventh century. Thus, it is probable that Aladağ north of Lake Van, a well-known Mongol *yaylāq*,<sup>79</sup> was also used as summer pasture by the Seljūqs, possibly as an extension of the Ararat pasturelands. Another popular *yaylāq* was in southern Chaldia, a pasture used by the Aqquyunlu Türkmen in the fourteenth century.<sup>80</sup>

A comparison of the maps of the campaigns and the pastures is instructive (see map). As is evident, the vast majority of military operations take place around the summer and winter pastures. Areas that were not pastureland escape comparatively lightly, or even completely. For instance, the southern shore of Lake Van was a rich region containing many monasteries that one might have thought would have been an obvious target for plundering. In addition, the major towns of the old Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan, only recently abolished, Van and Vostan, were located here.<sup>81</sup> Yet, there is scarcely any record of Seljūq attacks on the area despite its history being well documented in this period. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that much of

<sup>78</sup> Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 323.

<sup>79</sup> T. A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey* (London, 1987), I: 273; Charles Melville, “The Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304–16”, *Iran* 28 (1990): 56 and fig. 1: 58; John Masson Smith, Jr “Mongol Nomadism and Middle Eastern Geography: Qishlāqs and Tümens”, R. Amitai-Preiss, D. Morgan (eds.), *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden, 1999): 42–3, 47.

<sup>80</sup> The Aqquyunlu soon spread out occupying much of Armenia as a *yaylāq* and the Diyār Bakr as a *qishlāq*, and conducted campaigns against Georgia. Their expansion thus replicates many patterns of the Seljūq invasions. Their original centre appears to have been Sınır near Bayburt in Chaldia, where one of their earliest chiefs, Qutlu, is buried, and where he founded a mosque. See John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1998): 34, 56. For reasons of space, I have not considered the numerous Seljūq campaigns in the Diyār Bakr, but it is likely that they were likewise inspired by a need for the *qishlāqs* of the area.

<sup>81</sup> Sinclair, *op. cit.*: 222ff.

the land on the south of Lake Van were unsuitable for pastures, but rather are steep, barren, waterless mountains and valleys.<sup>82</sup> For this reason, the Seljūqs were not attracted to the region. A local Armenian historian of the Middle Ages strikes an uncharacteristically positive note when discussing this area, remarking of Amiuk and the island of Aghtamar, the most important fortress and monastery there, that in this period of attacks, "For them was accomplished the saying of the inspired psalmist David: 'The islands shall be happy and all the inhabitants therein'; they rejoiced in delight according to Solomon's exhortation".<sup>83</sup> However, to the north of the lake, on the other hand, towns such as Erciş, Berkri and Manzikert, all near the southern fringe of the Aladağ pastures, were regularly attacked.

Likewise, both Alp Arslan's campaigns of 1064 and 1067 were directed at areas of known *yaylāqs* and *qishlāqs*: the summer pastures of Tao and Somxit'i, and the winter pastures in southern Kart'li and in Kaxet'i, along the banks of River Kur. Indeed many of the areas attacked in 1064 feature in the Turkish epic, the *Book of Dede Korkut*: we read there of the Türkmén pitching their tents around Sürmeli and Ağcakale near Ani, two of the fortresses destroyed by Alp Arslan.<sup>84</sup> Earlier campaigns in 1048, 1054-5 and 1056-7 had also concentrated on areas around the pastures of Tao and Chaldia. The same is true of the campaigns under Malikshāh, which attacked Tao and Samsvilde, although these campaigns around the pasturelands were accompanied by an attack on the heart of the Abxazian kingdom, raiding its capital Kut'aisi. This was probably motivated mainly by a desire for plunder.<sup>85</sup>

Information about eastern Caucasia, meanwhile, is much scantier, and we are reliant on a few references preserved in an abridged version of a local history written in Arabic and preserved in Münecimbaşı's eighteenth century compilation, the *Ĵāmi' al-Duwal*. As early as the 1040s the rulers of Sharwān, the Sharwānshāhs, had built a wall around their capital Yazīdiyyah to keep out the Turkish tribesmen, and in 1066 the Seljūq commander Qarategin attacked Yazīdiyyah

<sup>82</sup> E. g. *ibid.*: 224.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Artsruni, *History of the House of Artsrunik*, tr. Robert W. Thomson (Detroit, 1985): 371-2. According to the same anonymous continuator of Thomas Artsruni, Van was indeed attacked once. Given the importance and prosperity of the city, this is surprisingly little, compared with the repeated attacks on Erciş and Manzikert, for example, in the north.

<sup>84</sup> *Book of Dede Korkut*: 106. The identification of the Sürmāri of Ibn al-Athīr and al-Ḥusaynī with Sürmeli seems uncontroversial. In identifying Sabidshahr with Ağcakale, I follow Bunyatov in Şadr ad-Dīn Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār ad-dawlat as-Seldżukīyya*, ed. and tr. Z. M. Bunyatov: 180.

<sup>85</sup> Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 310.

and Baku.<sup>86</sup> Other operations, particularly under Malikshāh, were conducted by his commander Savtegin, who was responsible for much of the conquest of the region, which had been granted to him as far as the Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) as a fief (*iqṭāʿ*) by Alp Arslan.<sup>87</sup> The inadequate nature of the evidence makes firm conclusions are hard to draw here, but certainly the area stretching south of Yazīdiyyah, the Mughān, and adjacent territories in Arrān, were important *qishlāqs* in Mongol times, so it is unsurprising that the Turks should have been attracted to the area in the Seljūq period.<sup>88</sup>

The significance of the connection between these military campaigns and the location of pastures is not made explicit by the sources. However, as discussed above, one of the main duties of the tribal chief was to secure plunder and pasture for his followers. An account of one of Ibrāhīm Yinal's campaigns against Caucasia shows this leading member of the Seljūq family functioning in exactly the same way. According to this report

“A large group of Türkmen from Central Asia came to Ibrāhīm, and he said «My territories are too small for you and to support your needs. The best thing is to go and attack Anatolia, fight in God's path, plunder, and I will come in your wake and assist you»”.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, the role of Ibrāhīm was to assist these nomads obtain the lands they needed to be able to survive. Analogously, in later Seljūq times, the provision of pasturage was one of the principle tasks of the *shihna* or government official appointed over the Türkmen.<sup>90</sup> If we consider the Seljūq campaigns in Caucasia in the light of such exigencies of nomadic society, they become much more comprehensible than the picture of apparently mindless violence and destruction presented by the sources. Although, as Ibrāhīm's promise suggests, there was a place for plundering in these campaigns, they were to a large extent concerned with securing pasture land for the Seljūqs' nomadic followers. This explains why the Seljūqs destroyed so many fortifications and cities without ever intending to occupy them permanently: they were interested not in the cities but in the pastures around them, but to secure control of the pastures they had to ensure the cities could not be used by anyone else to threaten their control of the surrounding

<sup>86</sup> Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband*: 33, 35-37, 53-55.

<sup>87</sup> Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*: 24-5.

<sup>88</sup> Smith, “Mongol Nomadism and Middle Eastern Geography”: 45-8.

<sup>89</sup> My italics; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 536.

<sup>90</sup> A. K. S. Lambton, “The Administration of Sanjar's Empire as Illustrated in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*”, *BSOAS* xx (1957): 382.

countryside. The Seljūqs' policy of burning down settlements leaving a wake of destruction behind may have been barbarism, but it was not mindless barbarism. A passage in *Dede Korkut* relates such an event, telling of a peaceful hunting trip in Samc'xe during which the Turkish huntsmen were attacked by "sixteen thousand black-mailed infidels" from Axalc'ixe.<sup>91</sup> The details may be legendary, but it reflects the dangers of the Christian towns to the nomadic Turks.

As Ibrāhīm indicates, it was not enough for the tribal leader—in this case members of the Seljūq family—to give permission to their followers to seek new pastures, but rather he had to assist them actively. As Lindner describes, "[t]he tribe owed its success to the chief's talents for finding pasture or providing plunder".<sup>92</sup> Thus such senior members of the Seljūq family led these campaigns because to do so was necessary to secure their positions with their followers and to underline their credentials as leaders of the tribe, often against competition from rival Seljūqs. This suggests that the Seljūq dynasty maintained much closer links to its tribal roots than is often imagined, and that the campaigns in the crucial region of the Caucasus were dictated by the requirements of a nomadic, tribal society—the need for pastures and disputes over primacy within the leading family. Plunder, of course, also played a major role in these expeditions: Ibn al-Athīr tells us that Armenia was raided so frequently that the price of a beautiful slave-girl fell to the low price of five dīnārs.<sup>93</sup>

Nonetheless, the Seljūqs did from time to time conquer and keep towns in Caucasia, and required local rulers to pay tribute to them. Indeed, with the settlement of these large numbers of Turks in the region, Caucasia was a strategically vital area, although as indicated above the Seljūqs often maintained the established Muslim dynasties of the region as their vassals. Muḥammad Ṭapar, Seljūq sultan in the early twelfth century, had Ganja as his capital before he successfully established control over Iran and Iraq. Fortunately, we have a first hand view of what it was like to live in Seljūq Caucasia in the writings of one of the sultan's officials, Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār, who also served the local dynasty of the Sharwānshāhs. Mas'ūd was a *mustawfī* (revenue official) in Baylaqān, a town about a seventy miles south east of Ganja, Muḥammad's capital. He depicts the chaos of life in early twelfth century Caucasia, with two competing Turkish commanders trying to

<sup>91</sup> *Book of Dede Korkut*: 90.

<sup>92</sup> Lindner, "What was a Nomadic Tribe?": 700.

<sup>93</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 389.

take charge of the town, one with a document of investiture for it from the Sharwānshāh, the other presumably from the Seljūq sultan;<sup>94</sup> the constant rivalry between Christian and Jewish groups;<sup>95</sup> and the huge power of “the rabble” (*al-ghawghā*) as Mas‘ūd describes the masses and their leaders.<sup>96</sup> Nowhere is there any sign of the Seljūq authorities being remotely interested in intervening in the chaos, and much of Mas‘ūd’s writings are a lament at his helplessness in the face of the rabble. The fact that the Seljūqs were unable—or rather unconcerned—to establish order in a major city so close to the sultan’s capital is deeply revealing of their priorities, which remained more deeply rooted in Turkish tribal society for rather longer than is often assumed. Of course, I do not wish to suggest that tribal life and kinship disputes were the *sole* concern of Seljūq rulers by any means and explain everything about the Seljūq state and its formation. Numerous other factors played a part, such as war with the Fatimids and the need for the Seljūqs to legitimise themselves to the Persian and Arab populations over which they ruled. However, tribalism defined Seljūq society and often determined the policies of the sultans.

The Seljūqs’ policies towards Caucasia underline the deep suspicion with which we must treat the Persian and Arabic accounts that extol the Seljūq sultans as heroic fighters for Islam and monarchs in the Persian tradition. Rather, while they may have been happy to be portrayed as such to some audiences in order to legitimise themselves, much of their mindset remained that of the tribesman. After all, for all that writers sought to portray the sultan Ṭughril as an Islamic monarch who had saved the Islamic world from Shī‘ism, one must remember that the same Ṭughril was happy to offer to surrender his prize of Baghdad to his Shī‘ite rival al-Basāsīrī in exchange for the mention of his name in the *khutbah* at prayers.<sup>97</sup> The bombastic style that much of the historical writing of the Seljūq period employs seeks to disguise the unpleasant reality that the new masters of the eastern Islamic world were driven by very different preoccupations from the ideals of justice and Perso-Islamic rule that their servants extolled. Nor was their interest in areas such as Anatolia and Caucasia inspired simply by a desire to divert their less civilised followers away from the

<sup>94</sup> Mas‘ūd ibn Nāmdār, *Majmū‘at qīṣaṣ wa-rasā’il wa-ash‘ār/Shornik rasskazov, pisem i stixov*, ed. B. M. Beilis (Moscow, 1970), text: 111ff/f. 107bff.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, text: 112/f. 108b.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, text: 47ff/f. 232aff.

<sup>97</sup> M. Canard, “al-Basāsīrī” *EI2*, I: 1073-1075, esp. 1074.

central Islamic lands. Rather Caucasia was crucial to enabling the sultans to fulfil their traditional role as tribal chiefs by providing pasture and plunder for the Türkmen, who, in Nizām al-Mulk's words, had a claim on the Seljūq dynasty. The numerous interventions in Caucasia by sultans and leading members of the Seljūq dynasty illustrate clearly the way, in which nomadic priorities remained at the heart of the Seljūq state.

## APPENDIX

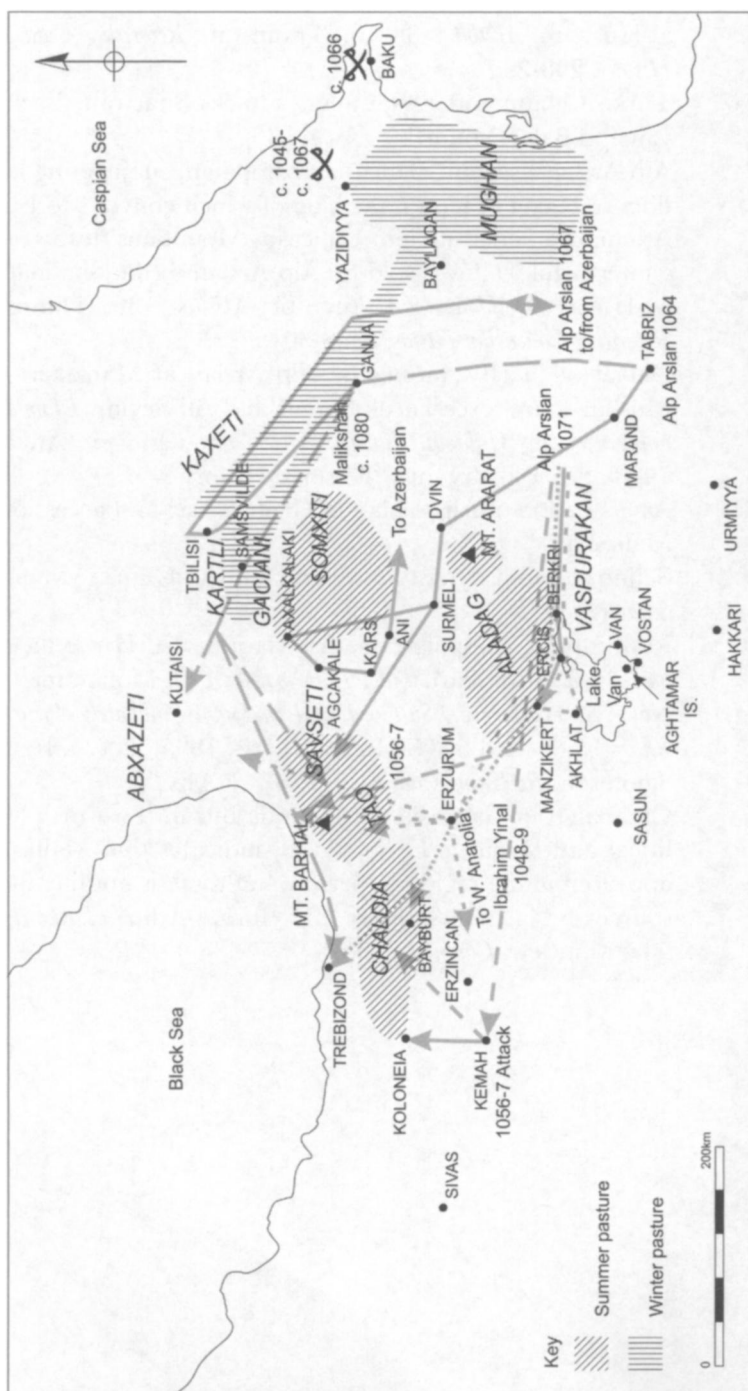
### *Chronology of major Seljūq attacks on Caucasia to the reign of Malikshāh*<sup>98</sup>

- 1029 'Irāqiyyah Türkmen penetrate Azerbaijan, using Urmiyyah as a base to attack Armenia (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 383).
- 1038 Tughril, who declares himself sultan in this year, sends Qutlumush to take charge of Armenia and Azerbaijan (al-Husaynī, *Akhbār...*: 17). Georgians forced to abandon siege of Tbilisi due to Türkmen advance (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 457).
- 1040 Massacre of 'Irāqiyyah Türkmen by Vahsūdān the Rawwadid, prompting further migrations (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 384-385).
- 1042-3 Turkish amirs attack Azerbaijan and Armenia; probably a reference to the events of c. 1045 (*Azimi Tarihi*, Arabic: 3).
- c. 1045 Turks (according to some sources, commanded by Qutlumush) capture the commander of Erciş and take him to Khoy where he dies (Matthew, *Chronicle*: 74; Artistakes, *Récit*: 63ff; Bryennius, *Historiarum*: 96-99; Scylitzes, *Empereurs*: 447/tr. 372; Zonaras, *Epitome*, III: 636-7). Sharwānshāh fortifies Yazīdiyyah against Turks (Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband*: 33).
- 1046-8 Two Byzantine attacks on the Shaddādid city of Dvin, apparently beaten off with Seljūq assistance after Tughril sent Ibrāhīm Yinal and Qutlumush to the rescue (*Azimi Tarihi*, s. a. 437/1045-6 and 438/1046-7, Arabic: 5-6).

<sup>98</sup> The references given below are not intended to be comprehensive, but rather are indicative of the main sources, concentrating on the Islamic sources.

- 1047 Qutlumush besieges the Shaddādīd capital, Ganja, for a year and a half (*Azimi Tarihi*, Arabic: 6).
- 1048 Campaign led by Ibrāhīm Yinal against Anatolia, reaching to within fifteen days' march of Constantinople. Attacks on Chaldia, Tao, Xordzean, Taron, Trebizond, Manzikert, Erzurum (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 546; Aristakes, *Récit*: 67ff). According to Matthew of Edessa (*Chronicle*: 76), this campaign took place in the following year and Ibrāhīm was accompanied by Qutlumush.
- c. 1049 War between Ṭughril and Ibrāhīm Yinal supported by Qutlumush leading to the defeat of Ibrāhīm. Byzantines, aided by Georgian marcher lord Liparit Orbeliani, advance eastwards recapturing Kaputru castle near Ararat. Liparit falls into the hands of the Turks. (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 557; Matthew, *Chronicle*: 89ff; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 294).
- 1053-4 Qutlumush attacks Kars, massacring its population (*Azimi Tarihi*, Arabic: 10; Aristakes, *Récit*: 83-4).
- 1054-5 Ṭughril's campaign against Anatolia and Caucasia, capturing Tabriz and gaining allegiance of Shaddādīds. Capture of Berkri and Erciş, while Manzikert and Erzurum attacked, and expeditions to Chaneti, Mt Barhal, and two unidentified places in Caucasia, "the Abkhaz fortress", the foot of the Caucasus, as well as an expedition southwards to the Anti-Taurus (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IX: 597; Matthew, *Chronicle*: 86-88; Aristakes, *Récit*: 84-88).
- 1056-7 Seljūq attacks on Kemah, Koloneia, Ispir, Khordzean, Chaldia and Chaneti (Aristakes, *Récit*: 107, 116-117).
- 1058-9 Attacks on Taron and Sasun (Matthew, *Chronicle*: 93).
- 1059-60 Attacks by Seljūq amirs on Armenia, reaching as far Sivas (Matthew, *Chronicle*: 94-97).
- 1063 Byzantines defeat a Seljūq army at Erzurum, killing its commander, Yūsuf (Matthew, *Chronicle*: 101).
- 1063 Death of Ṭughril, temporary accession of Sulaymān.
- 1064 Rebellion of Qutlumush and its suppression by Alp Arslan. Alp Arslan's campaign against Georgia, attacking Sürmeli, Sapidshahr (Ağçakale?), Marmashen, Axalk'alak'i, Ani and other unidentified locations (Matthew, *Chronicle*: 101-104; Aristakes, *Récit*: 134-136; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X: 37-41;

- al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*: 34-40; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 298-299).
- 1066-7 Turkish commander Qarategin attacks Sharwān, Yazidiyah and Baku (Minorsky, *History*: 36).
- 1067 Alp Arslan's second Caucasian campaign, subjugating kingdom of Kaxet'i-Heret'i, the king of which converts to Islam. Attempt to penetrate into Caucasus Mountains thwarted by winter, while Tiflis is sold by Alp Arslan to the Shaddādids (al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*...: 43-6; Sibṭ, *Mir'āt*: 136; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 300-301).
- 1071 Defeat of the Byzantines by Alp Arslan at Manzikert (for Muslim sources see Faruk Sümer and Ali Sevim, *İslam Kaynaklarına göre Malazgirt Savaşı (Metinler ve Çevirileri)* (Ankara, 1988). See also Vryonis, "Personal History").
- 1072 Assassination of Alp Arslan in Central Asia and accession of Malikshāh.
- 1075 Seljūqs abolish dynasty of Shaddādids of Ganja (Minorsky, *Studies*: 25.).
- 1080 Malikshāh's campaign against Georgia (Al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*...: 63; al-Bundārī, *Żubdat al-Nuṣrah*: 140; Mohammed en-Nesawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti, Prince du Kharezm*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas (Paris, 1895), I: 175, II: 291; Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*: 309ff).
- 1086 Campaign in Caucasasia led by amir Būzān. Bosworth ("Political and Dynastic History": 95) indicates that Malikshāh appeared in the region in person, but there is nothing in the sources he cites to support this. (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X: 287; Matthew, *Chronicle*: 155).



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# Georgia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th centuries

A.C.S. Peacock

*University of Cambridge*

## Abstract

This article presents a study of the political and military relations of the Kingdom of Georgia and the Muslims of Anatolia from the 12th century AD up to the Mongol conquest of the region in the mid 13th century. Georgia's expansion during the 12th century and the web of marriage alliance that the Muslim rulers of Anatolia wove to protect themselves drew her into conflict even with distant principalities with which she shared no border, such as the Artukids of Mardin. Meanwhile, Erzurum appears to have been obliged to acknowledge Georgian suzerainty for much of the 12th and early 13th centuries. In the 13th century, however, the Mongol threat forced the Seljuks of Rüm and Georgia to form an alliance, and Georgians came to form a significant part of the Seljuk army. This alliance was sealed with a marriage between the Seljuk sultan and a member of the Georgian ruling house, the Bagratids, and the Seljuks appear to have derived prestige from their association with the Bagratid dynasty.

## Özet

Bu makalede Gürcistan Krallığı ile Anadolu Müslümanlarının MS 12 yüzyıldan 13. yüzyıl ortalarındaki Moğol istilasına kadar olan dönemdeki siyasi ve askeri ilişkileri incelenmektedir. Gürcistan'ın 12. yüzyıl boyunca süregelen yayılımı ve Anadolu'nun Müslüman yöneticileri ile kendilerini koruma sözü karşılığı yapılan evlilik anlaşmaları Gürcistanı, Mardin'deki Artuklular gibi sınır paylaşımı dahi olmayan uzak yönetimlerle bile anlaşmazlığa sürüklemiştir. Bu arada 12. ve 13. yüzyılın büyük bir diliminde Erzurum Gürcistan'ın hükümdarlığını kabul etmiş gibi görünmektedir. 13. yüzyılda ortaya çıkan Moğol tehdidi Selçuklu – Gürcistan ittifakını zorunlu kılmış ve bu dönemde Selçuklu ordusunun önemli bir bölümünü Gürcü askerler oluşturmuştur. Bu ittifak Selçuklu sultanı ile Gürcistan hanedanı Bagratilerin bir üyesinin evlenmesi ile garanti altına alınmıştır. Bagrati hanedanı ile kurulan bu ilişkinin Selçuklulara itibar kazandırdığı anlaşılmaktadır.

While relations between the medieval Islamic and Christian worlds are popularly imagined to have been characterised by confrontation, research in many areas, and especially Anatolia, shows that the reality was much more complex (see, for example, Balivet 1994). Plenty of Turks could be found in the service of Byzantium, and Christians often held senior posts under the Seljuks of Rüm (Anatolia) (Witteck 1935; Bryer 1970; Brand 1989). Indeed, Christians made up a substantial part of the population of Seljuk Anatolia, and in places a majority (Vryonis 1971: 182–83). However, while some research has been devoted to the relationship between the Seljuks and their Greek neighbours in Byzantium, Nicaea and Trebizond (Vryonis 1971; Savvides 1981; Shukurov 2001), scholarship in Turkey and the west has almost

entirely ignored the significant role that Georgia and Georgians played in medieval Muslim Anatolia. Over the 11th and 12th centuries, successive Georgian rulers unified their country and overthrew Muslim domination, so that by the early 13th century, Georgia had become a major power in the Middle East, capable of attacking deep inside Iran and even causing alarm in Syria, as will be discussed below. This was also the zenith of her Turkish neighbours, the Sultanate of Rüm, which had finally managed to depose or reduce to vassal status most of the other Turkish rulers of Anatolia and unify much of that land under its rule. Despite some inevitable rivalry, the relationship between the two powers was not one of pure hostility. The Seljuks of Rüm and the Bagratid rulers of Georgia were linked by marriage, typically

Muslim institutions became widespread in Georgia and Georgians formed a significant part of the Seljuk army. It is characteristic of the ambiguous relationship between the two powers that at the battle of Köse Dağ in 1243, when the Seljuks of Rûm met a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Mongols, Georgian soldiers could be found fighting on both sides.

An understanding of Georgia's relationship with the Turks of Anatolia is also of great importance to comprehending the history of the Middle East on the eve of the Mongol invasions. In the late 12th and early 13th centuries, eastern Anatolia became a battleground fought over by every power in the region. Ahlat on Lake Van, the rich capital of Armenia, had maintained a precarious independence under the Turkish Shâh-i Arman dynasty, but was regarded by every neighbouring state as the key to establishing its regional supremacy. The Seljuks of Rûm, Georgia, the Ayyûbids of Syria, the Ildegüzids of Azerbaijan, the flimsy Khwârazmian empire based in the Caucasus, and ultimately the Mongols all competed for control of this vital city. So while this article will focus on relations between the Anatolian Turks and Georgia, it will also consider more generally the context of Georgia's relations with the Islamic world as it expanded at the Muslims' expense. The period studied concludes in the mid 13th century, when the Middle East was transformed by the Mongol invasions and Georgia and Anatolia were incorporated into the Mongol world empire.

This article concentrates almost exclusively on political relations between Anatolia and Georgia. This area is particularly obscure as the foreign relations of the Muslim principalities of Anatolia were not a subject of great interest to pre-modern historians. However, enough references survive to make an attempt possible. Georgia's relationship with the Seljuks of Rûm has been the subject of a study in Georgian (Shengelia 2003). Shengelia's work is not only inaccessible to most scholars for linguistic reasons, but is also based entirely on material available in Georgian, Persian or Turkish. However, much important information on Georgia is preserved in Arabic chronicles compiled under the Ayyûbid and Mamlûk rulers of Syria and Egypt, and this is exploited in the present article. Although this study is mainly restricted to those works that have been published, it is possible that more such information exists in the numerous Arabic histories extant only in manuscript form. Both Georgian and Islamic sources are somewhat problematic, consisting largely of chronicles composed for political ends. Though the rhetoric of both medieval Christian and Muslim historians – and sometimes the rulers' own propaganda – focused on the rivalry between the

Seljuks and the Georgians, some evidence suggests in fact both sides derived prestige from their close connections with one another, and the Muslims of Georgia were in reality a privileged community favoured by the Bagratid kings (Minorsky 1949).

### **Georgia and the Anatolian Turks during the 12th century**

The Georgians first encountered the Islamic world in the seventh century with the Arab conquests. Tbilisi was occupied and became a Muslim city for 400 years. Nonetheless, much of Georgia remained under its own princes, and was finally unified by the Bagratid dynasty in the 11th century (Allen 1932: 79–84; Lordkipanidze 1987). However, it was another century before the Bagratids could reclaim Tbilisi, for throughout the 11th century Georgia was subjected to the constant depredations of the Seljuk Turks who were particularly attracted to the south Caucasus by its ample summer and winter pastures, ideal for their nomadic lifestyle (Peacock 2005). Yet, partly basing his power on the non-Muslim Kıpçak Turks he encouraged to settle in Georgia, the Bagratid king David II Aghmashenebeli (r. 1089–1125) was able to seize control of most of Caucasia by the end of his reign, subjugating the local Muslim dynasties of the region (Golden 1984). A lull in fighting ensued until the middle of the 12th century when the Georgian monarchs started the offensive again. Georgia's conquests in the east remained reasonably secure, but her territories to the south and west were fiercely disputed with her Muslim neighbours. The Ildegüzid *atabeg* dynasty of Azerbaijan, who originated from Nakhichevan, battled Georgia during the 12th and early 13th centuries (Bunyadov 1984: 51–59, 95–96, 102–11), while Ani, the capital of the Muslim Shaddâdid dynasty which fell to the Georgians in 1124 and again in 1161, was constantly threatened by the Turks (Minorsky 1953: 90–103).

There is little evidence for any contacts between the Seljuks of Rûm and Georgia during the 12th century. For much of this period the Anatolian Seljuks were just one of many Turkish dynasties in Anatolia, and their borders were far away from Caucasian frontier towns such as Ani. Although the Great Seljuks, rulers of Iran and Iraq, were often drawn into fighting with the Georgians – Ganja, one of the principal appanages of senior members of the family, was exposed to Georgian attacks – they received no assistance from their relatives who ruled Anatolia. Quite apart from the physical distance of the Rûm Sultanate from the Georgian border, relations between the two Seljuk dynasties were often poor, and the Anatolian Seljuks were descended from Kutlumuş, a cousin of the Great Seljuks who was killed

in rebellion against his relatives (Peacock 2005: 217–20).<sup>1</sup> Byzantium, the Crusaders and their Turkish rivals in Anatolia such as the Danişmendids were a much greater concern to the Seljuks of Rûm than Georgia.<sup>2</sup> The early Seljuk sultans of Rûm did launch campaigns to the east, but these tended to be aimed at the Danişmendid centre of Malatya in the southeast or territories in the northern Jazīrah, and none of them brought lasting gains in these areas until the end of the 12th century, when the Danişmendid dynasty collapsed (Cahen 1968: 82, 96–106; Üremiş 2005: 59–138). Northeastern Anatolia was the territory of the other Turkish dynasties that had established themselves there in the wake of the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert in 1071 – the Shāh-i Arman dynasty in Ahlat, the Mengücekids in Erzincan and Divriği and the Saltukids in Erzurum. Thus Georgia's early dealings with the Turks of Anatolia focused on these dynasties, although she also had an impact much further south. At Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan), for instance, the army of the 11th century Marwānid rulers contained a substantial Georgian component, and in the 12th century one local found employment as an Arabic secretary to the Georgian king (al-Fāriqī, *Ta'rikh*: 97–98; Minorsky 1949).

These eastern Anatolian dynasties often had closer links with the Great Seljuks in Iran and their vassals than with the Seljuks of Rûm. The Saltukid Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (1168–1191?) struck a coin in 1189 in the names of his Great Seljuk overlord, Sultan Ṭughril b. Arslān, and Ṭughril's *atabeg* Kızıl Arslan the Ildegüzid (Sümer 1990: 33). Likewise, when the Georgians attacked the Ildegüzid city of Ganja, Ildegüz was able to count on the support of the Shāh-i Arman of Ahlat in the counter-attack (al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhhār*: 156–62). Indeed, most eastern Anatolian dynasties, even those as distant as the Artukids of Diyār Bakr, participated at one point or another in campaigns against Georgia. Even remote, minor rulers, presumably not directly affected by Georgian aggression, were caught up in Caucasian affairs. One such was the Dilmaçid lord of Bitlis, a vassal of the Shāh-i Arman, who accompanied Ilghāzī, the Artukid who had been entrusted with the task of

stopping Georgian expansion in the Caucasus by the Great Seljuk Sultan Maḥmūd (r. 1118–1131) (Turan 1993: 91, 94, 161). Although based in the mountains to the west of Lake Van, the Dilmaçids also seem to have secured a foothold in Dvin, far away in the shadow of Mount Ararat, which was meant as a base from which to attack Tbilisi (Minorsky 1953: 83, 85).

The participation of so many different dynasties in these Georgian campaigns may be partly explained as a result of the marriage alliances that bound many of them together, as well as the desire for plunder. Marriage was as vital an element in diplomacy in the medieval Middle East as in Europe, and despite the differences of religion, the Georgians too were drawn into contracting such alliances with their Muslim neighbours. Such marriages played a large part in determining the structure of international relations in Anatolia. The Saltukids, for instance, were related by marriage to the Shāh-i Arman dynasty, who in turn had intermarried with the Artukids (Turan 1993: 92). The Saltukids had also formed marriage alliances with the Artukids of Mardin and the Dilmaçids (Sümer 1990: 26, 45), while a daughter of Sökmen II of the Shāh-i Arman dynasty had married Zangī, ruler of much of Syria (Hitti 1929: 118–19; Sümer 1990: 72). The political importance of such marriages is underlined by an account of a dispute between Kılıç Arslan II the Rûm Seljuk and Yağı Basan the Danişmendid over a Saltukid princess (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 11: 317).

In this year [560/1164] was the discord between Kılıç Arslan b. Mas'ūd b. Kılıç Arslan, ruler of Konya and its surroundings, and Yağı Arslan b. Danişmend (i.e. Yağı Basan), ruler of Malatya and its surroundings, and there was a fierce war between them. Its cause was that Kılıç Arslan had married the daughter of king Saltuk b. 'Alī 'l-Qāsim, who was sent to him with a trousseau of inestimable value. Yağı Arslan the ruler of Malatya raided it and seized the bride and her possessions, wanting to marry her to his nephew Dhū 'l-Nūn b. Muḥammad b. Danişmend. He ordered her to repudiate Islam – which she did – in order to invalidate her marriage to Kılıç Arslan. Then she converted back to Islam and he married her to his nephew, so Kılıç Arslan gathered an army and marched against the Danişmendid.

The forced apostasy of the Saltukid princess to invalidate her earlier marriage seems to be an extreme case, but a casual if not cavalier attitude to religion in the interests of political expediency was not unusual, as several marriages with the Georgian Bagratids indicate, as will be discussed below. Kılıç Arslan lost this

<sup>1</sup> I distinguish between the Great Seljuks and the Seljuks of Rûm or Anatolia up until the end of the 12th century, when the former collapse. Thereafter, Seljuk refers to the Seljuks of Rûm; however, among these two separate branches existed, in Erzurum (1201–1230) and Konya.

<sup>2</sup> As argued by Sakaoğlu (2005: 57, 131), the reference to the conquest of 'Tiflīs' by Kılıç Arslan I around 1122 in one medieval Persian source must be erroneous (*Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq*: 80), and while his assertion that the word must be a mangled form of Divriği is more likely, it cannot be proven.

particular war, and there appear to have been few other attempts by the Rûm Seljuks to form alliances with the eastern Anatolian Turkish dynasties which probably explains their absence from warfare with Georgia during most of the 12th century. A daughter of the same Kılıç Arslan II was married briefly to an Artukid (Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlah*: 185–86; Broadhurst 2001: 190; Turan 2002: 193, n. 108; Üremiş 2005: 130–33), and there were links with the Zangids too, but most of the 12th century Rûm Seljuk marriage alliances seem to have been with Byzantium or the Danişmendids, too distant from Caucasia to affect operations there.

The principal Turkish states in Anatolia bordering Georgia directly were thus the Saltukids of Erzurum and the Shāh-i Arman of Ahlat. Although the Saltukids were (at least at one point) vassals of the Georgians' great rivals in Caucasia, the Ildegüzids, they do not themselves seem to have formed a particularly formidable threat to Georgia, whose suzerainty they more usually recognised. In the early 12th century Saltukid influence may have stretched as far as Dvin, and the earliest member of the dynasty about whom we have any evidence adopted the title *ghāzī* ('holy warrior') (Sümer 1990: 23–29), although this may well be nothing more than a convention. Neither the Georgian nor the Islamic sources include the Saltukids among the participants in the Great Seljuk coalition of amirs led by Ilghāzī of Mardin that attempted to crush David Aghmashenebeli and met with a decisive defeat at the Battle of Didgori in 1121 (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 10: 567; Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*: 168–70; KC 1: 340–42; Minorsky 1949: 32; Thomson 1996: 332–34). This is surprising given the Saltukids' proximity to the frontier, and is possibly indicative of their obscurity even from the point of view of the early 12th century. In the middle of the 12th century, the Shaddādids asked the Saltukid 'Izz al-Dīn to buy Ani off them as it was impossible to defend it from the Georgians. However, the Shaddādids betrayed 'Izz al-Dīn to the Georgians, and he was taken captive along with a vast number of Muslim prisoners. Nonetheless, by now the Saltukids had some international influence through their own marriage connections. 'Izz al-Dīn's daughter or sister, Shāh-Bānū, was married to the Shāh-i Arman, Sökmen II, who seems to have paid his ransom (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 11: 190, 280; the chronology and details are somewhat confusing, see also Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*: 277–78; Minorsky 1953: 87; Turan 1993: 9–10; the Artukids too may have helped pay the ransom. It may be, as indicated by Münecimbaşı, that 'Izz al-Dīn was actually captured and ransomed twice: *Jāmi' al-Duwal* 2: 180 [Arabic]). The Georgian king took advantage of the opportunity to assure himself of the Saltukids' future quiescence, as is

clear from the events of 1161 when the Anatolian Muslims gathered an army to avenge the fall of Ani to the Georgians. 'Izz al-Dīn, along with the Shāh-i Arman and the Dilmaçids, participated, but 'when the [Georgian] king [Giorgi] and his army arrived, the amir Saltuq fled and parted with the Muslims, because when king Dimitri had captured him and let him go, he made him swear that, as long as he was alive, he would not unsheath his sword against him or his children, and would not send troops against him or his children' (al-Fāriqī in Minorsky 1953: 90).<sup>3</sup> In future, 'Izz al-Dīn appears to have kept his word, for when in 1163 Ildegüz, the Shāh-i Arman and the Dilmaçids launched a successful campaign against Georgia in revenge for the sack of Dvin and Ganja the previous year, the Saltukid is conspicuously absent from the list of participants (al-Husaynī, *Akhbār*: 158–59; Minorsky 1953: 93; I can find no basis for the assertion in Turan 1993: 14 that 'Izz al-Dīn did take part in this expedition).

The Saltukids managed to maintain a precarious autonomy until the beginning of the 13th century when they were overthrown and replaced by a Seljuk prince. Interestingly, it appears from Georgian sources that the Georgian queen Tamar had seriously considered marrying the Saltukid Muẓaffar al-Dīn, 'Izz al-Dīn's grandson, who was brought to the court at Tbilisi. According to the Georgian Chronicle,<sup>4</sup> he converted to Christianity, which would have been in accordance with the practice in other instances, as we shall see. The date of this is not specified, but must have occurred between the banishment of Tamar's first husband, George Bogolyubskoi, in 1188, and her marriage to David Soslan in 1189, while Erzurum was still nominally independent, although probably within the Georgian sphere of influence. According to the Chronicle, after some time, Tamar, 'finding such an alliance unsuitable, gave wing to higher aspirations' (KC 2: 43–44; Vivian 1991: 115–17). The Saltukid principality was already sufficiently weak for such a marriage to offer little political advantage to the Georgians, at least when a better offer could be found. Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil* 12: 451) makes it clear that the Saltukids were very much the Georgians' vassals.

<sup>3</sup> Pace Minorsky 1953: 136, it does not seem at all that 'Izz al-Dīn's actions were inspired by 'chivalry' or a sense of loyalty to the Georgian king, as he had, after all, joined the Muslim campaign; his flight was probably induced by terror at his possible fate at Giorgi's hands.

<sup>4</sup> I refer to the collection of histories known in Georgian as the *K'art'lis C'khovreba* ('Life of Georgia') as the Georgian Chronicle for the sake of convenience; however it should always be borne in mind this is not a single work by a single author.

No one could resist [the Georgians]; this was the case with Erzurum, to the extent that its lord wore the Georgian monarch's *khil'ā*<sup>5</sup> and raised a standard with a cross at the top. His son converted to Christianity desiring to marry the queen of Georgia, and out of fear of them, in order to ward off the evil [they threatened to him].

Muẓaffar al-Dīn was consoled with marriage to 'a concubine's daughter, reputedly of [Georgian] royal blood' with whom he returned to Erzurum (KC 2: 44; Vivian 1991: 117). After this relations between the Saltukids and Georgians deteriorated rapidly, for in 1193 Erzurum was attacked by a substantial Georgian army led by Tamar's husband David Soslan and her son Giorgi Lasha (KC 2: 58–59; Vivian 1991: 123–25). The reason for this expedition was in all likelihood to punish the Saltukids for supporting George Bogolyubskoi who invaded Georgia in 1190 attempting to seize the throne for himself. He appears to have invaded by way of Erzincan and Erzurum, and so must have had at very least the acquiescence, if not active help, of the local Muslim dynasties, and subsequently he allied himself to the Ildegüzids (KC 2: 49–55; Allen 1932: 103–05; Vivian 1991: 117–23). The Saltukids remained in control of Erzurum for a few more years, although with how much independence is unclear. The 14th century author Aḥmad of Niğde states (*al-Walad al-Shafīq*: f. 147b) that when the Seljuks conquered the city, they seized it from the Georgians, making no reference to the Saltukids (*Arz al-Rūm az Kurj sitadah*). Aḥmad is not the most reliable source (on him see Peacock 2004), but it is likely that the Georgians kept a close eye on their Saltukid vassals in Erzurum.

A greater menace to Georgia was presented by the dynasty known after its ruler's title, *Shāh-i Arman*, meaning 'King of Armenia'. This had been founded by a Türkmen soldier, Sökmen al-Qutbī, and controlled the surroundings of Lake Van, with the prosperous commercial centre of Ahlat as capital. In the early 12th century relations with the Artukids were poor, and the Shāh-i Arman did not join in Ilghāzī's Georgian expedition of 1121 that ended in the defeat at Didgori at the hands of David Aghmashenebeli. Two Christian sources report that the Georgians defeated the army of one member of the dynasty, possibly in alliance with an Artukid, but the date and details vary (1125 under Ibrāhīm b. Sökmen or 1130 under Sökmen II; KC 1: 365–66; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*: 236; Vivian 1991: 49–50; the sole Muslim source to mention it dates

it to 1137–1138, the ruler then being Sökmen II: Aḥmad of Niğde, *al-Walad al-Shafīq*: f. 155b). The Shāh-i Arman dynasty reached its zenith under Sökmen II (r. 1128–1185). Relations with some of the Artukids improved, as the marriage of Najm al-Dīn Alpı of Mardin to Sökmen's sister in 1146 bore witness. However, the Artukid family was made up of two hostile branches, and Sökmen was obliged to assist his brother-in-law against the rival Artukids of Hasankeyf (Turan 1993: 92–93). In turn, the Artukids of Mardin were drawn into Caucasian affairs. Apart from the clash of 1125/1130/1137–1138, the Shāh-i Arman's earliest involvement with Georgia came when Sökmen paid off 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuk's ransom. After this, the rulers of Ahlat become much more prominent in fighting with Georgia. In 1161, the Shāh-i Arman and his allies were grievously defeated by the Georgians at Ani – the occasion when, it will be remembered, 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuk fled at the approach of King Giorgi. Alpı had been due to join this campaign too, but had made it no closer than Malazgirt when the Muslim armies were defeated (Minorsky 1953: 90–91). More successful was the campaign of Sökmen, Fakhr al-Dīn the Dılmaçid, İldegüz and the Great Seljuk sultan Arslān Shāh in 1163 which defeated Giorgi and allowed the Shāh-i Arman to get away with an enormous booty (Minorsky 1953: 93–94). The Shāh-i Arman joined the İldegüzid-Great Seljuk forces campaigning in Georgia in 1174 and again in 1175 (Nīshāpūri, *Saljūqnāmah*: 117–18; Minorsky 1953: 97–98; Luther 2001: 149–50).

It is not clear exactly how or why the Shāh-i Armans initially became involved in the campaigns with Georgia. The dynasty's relationship with both the Great Seljuks and the İldegüzids was extremely bad. A Great Seljuk claimant had attempted to seize Ahlat for himself, and the year before the campaign of 1163, Sökmen had sent troops to support the ruler of Marāgha who had opposed the accession of Arslān Shāh that İldegüz had orchestrated (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 11: 268–69). It is not immediately obvious why Sökmen would have wanted to support his former enemies. At this point Georgia did not present a direct threat to Ahlat, and it seems likely that the Sökmen's marriage alliance with the Saltukids was at least partly responsible for entangling him with Georgia. However, strategic considerations probably would have played an important part too. Firstly, there was the risk that if the Georgians captured Erzurum, the north-south trade from which Ahlat had grown rich might be disrupted. Secondly, the Shāh-i Armans' territories were by this point expanding far beyond the Lake Van area. At one point they may even have held Tabrīz, and Sürmeli, an important post on the Georgian frontier was subject to Ahlat in the 13th century, so may have been in the 12th too when the

<sup>5</sup> A robe of honour granted by a lord to a vassal.

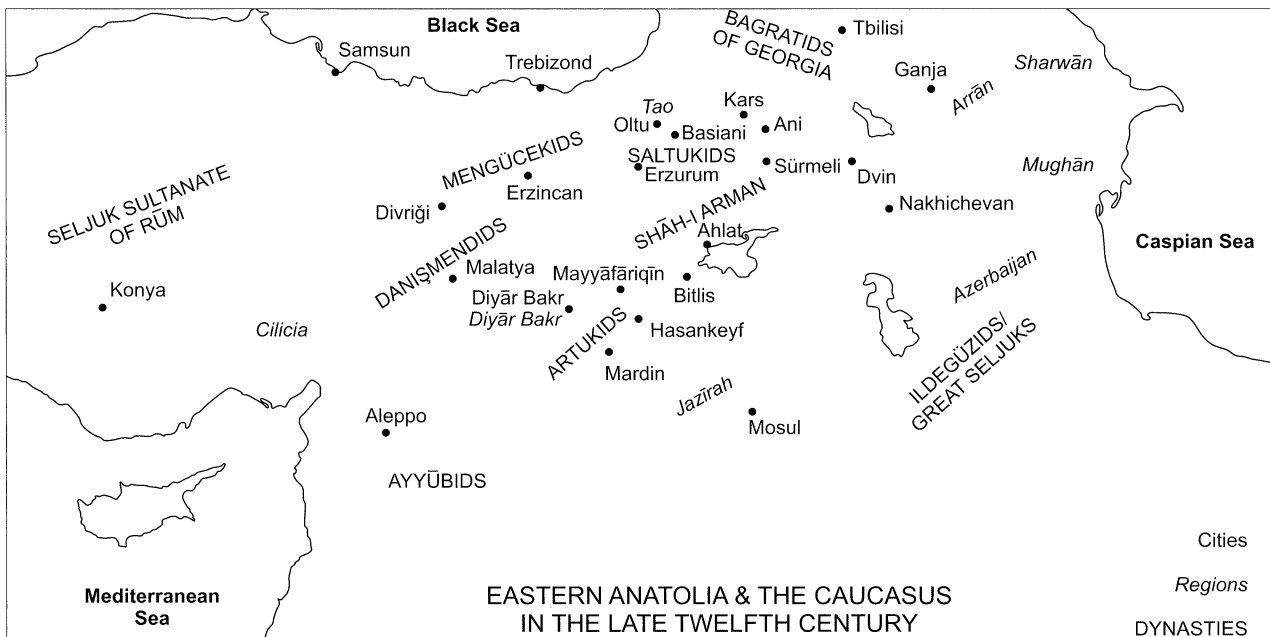


Fig. 1. Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus in the late 12th century

Shāh-i Armans were much stronger (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 414; Turan 1993: 90). Furthermore, the Dīlmaçids of Bitlis, nominally the vassals of the rulers of Ahlat, but in fact virtually independent, seem to have had territories in the Caucasus. It was doubtless in Sökmen's interests to keep tabs on their activities on this sensitive frontier.

However, perhaps the most important motive for the Shāh-i Armans' involvement in the Caucasus was plunder. This, at any rate, is the point that the medieval sources stress, not any strategic considerations (although the latter is not the sort of matter to which they would generally give any attention). Warfare could be a very lucrative business, and it seems that Ahlat did extremely well out of it. Al-Ḥusaynī (*Akhbār*: 158–59, 161) describes the horror of the soldiers and the Shāh-i Arman when Ildegüz considered cancelling one campaign having received a conciliatory embassy from the Georgian king. The rich plunder they could hope to gain was much more enticing than peace. Al-Fāriqī recounts how after the Georgian defeat of 1163 (Minorsky 1953: 93–94),

The Shāh-Arman seized three separate loads, one of which contained gold and silver vessels, in the second of which there was the king's chapel with gold and silver crosses set with gems, gospels illuminated with gold and set with jewels of inestimable price the like of which could not be found; the third contained the king's treasure of gold, silver and jewels, the price of some of which could not be estimated in view of the numbers.

The prospect of such rewards was probably enough on its own to induce Sökmen to put aside former enmities, and relations with the Ildegüzids improved to the extent that Sökmen married the daughter of Ildegüz's son Jahān Pahlawān (Lyons, Jackson 1982: 230). The constant hostilities between Georgia and its Muslim neighbours did not affect the lives of the Christian inhabitants of Muslim states. Saltuk, Ildegüz and Sökmen are explicitly praised by Armenian historian Vardan: 'God made the three of them friendly to Christians and solicitous for the country' (Thomson 1989: 204). However, it is also clear that some local Christians did convert to Islam and actively assisted the campaigns against their former compatriots. Matthew of Edessa (*Chronicle*: 278) recounts the role played by Georgian renegades in one of Sökmen II's campaigns against Georgia, capturing a Christian Georgian commander.

Now, at the rear of the Turkish army were Muslims who were Georgian by nation; these had joined the Turks, following the renegade Georgian Vasak, and had served them as guides. These [Muslim Georgians] came and surprised the dismounted [Georgian] cavalry commander, taking him prisoner and bringing him to the emir called the Shāh-i-Armin. They did nothing more to this Georgian officer, who was called Kayi, than to take him prisoner.

After the expedition of 1175, relations between Georgia and the Anatolian Muslims appear to have been generally calm, and the Georgian Chronicle records that Ildegüz 'sued for peace', although the date is not

specified, and a subsequent Georgian plundering expedition on Ganja and territories northeast of Erzurum is mentioned (KC 2: 15–16; Vivian 1991: 109). The destruction of the powerful Orbeliani family was to occupy the last years of Giorgi's reign (Stephanos Orbelian, *Histoire*: 222). Sökmen and the Ildegüzids had to divert their attention to the south, for the rise of Saladin fundamentally altered the geopolitics of the region. Saladin aimed to unite all Syria and the Jazīrah under his rule, and Sökmen and the Ildegüzids were drawn into intervening on behalf of their allies and relatives he threatened as far away as Mosul (Lyons, Jackson 1982: 173–85, 188–89). On Sökmen's death in 1185, both Saladin and Ildegüz's son Jahān Pahlawān attempted to gain control of Ahlat, but were thwarted by the cunning diplomacy of one of Sökmen's mamlūks, Bektimur, who managed to seize power for himself (Lyons, Jackson 1982: 229–33). However, Sökmen's successors lacked his ability, and Saladin's intervention in 1185 marks the start of the long struggle of the other powers in the region over Ahlat and the remnants of the Shāh-i Armans' state, once the most powerful in the region. Even after the Ayyūbids annexed the city in 1207, Ahlat remained a bone of contention.

The 12th century, then, was marked by hostilities between Georgia and its Muslim neighbours in Azerbaijan and Anatolia. Although a very late source asserts that Mengücek, founder of the eponymous principality around Erzincan, had started his career in Anatolia by raiding the Georgians, as it does of Saltuk, there is little other evidence for any relations between the Mengücekids and Georgia until the 13th century (Müneccimbaşı, *Jāmi' al-Duwal* 2: 179, 181 [Arabic]). Thus the Shāh-i Armans and the Saltukids were Georgia's major rivals in the region, although the Mengücekids must have collaborated with George Bogolyubskoi's invasion as it is specifically mentioned in the Georgian Chronicle that he went by way of Erzincan.<sup>6</sup> Georgia's policy towards Anatolia was generally cautious; it had enough difficulties keeping hold of Ani without penetrating further into the region, and was also preoccupied by the threat of the Ildegüzids in the south. For the initial stages of the reign of Giorgi's daughter, Tamar (1185–1212), Georgian policy remained conservative and orientated towards the south

and east (Limper 1980: 44–46). The main threat from Anatolia came less from the Muslim states than from the Türkmen nomads who raided everywhere between Georgia and the Diyār Bakr at the beginning of Tamar's reign, and were as destabilising to the Turkish Muslim states of Anatolia as to Georgia (Cahen 1960: 22–24). Cultural contacts between Georgia and the Anatolian Muslims were extremely limited and not of particular importance to either side. There are clear Caucasian influences on the Saltukid tomb towers of Erzurum and other monuments there (Rogers 1976: 316), but this may be the work of local Armenian or Georgian craftsmen, given Erzurum's proximity to Tao, rather than illustrative of the links with the Kingdom of Georgia. Georgian culture was profoundly influenced by Islamic civilisation, but it does not seem that Muslim Anatolia played a significant part in this. Rather, such influences came from the Georgians' own Muslim subjects as well as Azerbaijan and Iran, for Iranian culture was traditionally very prestigious in the Caucasus (on Muslim and Iranian influence in Georgia see Eastmond 1998: 71–72, 90–92; Hitchens 2001).

#### **Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh and the Battle of Basiani**

At the end of the 12th century, the Sultanate of Rūm descended into chaos, beset by the depredations of the Türkmen, Crusaders, and a vicious power struggle between members of the Seljuk family to inherit the throne of Kılıç Arslan II (1156–1192), who in 1185 had divided his lands among his numerous sons. Eventually, in 1197, the fifth-born of these sons, Rukn al-Dīn Süleymānshāh, managed to seize Konya and forced his brother, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I (1192–1197, 1205–1211) into exile in Byzantium. Rukn al-Dīn then embarked on a policy of expansion, challenging Byzantium, Cilician Armenia and Georgia and uniting much of Anatolia under his rule (Savvides 2003). Byzantium and Cilicia were neighbours of the Sultanate of Rūm, and their provocative actions rendered a Seljuk response inevitable (Savvides 1981: 117–19; 2003: 101, 106–09). Georgia, however, was a distant land with which the Seljuks of Rūm had hitherto had no dealings, and thus was not an obvious target for Rukn al-Dīn's aggression in the way that Byzantium and Cilicia were.

Exactly how and why hostilities between the Seljuks of Rūm and Tamar started is unclear. As is often the case, the Islamic and Georgian sources give wildly divergent accounts of events; in both cases historiography aimed to promote the legitimacy and political agendas of the historian's patron, in Georgia always the ruler, in the Islamic world often either the ruler or his deputies, such as viziers. Nonetheless, it is clear that by the beginning of the 13th century, Tamar had adopted a

<sup>6</sup> According to the Georgian Chronicle, when Tamar captured the Mengücekid ruler Bahrāmshāh in 1202, she imprisoned him 'in contrast to her former esteem and friendship for him' (KC 2: 140; Vivian 1991: 84). However, this is probably just a rhetorical conceit to highlight the Mengücekid's humiliation; at any rate it does not give sufficient grounds for thinking relations between the Erzincan principality and Georgia were friendly.

much bolder and more aggressive policy towards her country's Muslim neighbours. Initially this largely concentrated on the Ildegüzids in Arrān, although Shirak, the province around Ani, was also occupied, and Ani itself fell in 1199 (Limper 1980: 47–49). Two years later, Rukn al-Dīn was drawn into the region, occupying Erzurum and deposing the last Saltukid and replacing him with his own brother, Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭuġhrīlshāh (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 169). This was a more surprising move than is often given credit. Rūm Seljuk interest in the east had previously been restricted to Malatya and the northern Jazīrah. With the exception of Kılıç Arslan II's abortive marriage to the Saltukid princess and a marriage with the Mengücekids, the rulers of Konya had hitherto had no involvement in the northeast at all, and there is no evidence that they had commercial interests in the region that needed to be protected. It is not even clear whether Rukn al-Dīn occupied Erzurum as a necessary preliminary to going to war with Georgia, or whether he was drawn into fighting Georgia as a result of its proximity to Erzurum. Ibn Bībī (*al-Awāmir*: 73; Duda 1959: 35)<sup>7</sup> seems to imply the former, stating that the Saltukid 'Alā' al-Dīn was deposed for his failure to muster troops for the Georgian campaign, presumably fearful of the consequences of breaking his allegiance to the Georgian crown. However, as is so often the case, Ibn Bībī's account is dominated by rhetoric. As was conventional among Muslim authors, Tamar is depicted as inflamed by lust, which drives her to beg the hand of Rukn al-Dīn (Canard 1969). Incensed at this presumption on her part, Rukn al-Dīn prepared an army to march on Georgia with the intention of claiming the country and converting it to Islam (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 65–70; Duda 1959: 33–34). The Georgian Chronicle, on the other hand, claims that Rukn al-Dīn was infuriated by the acquiescence of Georgia's Muslim neighbours in paying her tribute. At any rate, both the Chronicle and Ibn Bībī record embassies between Rūm and Georgia before the war. Ibn Bībī (*al-Awāmir*: 69; Duda 1959: 33–34 n/a) mentions a Georgian embassy as presenting Tamar's marriage request, while according to the Chronicle,

With a deceptive pretence at friendship, [Rukn al-Dīn] repeatedly sent embassies to sue for peace, with many handsome presents in return. Tamar repaid him in kind by sending her own embassies with presents in return. He, however, still concealing his perfidy with vows of loyalty, wanted only to reconnoitre the kingdom (KC 2: 132; Vivian 1991: 76).

Meanwhile Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil* 12: 452) claims that Georgian attacks (he gives no details of where) provoked Rukn al-Dīn to respond with force. Details of the ensuing hostilities are equally contradictory in the extant sources. All that can be said with certainty is that, supported by his son-in-law Bahrāmshāh, the Mengücekid ruler of Erzincan, Rukn al-Dīn advanced east of Erzurum and encountered a Georgian army at Basiani, near Sarıkamış, where he met with a crushing defeat. Bahrāmshāh fell prisoner to the Georgians and was taken to captivity in Tbilisi, while Rukn al-Dīn was forced to retreat back to Erzurum. The causes of the defeat are given variously in the sources. According to Ibn Bībī, the Seljuk army was on the point of victory when the royal standard bearer's horse slipped and fell; the soldiers thought the battle was lost and fled (*al-Awāmir*: 73–74; Duda 1959: 35). Aqsarā'ī attributes it to the Seljuks' having fallen victim to an ambush (*Musāmarat al-Akḥbār*: 31–32; Işiltan 1943: 41), and predictably the Georgian Chronicle emphasises the bravery of the Georgian soldiers and God's aid, although it does admit that the Georgians almost lost at one point (KC 2: 137–39; Vivian 1991: 81–83).

Thus the rhetoric of the sources, as so often, does not allow us to analyse why the events they record occurred, although modern scholarship has nonetheless generally taken them at face value (Turan 2002: 251–60; Shengelia 2003: 164–68). Rukn al-Dīn's *casus belli* is something of a mystery; his campaigns against other foreign rulers were undertaken because they directly threatened his interests, with a Byzantine attempt to expand at the expense of the Seljuk-occupied parts of the Black Sea coast, and the Cilician attacks on Seljuk fortresses in the Taurus (Savvides 1981: 117–19; 2003: 105–08). *Pace* Lordkipanidze (1987: 151), it cannot at all have been the case that Seljuk and Georgian interests collided on the southern Black Sea coast, for Georgia only started to exert her influence in this direction subsequently, assisting in the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond in 1204. Moreover, Rukn al-Dīn had yet to achieve mastery over all of Kılıç Arslan II's lands. For instance, it was not until shortly before his death in 1204 that he finally defeated his brother Muḥyi al-Dīn, ruler of Ankara. Attacking Georgia does not seem to make strategic sense when Rukn al-Dīn had quite enough other external and internal

<sup>7</sup> For the benefit of readers without Persian, references to Duda's German translation of Ibn Bībī are given; however, Duda based his translation not on the complete text given in Erzi's facsimile edition which is used here, but on a later abridgement of the Persian, supplemented with some material taken from the facsimile. Information given here is therefore not always available in Duda's translation. I have not noted minor differences of detail, but when a passage is entirely absent in Duda 1959, I refer the reader to the section in Duda where it should come, marking its absence with n/a.

enemies with whom to contend. Of course, men do not always act rationally, and this may be one of the points that Ibn Bībī is trying to make in his rather strange account of events. It is not my intention to attempt to offer a definitive answer to the question of Rukn al-Dīn's intentions in the short space of a more general article, but rather to point out, in contrast to previous scholars, that it is a problem. According to one Christian source, he loathed his half-brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn for his Christian ancestry, and such prejudice may have encouraged his Georgian campaign, although his orthodoxy as a Muslim does seem to have been suspect (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 196; Savvides 1981: 82). Another possible explanation for the campaign may lie in the Türkmén who had ravaged the region a few years previously; such unruly Türkmén certainly formed a part of Rukn al-Dīn's forces, and had been used in operations against Byzantium (Savvides 2003: 100–01). The region around Kars and Ani was particularly attractive to Türkmén, with the possibilities of plunder from the great cities there and the *yaylas* (summer pastures) required by their nomadic lifestyle. Earlier Seljuk sultans had appeased the Türkmén by diverting them to the Caucasus, and it is possible that Rukn al-Dīn was hoping to do the same on this occasion – with good reason as they were causing chaos throughout his own territories and complicating his relations with Byzantium (see Peacock 2005 for a discussion of this phenomenon with reference to the 11th century).

Scholarly opinions on the significance of the Battle of Basiani have generally divided along nationalistic lines too. According to Lordkipanidze (1987: 152), it was a battle that had repercussions throughout the entire Middle East, an opinion echoed by Shengelia (2003: 168). Turan (2002: 260) and Sümer (1990: 39) emphasise how little importance it had for the Seljuks of Rūm. Limper (1980: 48–49) is probably correct in surmising that it was of much greater importance to Georgia than it was to the Rūm Sultanate. However, that the battle is not mentioned at all by Ibn al-Athīr, who would have been alive at the time and who is usually well informed about Anatolian and Caucasian affairs, strongly suggests it did not have a great international resonance. Indeed, few Islamic sources mention it, other than Ibn Bībī and a brief notice in Aqsarā'i (see Turan 2002: 259, n. 49). At any rate, Rukn al-Dīn was apparently able to plan a second 'revenge' expedition two years later which was prevented by his death (Aqsarā'i, *Musāmarat al-Akhhār*: 32; Işılta 1943: 41). Nor does the defeat at Basiani appear to have affected the internal politics of the Seljuk Sultanate, and Rukn al-Dīn's brother, Mughīth al-Dīn, remained in control of Erzurum, effectively as an independent ruler, despite its proximity to the Georgian frontier and his own participation in the ill-fated expedition (Turan 1993: 21–22).

However, Basiani may have left a deeper impression on the Seljuks of Rūm than the scanty references to it in the Islamic sources indicate. Shortly after the defeat, references to Anatolian Muslim rulers as being 'conquerors of Georgia' appear regularly in literature. Often they are employed in contexts that seem inappropriate, even ironic. Rāwandī refers to Rukn al-Dīn's successor, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I, to whom he dedicated the *Rāhat al-Şudūr* around 1205, as a 'conqueror of Georgia', despite the fact that Ghiyāth al-Dīn is nowhere recorded to have engaged in any campaigns against Georgia (*Rāhat al-Şudūr*: 221). Bahrāmshāh the Mengücekid, captured by the Georgians at Basiani, is given the title of *ghāzī* by Rāwandī, who says that he sacrificed himself by falling captive to the Georgians in order to save his companions (*Rāhat al-Şudūr*: 217). Bahrāmshāh even struck coins describing himself as a *ghāzī*, although the dating of these is not secure (Sakaoğlu 2005: 84–85). Indeed, Bahrāmshāh probably adopted such titles even before engaging on any campaigns against Georgia, for the Persian poet Nizāmī addresses him as 'conqueror of Georgians' (*Abkhāz-gīr*) in a poem dedicated to him around 1185 or possibly even earlier, long before there is any evidence of Mengücekid participation in attacks on Georgia (Nizāmī, *Makhzan al-Asrār*: 33). A reputation for fighting the Georgians was thus clearly something that added to Muslim rulers' prestige, even if it was more imaginary than real.

### Georgia and eastern Anatolia 1204–1220

While the Seljuks of Rūm may have escaped any political consequences of Basiani, in the wake of their victory the Georgians launched a series of bold campaigns against neighbouring Muslim states. In 1204–1205 they struck first at Azerbaijan, and then turned their attention to Anatolia, targetting the northern shores of Lake Van with raids around Ahlat, on Erciş and as far as Malazgirt. Since the death of Sökmen II, Ahlat had been ruled by a series of short-lived mamlūks, and its power rapidly declined with the constant internal power-struggles and external pressures. It was unable to offer any resistance to the Georgian raids: 'Not a single Muslim went out to stop [the Georgians], and they went through the country plundering, taking captives and prisoners' (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 204). However, after attacking a castle belonging to Ahlat near Erzurum, the Georgians were defeated by forces from Ahlat and Erzurum (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 204–05).<sup>8</sup> Undeterred, the Georgians

<sup>8</sup> Turan (2002: 253) argues that Rukn al-Dīn was impelled to attack Georgia because of their constant attacks, but in fact this campaign in the year after that sultan's death is the first major Georgian expedition west of Ani.

returned to plunder around Ahlat the following year, and were again defeated, allegedly by divine intervention (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 240–41).

Such campaigns seem to have aimed purely at plunder. The following year, however, the Georgians were able to take advantage of the worsening political situation in Ahlat. A revolution had made the mamlūk Balabān ruler, but the people of the town had offered it to an Artukid, while Najm al-Dīn, the Ayyūbid ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn, attempted to revive his family's claim to Ahlat and besieged it unsuccessfully. It was an ideal opportunity for Georgia to annex Kars, a dependency of Ahlat, thus completing her conquests in Shirak (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 253–56). However, Georgia continued to be drawn into Ahlati affairs, which became the key to the regional balance of power. In 1207–1208, Najm al-Dīn (also known as al-Malik al-Awḥad) renewed his attempts to capture Ahlat, eventually succeeding. 'The neighbouring rulers hated his possession of the city, fearing his father [al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, the Ayyūbid ruler of Syria and Egypt]. Likewise the Georgians feared him and attacked the region of Ahlat constantly' (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 272–73). The Georgian attacks trapped Najm al-Dīn inside the city, leaving him unable to suppress revolts elsewhere in his territories. According to one contemporary source, the Georgians were acting in concert with their erstwhile enemy, Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭuḡhrīlshāh of Erzurum, whom Balabān had asked for help against the Artukid but who betrayed and killed him (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 272; *Anonymous Chronicle*: 163). Given that Mughīth al-Dīn had apparently been imprisoned by the Georgians after Basiani, and only a couple of years before had been assisting the Shāh-i Arman to fight off their attacks, this is a somewhat surprising statement (*Anonymous Chronicle*: 159). It may indicate the fear with which all rulers in the region regarded the Ayyūbids, who had been planning to expand to the north since Saladin's time, but had hitherto been prevented from realising their ambitions by warfare with the Crusaders, which was a less prominent aspect of al-ʿĀdil's rule than that of other Ayyūbids (Humphreys 1977: 125–37). More likely, it indicates that like his Saltukid predecessors, Mughīth al-Dīn had been forced to become a Georgian vassal, as is later confirmed by other sources. In any event, Najm al-Dīn's position was so weak that the Georgians could raid nearby towns like Erciş with impunity as he did not dare leave Ahlat for fear of rebellion (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 279).

Georgian raids in fact served to broaden the conflict, for Najm al-Dīn was obliged to write to his father for help against them. In 1208–1209, al-ʿĀdil set forth from Damascus, and mustered an army 'giving the impression that he was making for Georgia' (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij* 3:

190; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫ* 5/i: 86). A large army led by various Ayyūbid princes gathered at Ḥarrān, but the Georgians fled when they heard of al-ʿĀdil's advance. In reality, the Ayyūbid was probably much more interested in ensuring the submission of other Muslim rulers in the region than in invading Georgia, and he took the opportunity to threaten the Zangid stronghold of Sinjār near Mosul, and to occupy Nişibīn, much to Najm al-Dīn's disgust (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij* 3: 190–92; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫ* 5/i: 87–89). For Ahlat was by no means safe from Georgian attacks, and in 1210–1211 the Georgians organised another major campaign, this time seemingly with the aim of capturing the city. The forces were led by Ivane Mkhargrdzeli, one of a powerful family who had been granted rule over Ani by Tamar shortly after the city's reconquest in 1199. The Mkhargrdzelis' position on the western frontiers of Georgia meant that they seem to have led many of the Anatolian campaigns of the period (on them see Rogers 1976). According to the Syriac *Anonymous Chronicle*, the Georgians had hatched a plot with the inhabitants of Ahlat – whose loyalties to any ruler appear to have been fairly fickle – that the city would be handed over to them (*Anonymous Chronicle*: 164, wrongly dating events to 1208). However, in an incident that seems to have delighted Muslim historians, as it is reported in sources that do not usually touch on Caucasian affairs, Ivane drunkenly rode around Ahlat one day, and, as a result of his horse falling, became a prisoner of Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij* 3: 201; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫ* 5/i: 104–05; Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād* 524; Minorsky 1953: 149–50). Najm al-Dīn naturally seized his opportunity to end the Georgian menace in the popular manner of the times, and demanded the hand of Ivane's daughter and a 30-year peace, in addition to a ransom of 100,000 dinars and the release of 5,000 Muslim prisoners. A number of castles the Georgians had occupied were also returned to the Muslims; these are most likely to have been in the vicinity of Kars which had belonged to Ahlat until recently. Although Najm al-Dīn died the same year, T'amt'a, the Mkhargrdzeli princess, remained in Ahlat and married his brother and successor as ruler of Ahlat, al-Ashraf, instead.

The peace treaty between the Ayyūbids and Georgia appears to have been a success, for while Georgian attacks on Arrān continued during the reign of Giorgi Lasha (1212–1223), there are no further raids into Anatolia recorded. According to the Georgian Chronicle, Erzurum and Ahlat were both tributary to Georgia (KC 2: 151; Vivian 1991: 97, 102), but in the latter case this is likely to be a literary conceit. However, given Erzurum's alliance with Georgia over Ahlat in 1207–1208, the close relations with Georgia that are attested by the marriage of

Mughīth al-Dīn's son to Queen Rusudan, and the distance and isolation of Erzurum from other Seljuk centres, it is likely that that Mughīth al-Dīn was indeed tributary to Georgia for at least parts of his long reign (1202–1225), despite hostilities at other points. This is confirmed by the Armenian historian Kirakos, who did not have a vested interest in exaggerating Georgian power, unlike the Georgian Chronicle (Kirakos, *Istoriya*: 118).

There is no direct evidence for relations between the main branch of the Seljuks of Rūm at Konya and the Georgians during this period, although their interests must have clashed on the Black Sea coast around 1204 when the trading city of Samsun, captured by the Seljuks a decade earlier, fell to the Georgian-backed Comneni who were founding a new Pontic state based in Trebizond (KC 2: 142; Bryer, Winfield 1985 1: 93; Vivian 1991: 87). The loss of Samsun and the Comneni's decision to close the Black Sea to Muslim shipping caused a commercial crisis in the emporium of Sivas, which led to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I's fruitless siege of Trebizond in 1205–1206 (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 242; Shukurov 2001: 89–90). A more successful attack on Sinop in 1214 resulted in the capture of the Trapezuntine emperor and the imposition of a peace treaty, which did not, however, prove to be durable (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 146–54; Duda 1959: 64–68; Shukurov 2001: 92–102). The economic damage the Comneni threatened doubtless helps explain the Seljuk policy of expansion during the early 13th century to gain footholds on both the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts (see Peacock 2006). Thus Georgia and the Seljuks of Rūm did not come into conflict directly, but only through Trebizond whose rulers were linked by blood to the Georgian Bagratids who had helped establish their state (see Vasiliev 1936; Toumanoff 1940). However, there is no evidence that Trapezuntine policy was at all dependent on Georgia after the state's foundation (Vasiliev 1936: 29–30). As the Georgian kingdom does not seem to have played a significant role in Black Sea trade in this period, it is more likely that Trebizond's anti-Muslim policy was of her own, rather than Georgian, devising, and Trebizond cannot be regarded as a Georgian proxy in the struggle with the Seljuks.

### **Georgia and Anatolia in the period of the Khwārazmian and Mongol invasions**

The reign of the Rūm Seljuk 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs (1210–1219) continued the expansionist policies of his predecessors, even to the extent of threatening the Ayyūbids in northern Syria (Humphreys 1977: 159–60). Ayyūbid and Seljuk interests had long clashed, but 'Izz al-Dīn was probably particularly annoyed by the actions of Mughīth al-Dīn of Erzurum. Mughīth al-Dīn, it

seems, had at some point become a vassal of the Ayyūbids rather than his relatives in Konya, presumably in addition to accepting Georgian suzerainty (al-Ḥamawī, *al-Ta'rikh al-Manṣūrī*: 112). This shows a certain continuity with Saltukid practice, as the Saltukids had likewise tried to ally themselves with the Ayyūbids around 1190, presumably in the wake of the Georgian campaigns under David Soslan (Ibn Shaddād, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*: 234; Richards 2001: 230). However, the Fifth Crusade, which reached the Levant in 1217, concentrated Ayyūbid attention firmly on Egypt and Syria. These circumstances meant that the Ayyūbids had little interest in attacking Georgia as long as it remained quiescent, while rich possibilities for plunder were open to the Georgians in Arrān and Azerbaijan, now under the incompetent rule of the Ildegüzid Özbek (KC 2: 152–54; Minorsky 1932; Thomson 1989: 212; Vivian 1991: 97–100).

In the third decade of the 13th century, the political situation in the Middle East was altered permanently by two sets of Central Asia invaders, the Khwārazmians and the Mongols. The Muslim Khwārazmians had occupied much of Iran since the collapse of the Great Seljuk Sultanate in the late 12th century, and they were responsible for the Mongols' arrival in the Middle East. The Khwārazmshāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad had provoked the Mongols' wrath by massacring a Mongol embassy, and was now pursued by them from Central Asia to Iran, dying in flight on a remote island in the Caspian Sea (Boyle 1968: 303–10). However, it seems the Khwārazmshāh was not Genghis Khan's sole target, for the Mongol troops used the Mughān steppe in Azerbaijan as a base from which to attack Georgia, defeating a substantial army mustered by Giorgi Lasha in 1221. They came back with impunity the following year, no Georgian daring to stand against them, on their way to attack southern Russia and ultimately return to Mongolia (Limper 1980: 80–89).

This first Mongol invasion of the Middle East forced a diplomatic realignment in the region. In the wake of her defeat, Georgia sent embassies to both the Ayyūbids and her old enemies the Ildegüzids asking for an alliance against the Mongols. Al-Ashraf, the Ayyūbid lord of Ahlat, had been summoned by his brothers to Egypt to fight the Fifth Crusade, and was preparing to depart when the Georgian embassy arrived, but promised them the assistance of his brother Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī, to whom he had assigned the eastern Ayyūbid territories (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 398–99). However, the Ayyūbid-Georgian alliance was disrupted by the actions of the lord of Sürmeli, a dependency of Ahlat on the Georgian frontier, who fought against the Georgians, capturing Shalva, the Mkhargrdzeli lord of Dvin. It is a

testimony to both the importance of the Ayyūbids' Anatolian possessions and of their alliance with Georgia that al-Ashraf intervened in person to restore the peace (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 414–15). Indeed, it is possible that Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī sought the hand of Giorgi Lasha's sister, Rusudan, although unsuccessfully (Brosset 1849: 495, n. 1).

However, the shock of the Mongol invasions seems to have encouraged Georgia to search for allies through marriage alliances. At the beginning of her reign, Rusudan, who had succeeded Giorgi Lasha in 1223, married the son of Mughīth al-Dīn Tughrīlshāh of Erzurum. According to Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil* 12: 416–17), who was clearly horrified, the proposal came from Mughīth al-Dīn, but was rejected by the Georgians on the grounds they could not have a Muslim king. Mughīth al-Dīn's son therefore converted to Christianity and the marriage went ahead. The story is confirmed by the Georgian Chronicle (KC 2: 172; Brosset 1849: 501), which records that Rusudan married the Seljuk 'to assure herself of his loyalty'. From this marriage were born David Narin, the future king of Georgia, and a daughter, Tamar, who would marry a Konya Seljuk. Why Rusudan chose to marry an Erzurum Seljuk is unclear. Although Queen Tamar had dallied with the idea of marrying the Saltukid prince, and the marriage of more junior members of the Bagratid family to Muslims was by no means unknown, this was the first occasion that a reigning Georgian monarch had married a Turkish Muslim, albeit a convert to Christianity. Rusudan could not have hoped that this would improve relations with the Konya Seljuks, who were expanding under 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (1219–1237), for, as noted above, Mughīth al-Dīn's allegiance appears to have been to the Ayyūbids not to his Seljuk relatives, even after the accession of 'Alā' al-Dīn whom he had helped in an earlier civil war. At least between 'Alā' al-Dīn and Mughīth al-Dīn's son and successor, Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh (1225–1230), there was 'deep-rooted enmity' (*adāwah mustahkamah*, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 489). Nor was Erzurum a particularly powerful principality, and despite the replacement of the Saltukids with a Seljuk, Erzurum remained tributary to Georgia in the early 13th century. Mughīth al-Dīn probably tried to maintain good relations with both the Ayyūbids and the Georgians, his main neighbours. Perhaps, if anything, the marriage aimed to ensure Mughīth al-Dīn's adhesion to the Ayyūbid-Georgian alliance at a point when his nephew, 'Alā' al-Dīn, was threatening the region, culminating in a siege of Trebizond in 1223 (Peacock 2006: 145–48). Mughīth al-Dīn was probably as worried as anyone else at Konya's expansion, which could only limit his autonomy, already circumscribed by his powerful Ayyūbid and Georgian neighbours.

Rusudan cannot, at any rate, have expected very substantial military aid from the traditionally rather feeble principality of Erzurum. Even if she had, there was probably little that could be done to resist the next wave of invaders. These were the Khwārazmians. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad's son, Jalāl al-Dīn Mengubirni, had initially sought refuge from the Mongols in India, but with their return to Mongolia, he felt safe to return to the Middle East. After initially occupying Azerbaijan, he went on to conquer much of Georgia, Tiflis falling to him in 1226 after a century of Christian rule. He even captured Rusudan's husband, but the latter did not revert to Islam, instead escaping to help the Georgian cause (Nasawī, *Histoire* 1: 125). Jalāl al-Dīn's short-lived empire stretched across much of Azerbaijan, eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus, although he only managed to dislodge the Ayyūbids from Ahlat in 1230.<sup>9</sup> This victory drew 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād further into eastern affairs, and a joint Seljuk-Ayyūbid force defeated Jalāl al-Dīn at Yassı Çimen near Erzincan in 1230 (Boyle 1968: 322–35; Humphreys 1977: 214–20). The complexity of eastern Anatolian politics is illustrated by the fact that Mughīth al-Dīn's successor in Erzurum, Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh, helped Jalāl al-Dīn against an army that was sent by 'Alā' al-Dīn, his cousin, and al-Ashraf, at least until recently his nominal overlord. Doubtless Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh saw in Jalāl al-Dīn's constant wars and in his defeat of the Georgians and Ayyūbids the best opportunity to preserve what independence he had in Erzurum. After the victory at Yassı Çimen, 'Alā' al-Dīn deposed Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh and Erzurum was finally incorporated into the territories of the Konya Sultanate (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12: 489–91; Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmīr*: 406–16; Duda 1959: 164–74). With the fall of Erzurum, eastern Anatolia was divided between the Ayyūbids and the Seljuks, and finally the Sultanate of Rūm had a frontier with what remained of Georgia after five years of Khwārazmian occupation.

The annexation of Erzurum may have been provoked by Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh's alliance with the Khwārazmshāh, but it occurred in the context of Konya's longstanding interest in its northern and eastern frontiers, in contrast to the circumstances of Rukn al-Dīn's expedition of 1201. Although there seem to have been no previous attempts to subject Mughīth al-Dīn to Konya's sovereignty, the challenge to Muslim trade presented by the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond in 1204 had encouraged every Seljuk sultan after this date to undertake expeditions against Trebizond or its depend-

<sup>9</sup> The question of Jalāl al-Dīn's rule in Caucasia is too complicated to be discussed here; I hope to deal with it on a future occasion.

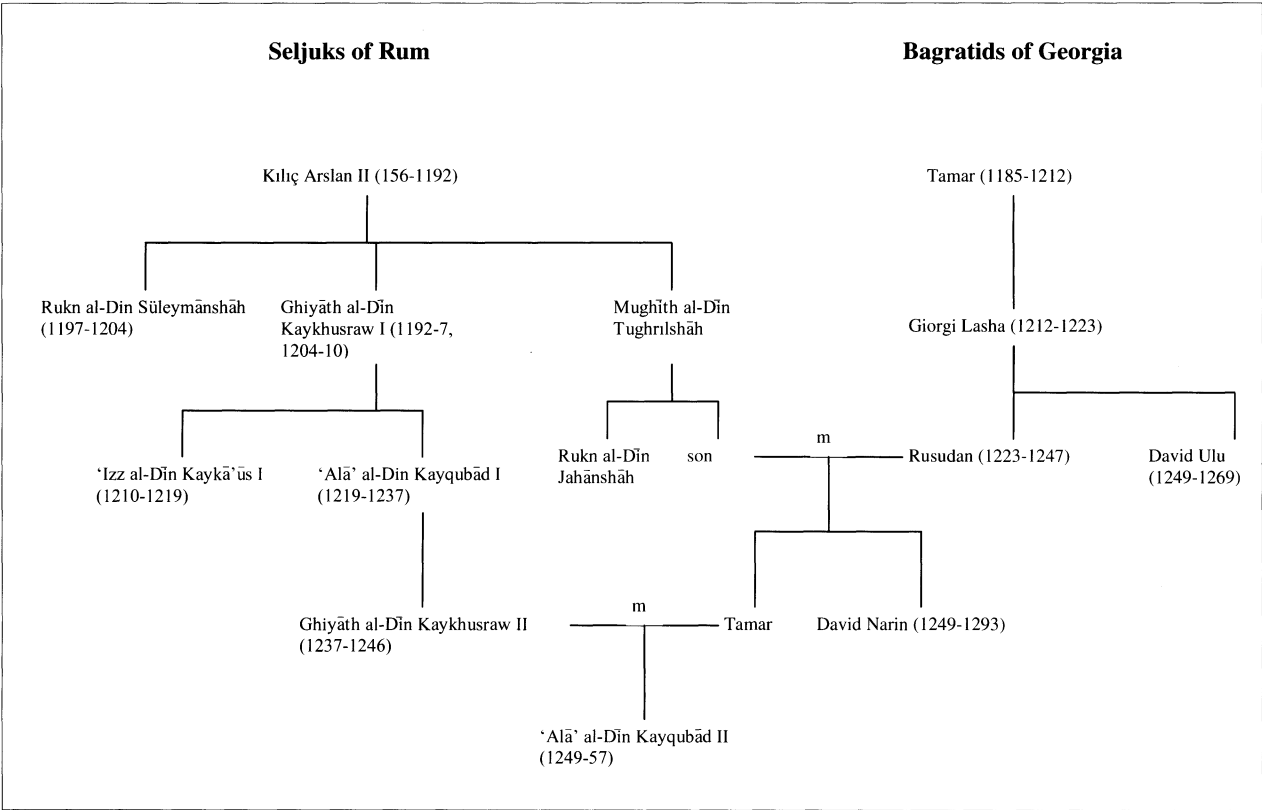


Fig. 2. The relationship between the Georgian Bagratids and the Seljuks of Rūm

encies. However, it does not seem that the Seljuks' eastward expansion was responsible for the ensuing clash with Georgia. In 1231–1232, the Mongols made their first appearance in Anatolia. Returning to the west under the general Chormaghun, they were based in the Mughān steppe again, from which a detachment raided into Anatolia as far as Sivas (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmīr*: 418–20; Duda 1959: 175–76). Rusudan is blamed by Ibn Bībī for having encouraged the Mongols to attack Rūm, and 'Alā' al-Dīn authorised a campaign against Georgia in revenge which allegedly captured 30 or 40 castles (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmīr*: 420–22; Duda 1959: 176–77).

There is no mention of such an expedition in the Georgian Chronicle, and a degree of scepticism is required as to how major an undertaking it actually was. Ibn Bībī has a tendency to exaggerate 'Alā' al-Dīn's military achievements, as I have argued elsewhere (Peacock 2006: 148–49). However, another Muslim source does confirm that Seljuk campaigns against the Georgians took place (*Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq*: 89–90). Ibn Bībī states that the fortresses at Khākh and Nākhākh were captured, and the *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq* also mentions the conquest of a place named 'Khākhū'. Most probably, this is a reference to southern Tao. An important Georgian church and monastery existed at Khakhuli (Haho), although it is difficult to reconcile this with the strongly-fortified castle Ibn Bībī describes. However, there are

many fortresses in the region (see Edwards 1985), and the proximity of Tao to Erzurum would make it an obvious target for a Seljuk attack. On the other hand, it is not likely that Tao was directly under Bagratid control at this point (Edwards 1988: 139–40). Indeed, according to Ibn Bībī, at least some of the region – Oltu in southern Tao, along with a few other castles – had been granted to the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf as a reward for his help in defeating Jalāl al-Dīn in 1230; he was to hold them as 'Alā' al-Dīn's vassal (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmīr*: 411; Duda 1959: 174).<sup>10</sup> However, much of the population of Tao was ethnically Georgian, and it is likely that, while originally nominally part of the Saltukid and Seljuk principalities of Erzurum, the Georgian lords of Tao declared their allegiance to the Bagratids who, as we have seen, generally seem to have held sway in the region. Ibn Bībī's assertion that the Mongol expedition to Anatolia was at Rusudan's instigation cannot be taken at face value either.

<sup>10</sup> The term *Gurjistān*, 'Georgia', is clearly used by Ibn Bībī to mean Tao only in this instance, so it is reasonable to assume that it is also used in this restricted sense when he discusses the 1231–1232 campaign. Further, the *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq* (90) mentions an *Arghū*, *malik-i Gurjistān* ('Arghū, king/prince of Georgia') whom Seljuk forces defeated. *Arghū* cannot be a copyist's error for *Rusūdān* by any stretch of the imagination, but it may have been the name of a Georgian lord in Tao.

With her country recently devastated by Khwārazmian troops and the Mongols occupying the Mughān, the last thing the Georgian queen needed was another hostile neighbour, although she doubtless sought to divert Mongol troops as far away from her territories as possible. In fact, the Mongols may have entered Anatolia in pursuit of the Khwārazmshāh, as the Georgian Chronicle indicates (KC 2: 185; Brosset 1849: 511). Indeed, in an earlier letter to Jalāl al-Dīn, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn had stressed the necessity of making peace with the Mongols, doubtless aware of the risk that Jalāl al-Dīn’s presence in Anatolia might attract his enemies to the region (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 377–78; Duda 1959: 160).

According to Ibn Bībī, the result of the campaign was that Rusudan sued for peace, offering the hand of her daughter who was ‘descended from Seljuk and David [the Bagratid]’ to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s son Ghiyāth al-Dīn (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 421; Duda 1959: 177). The Georgian Chronicle, as one might expect, instead has Ghiyāth al-Dīn supplicating Rusudan to be allowed to marry her daughter, and sending rich gifts to persuade her (KC 2: 172; Brosset 1849: 501–02). Although the Chronicle claims that it was a condition of the marriage that Tamar did not have to convert to Islam, Ibn Bībī refers to her as *malikah-i Islām* ‘Queen of Islam’ even before the marriage had taken place (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 484; Duda 1959: 210 n/a). In all probability, the proximity of the Mongols made an alliance between the Bagratids and Seljuks inviting to both parties. Although Rūm was much stronger than Georgia at this point, having not suffered from the Khwārazmian invasions, any kind of barrier between Anatolia and the Mongol base in the Mughān would doubtless have been welcome. Furthermore, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s policy of expansion meant the annexation of the Anatolian territories of the only other significant regional power, the Ayyūbids, making any kind of alliance with them impossible – indeed, in 1234 the Ayyūbids attempted to annex the Seljuk state itself (Humphreys 1977: 224–27). Meanwhile, Georgia was completely exposed to the Mongols, and had no other available ally, the Ildegüzids having collapsed a few years earlier.

### The Georgian-Seljuk alliance

Although we may surmise that the threat presented by the return of the Mongols to the Caucasus was the catalyst for the marriage of Tamar and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, links between the Seljuks and Georgia must have predated this. There are, however, few references in the sources to these, as it hardly suited the purposes of Muslim and Christian court historians to emphasise such contacts which ran rather contrary to the idealised picture of the Seljuk and Georgian rulers as

defenders respectively of Islam and Christianity they sought to present. Ibn Bībī mentions the presence of Georgians amongst the various nationalities that gathered to watch the investiture of Dā’ūdshāh, the Mengücekid ruler of Erzincan, with a *khil’a* (robe of honour) by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn in 1225, when the Mengücekid principality was annexed by the Seljuks (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 351; Duda 1959: 145 n/a). Otherwise, however, literary evidence for links between the Seljuks and Georgia before 1231–1232 is virtually non-existent. However, numismatic evidence indicates clearly that ties were much closer than the sources suggest. Seljuk silver coinage already circulated widely in Caucasia, including Georgia, while Georgian copper seems to have been used in Seljuk coins. As one scholar has put it, ‘the two coinages seem to be complimentary in terms of both metal and circulation areas, and were probably part of the same monetary system’ (Kolbas 2006: 81).<sup>11</sup> Some architectural evidence also illustrates the ties between Anatolia and Georgia in this period: a Muslim master from Tbilisi was employed to build the monuments of the Mengücekid town of Divriği in the 1220s (Sakaoğlu 2005: 159, 248–49).

Despite these common economic interests, officially the Seljuks felt obliged to declare their hostility to Georgia. Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh had justified his conquests in Caucasia and Anatolia as being part of a war against the unbelievers, clearly meaning the Georgians (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 369; Duda 1959: 155), and despite his hostility towards the Khwārazmians, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn praised him for attacking Georgia (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 377–78; Duda 1959: 160). Even Jalāl al-Dīn’s enmity to Georgia may have originally been purely for propaganda purposes, for according to the Georgian Chronicle, he sought an alliance with Rusudan against the Mongols (KC 2: 172–73; Brosset 1849: 502–03). However, the marriage of Tamar and Ghiyāth al-Dīn II appears to have resulted in a change of attitude. Ibn Bībī records in detail the lavish arrangements made for the marriage, which he indicates did not in fact take place until after ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s death in 1237. If so, it must have been celebrated just after the main Mongol invasion of Georgia had started. As Tamar progressed through Anatolia to Kayseri, where the wedding was to be held, provincial officials vied with one another for the honour of kissing her hand. As part of the celebrations, Georgian nobles (Ibn Bībī uses the term *aznūr*, from the Georgian *aznaur*) were granted great

<sup>11</sup> However, Kolbas’ argument that this ‘monetary consortium’ resulted from the marriage of Rusudan to Mughīth al-Dīn’s son must be rejected, for as we have seen, relations between the Seljuks of Rūm and Erzurum were hostile.

estates (*iqṭā'āt-i buzurḡ*) by Ghiyāth al-Dīn (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 483–85; Duda 1959: 210–11 n/a). Tamar was accompanied to Rūm by a Georgian Catholicos and by her cousin David (wrongly called her brother in several sources; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*: 403).

It is difficult to assess what effects this new Seljuk-Georgian alliance had. According to an Arabic manuscript of Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography* used by Pococke in his 17th century edition, the most visible consequence was to be seen on Seljuk coinage (Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'rikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*: 487).

Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn was devoted to buffoonery and wine drinking; he had an improper way of life and was immersed in sinful pleasures. He married the daughter of the Georgian monarch (*malik*, sic), with whom he was infatuated. He was so enamoured of her that he wanted to depict her on *dirhams*, but he was advised to have [instead] the image of a lion against a sun to refer to his good fortune and achieve his aim.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn II did indeed introduce the image of a sun and lion (known as the *shūr u khwushīd* motif) onto silver dirhams in 1240 (Erketlioğlu, Güler 1996: 131–40; see also Leiser 1998). However, one must be cautious before giving undue credence to the passage cited above. Firstly, it does not occur in the Syriac version of Bar Hebraeus (compare *Chronography*: 403, 410), giving rise to suspicion that it may be a later interpolation. Secondly, such coinage is rather more likely to have been part of the Seljuks' ongoing propaganda war with the Mongols. The latter had just started to mint coins in silver, traditionally a Seljuk prerogative in the region, and further appropriated Seljuk symbols on their coins (Kolbas 2006: 103–08). According to Kolbas, in fact, 'the sun represented heavenly power and blessing, which supported the Saljuq ruler, represented by the lion, who in turn could control the world' (Kolbas 2006: 107). Furthermore, in considering the passage above, one must bear in mind that Islamic historiography generally portrayed Ghiyāth al-Dīn II in the worst possible light, distracted by pleasure while the Mongol threat loomed over Rūm, in order to explain how a pagan army could conquer one of the most important Muslim states of the day. A parallel to this is the blackening of the reputation of Sultan Bayezid by later Ottoman historians who needed to explain why the early Ottoman state suffered its tremendous defeat by Tīmūr at Ankara in 1402 (Lowry 2003: 22–31).

It does not seem that the Georgian-Seljuk alliance had any concrete benefits for Georgia in protecting her from the Mongols, if that was the intention, for Chormaghun succeeded in reducing the Caucasus by 1240. However, the alliance may have had greater conse-

quences in Rūm. With the allotment of *iqṭā's* to the Georgian nobles came their participation in the Seljuk military. Most prominent of these was a certain *pisar-i Gurjī* ('Georgian boy' or 'the Georgian's son') who had the title *Ẓahīr al-Dawlah* (also sometimes, probably wrongly, given as *Ẓahīr al-Dīn*). Around 1240, he commanded a detachment of the Seljuk army sent to suppress the revolt of Bābā Rasūl against the sultan (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 502, 510; Duda 1959: 219, 222 n/a). He was also one of the Seljuk generals at the Battle of Köse Dağ in 1243, when the Seljuks were finally defeated by the Mongols (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 522; Duda 1959: 226–27; *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq*: 92). Another Georgian commander on the Seljuk side at the battle was the son of Shalva, lord of Akhaltsikhe, who fled the field in disgrace (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 525; Duda 1959: 228; KC 2: 192; Brosset 1849: 518). Of course, Georgians were by no means the sole foreign element in the Seljuk army; the *Gurjī* (Georgians) are mentioned alongside a variety of other races who fought with the Seljuks at Köse Dağ – *Shāmī* (Syrians), *Rūmī* (Greeks), *Firang* (Franks) and *Ūjī* (probably Türkmen nomads) (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 525; Duda 1959: 228 n/a). Even before this, Franks had played a crucial role in the defeat of Bābā Rasūl (Simon de Saint Quentin, *Histoire*: 64), so there was nothing particularly exceptional about the use of such a variety of nationalities – and these were probably mercenaries, in addition to the slave troops (*ghulām*), often of Kıpçak origin.

The presence of Georgian troops on the Seljuk side does not itself indicate a special relationship between Georgia and the Seljuks, for it is clear that plenty of Georgians also fought for the Mongols (Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire*: 78–79). Probably the mercenaries kept their religion, but Tamar – or Gurjī Khātūn ('Georgian lady') as she became known to the Muslims – eventually converted to Islam. Nor does this seem to have been a matter of duress, contrary to the allegation of the Georgian Chronicle (KC 2: 200; Brosset 1849: 524–25), for she subsequently became a committed Sūfī and member of the circle of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*murīdah-i haḍratash*, Aflākī, *Manāqib*: 263, see also, 425–26, 432, 754, 915; O'Kane 2002: 292–93, 506–07, 553, 640, and see index). However, by no means every Georgian in the Seljuk lands did convert. The lord of Abkhazet'i, Dardan Sharvashidze, who was in Ghiyāth al-Dīn's service, remained fervently committed to Christianity (KC 2: 192; Brosset 1849: 518), and even Tamar clearly maintained strong contacts with her old faith, endowing a church in Cappadocia long after she must have converted (Vryonis 1977; Vryonis believes this indicates that Gurjī Khātūn did not convert to Islam; however, the evidence of both the Georgian Chronicle and Aflākī is

persuasive and the fact that she was able to endow a church is probably illustrative of the tolerance of Christianity that was common in Muslim Anatolia; see Balivet 1994: 45, 47–49, 147–49).

Tamar's cousin, David, did not convert, and later was installed by the Mongols as King of Georgia, generally known as David Ulu (a Turkish word meaning 'large') to distinguish him from Tamar's brother and his co-regent, David Narin. What effect his sojourn in Rūm had on him is unknown; he had little power in any event (see Limper 1980: 149–69). According to the Georgian Chronicle, he spent most of his time in Rūm in prison. It records that Rusudan had sent David, her nephew, to the Seljuk court with instructions to her son-in-law and daughter to mistreat and kill him, so that her own son, David Narin, could inherit the throne unimpeded. Initially she failed to persuade them to do so, but eventually managed to sow suspicions in Ghiyāth al-Dīn's mind about the relationship between Tamar and David Ulu. In his rage, the sultan forced Tamar to convert to Islam, and threw David into a pit of serpents, from which he miraculously escaped unharmed (KC 2: 179–80, 199–203; Brosset 1849: 508, 524–27). It is difficult to put much credence in the Georgian Chronicle's account, although Bar Hebraeus (*Chronography*: 402–03) briefly mentions that both the Georgian Catholicos sent with Tamar and David were imprisoned by Ghiyāth al-Dīn and released by the Mongols. Unfortunately, only one Islamic source makes any reference to the presence of David at the Seljuk court, and it tells a very different story. As the account does not seem to have received any notice in print to date, I quote it in full (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah*: 20–21).

Then [the Mongols] made for Anatolia, and Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn gathered his armies from every region of his country. His father had married him to Gurjī Khātūn, daughter of the King of Georgia. When he became sultan, he made her brother, who was a Christian who had not converted from his religion, commander over the army. The amirs hated him, and they hated Ghiyāth al-Dīn for preferring him to them, so they started to disassociate themselves from him, to be abusive and to show hostility to him away from the fighting, sometimes giving him precedence, sometimes obstructing him. Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn was confused as to what was going on. When he heard of the Mongols' proximity and numbers, led by Bayju, Khoja-Noyan and their men, and that they were on the border of Anatolia, having reached Akşehir [near] Erzincan and set up camp in the plain there, he gathered his army and set off to meet them. He took his harem to fight as women do and encamped at Köse Dağ which means 'Bald Mountain'. That mountain

overlooks the depression where Bayju and his army were encamped. Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn held council with his senior amirs and advisors about confronting the Mongols and fighting them. Everyone said what he thought, and amongst them were those who played up the danger. The brother of Gurjī Khātūn, the sultan's wife, grew angry, and said, 'These men are cowards and are afraid of them. Separate them out, and let the sultan give me the Georgians and Franks in his army and I shall confront the Mongols even if they may be [as they say].'

Thus according to this account, the Georgian commander at Köse Dağ was none other than Giorgi Lasha's son, David Ulu, and is to be identified with the *pisar-i Gurjī* or Ṣāhīr al-Dawlah of Ibn Bībī. The credibility of Baybars' report is difficult to assess. He was writing in Egypt in the late 13th century, so at some remove from the events reported here. On the other hand, all the other details he gives accord with what we know from other sources (compare Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 522–23; Duda 1959: 226–27), and he had no obvious motive for inventing the story, which must derive from an as yet unidentified earlier source. However, the Georgian Chronicle indicates that the Georgian commander at Köse Dağ who did not convert to Islam was Dardan Sharshavidze (KC 2: 192; Brosset 1849: 518). In the absence of independent evidence, it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion as to whether Ṣāhīr al-Dawlah is indeed to be identified with David Ulu. Certainly it is chronologically possible: David must have been born between 1212 and 1223, the year of his father's death, and so could well have been of an age to fight Bābā Rasūl and subsequently at Köse Dağ. However, Ibn Bībī indicates that Ṣāhīr al-Dawlah was already at the Seljuk court when Ghiyāth al-Dīn came to the throne, whereas the Georgian Chronicle says he arrived with his cousin Tamar (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 464; Duda 1959: 199).

## Conclusion

The defeat at Köse Dağ did not signal the total collapse of the Seljuk state, and the Georgian kingdom also maintained a nominal independence under Mongol rule. At least initially, economic ties continued, for Georgian coinage issued in the early years of the Mongol occupation appears to be based on Anatolian Muslim models (Lang 1955: 35–39). However, there is little evidence for political links between Georgia and Anatolia – nor was there any reason for these to exist, with power having shifted to the Mongol centres elsewhere. After 1258, western Georgia won a precarious independence but was too weak to be of major significance (Limper 1980: 162–63). The regional

powers were now the Mongol Ilkhāns of Iran, their rivals the Golden Horde in southern Russia, with whom they fought for control of Caucasia, and the Golden Horde's allies, the Mamlūks of Egypt. What importance Georgia and Anatolia had derived from the fact that both were frontier provinces. Both the Seljuk and Georgian élites tried to reach an accommodation with the new order. Rūm was administered on behalf of the Ilkhānate by Mu'in al-Dīn Süleymān, the son of the Ghiyāth al-Dīn's vizier; he married Gurjī Khātūn after the sultan's death (Vryonis 1977: 15–16). The Mkhargrdzelis married into the most powerful family of the Ilkhānate, the Juwaynīs. T'amt'a, the Mkhargrdzeli princess who had been married to the Ayyūbid al-Ashraf many years before, retained control of Ahlat as a vassal of the Mongols – although that city had by now declined in importance, a major earthquake adding to the ravages of the constant wars over it (Rogers 1976: 320–21). There was now no reason for the Georgians and Seljuks to seek alliances with one another. Even if they sought to plot against their Mongol overlords, they could only turn to the new regional powers, the Mamlūks or the Golden Horde (Amitai-Preiss 1995: 150–51, 157–78).

The relationship between Georgia and the Anatolian Turks over the 12th and early 13th centuries was not particularly unusual. Turkish dynasties intermarried with other Christian royal houses, such as the Byzantines, and Georgia, itself with a substantial Muslim population, was accustomed to making alliances with neighbouring Muslim rulers as well as waging war on them. There was, however, nothing inevitable about the alliance between the Seljuks and Georgia. When Georgia first found itself in need of Muslim allies with the Mongol invasion of 1221, she approached the Ayyūbids and the Ildegüzids, but not, as far as we know, the Seljuks. Although there were probably economic and cultural links between the Seljuks and Georgia from at least the 1220s, if not earlier, it was only with 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's occupation of Erzurum that a political relationship developed. The marriage of Ghiyāth al-Dīn II and Tamar was doubtless a response to the Mongol threat, even if the Georgian-Seljuk alliance proved to be of little concrete use in practice. Indeed, the arguments between Georgians and Muslims in the Seljuk army at Köse Dağ cannot have helped the Seljuk cause (Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 522–23; Duda 1959: 226–27).

Both Muslim and Christian historians seem to have regarded the alliance between their rulers with some embarrassment. Perhaps the most noteworthy example of this is the failure of almost every Muslim historian to mention the presence of David Ulu at the Seljuk court. Whatever the truth of his circumstances there, it is interesting that the only Muslim author who alludes to his

presence lived far away in Egypt. Historians associated with the Seljuks, such as Ibn Bībī, avoid mentioning him. Likewise, the Georgian Chronicle is almost completely silent about Rusudan's Seljuk husband, despite his conversion to Christianity. However, occasionally the sources hint that political necessity was not the sole reason for the marriage alliances of the Turks and Georgians. In some way, both sides seem to have derived prestige from marrying into the Seljuk or Bagratid families. Ibn Bībī has Rusudan boasting of her daughter's mixed Bagratid and Seljuk lineage (*az ṣulb-i Saljūq u nasl-i Dā'ūd*, Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 423; Duda 1959: 177). He reports that when Queen Tamar attempted to persuade Kılıç Arslan to allow his son, Rukn al-Dīn, to marry her, one of the inducements she offered was that by doing so, Rukn al-Dīn would enter the Bagratid family (*khāndān-i Dā'ūd*, Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir*: 69; Duda 1959: 33 n/a). Of course, in reality such an exchange of letters probably never took place, but it is interesting that Ibn Bībī thought that the prospect of links to the Bagratids was a convincing argument to attribute to Tamar. Equally, one of Rusudan's motives in seeking to marry Mughīth al-Dīn's son was quite possibly his Seljuk lineage, given that Erzurum had little practical aid to offer. Interestingly, a memory of the prestige of the Bagratid house in Rūm was preserved into the 14th century. Aqsarā'ī, commenting on Ghiyāth al-Dīn II's designation of his youngest son 'Alā' al-Dīn as his successor, comments that 'he made him crown prince; and the reason for this was that his mother was Gurjī Khātūn, the Georgian queen, and on account of his mother's lineage he sought superiority over his [half] brothers' (Aqsarā'ī, *Musāmarat al-Akhbār*: 36; Işiltan 1943: 42). One of his half brothers was of Greek descent, the other of Turkish.<sup>12</sup> Thus despite the embarrassment that the Seljuks' links with Georgia sometimes caused the medieval historians, in practice, at least in Rūm, descent from the Bagratids seems to have served as a source of legitimacy for members of the Seljuk house, presumably particularly among their numerous Christian subjects. It is likely that in Georgia, the Bagratids' links to the Seljuks served a similar purpose among their Muslim subjects.

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<sup>12</sup> In the event, 'Alā' al-Dīn died aged not more than 17 in 1254 after a brief sultanate shared with his two brothers but when the state was effectively run by the vizier Karatay (Turan 2002: 466–74).

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The Nomads and Ethnopolitical Realities of Trnascaucasia in the 11th-14th Centuries

Author(s): Hayrapet Margarian

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# THE NOMADS AND ETHNOPOLITICAL REALITIES OF TRANSCAUCASIA IN THE 11<sup>TH</sup>-14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

**HAYRAPET MARGARIAN**

*Yerevan*

The 11th – 14th centuries constitute the unique period in a millennium-long history of Transcaucasia with the emerging complicated and contradictory relationships between the two worlds: the local agricultural one and the incoming nomadic one. Those relationships embraced the political, economic and cultural domains, they were practically universal. Evidently, an in-depth research of this exciting problem is a matter of the future. What I would like to do is to dwell upon the processes and phenomena of the ethno-political history of Transcaucasia that would most convincingly show the effect of the nomadic factor in the fortunes of the region. In the first place, I want to underscore the following crucial fact. In contrast to the neighbouring Iran and Byzantium having had long-time close contacts with the nomadic world, the Transcaucasian countries lacked consistent traditions for contacting the nomads. The Transcaucasian peoples – Armenians, Georgians and Caucasian Albanians sporadically contacted the prairie-type nomads of the pre-Caucasus – the Huns and Khazars; however, those contacts had a limited nature, embracing mostly military and diplomatic spheres.

The matter is that in early Middle Ages, the routes of Western advancement of a number of nomadic peoples were located to the North of the Caspian Sea and the Great Caucasus Range, so that only individual groups of nomads occasionally appeared in the lands of Transcaucasia without settling there. Yet, starting from the 11th century and throughout the subsequent ages, the nomadic peoples chose the Southern routes for their massive intrusions, resulting in new waves of nomads repetitively invading the Transcaucasia to produce substantial effects upon the course of events in that part of the world. Reports by the Armenian and Georgian authors provide a general picture of the shock that befell the local communities from the massive intrusion of the nomads. The contemporaries were stunned by an alien way of life, military tactics and even by the exterior of the nomads.

True, the nomads first penetrated into the lands of Transcaucasia as early as during the political supremacy of the Arabs, but that phenomenon was then limited in scale. Still not the least important is another substantial detail. The Arab nomadism is very different from the Turkic or Mongolian nomadic systems. The Arab nomads used to penetrate into spaces unfit for farming rather than to seize the already used lands. That was in the cities, since the area owned by them outside the cities was insignificant.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to them, the Turkic nomads and Mongols coming to Transcaucasia from Central Asia had had little to do with land tillers or urban life in their home countries.<sup>2</sup>

Visible in the 11th – 14th centuries was a fundamentally new process with very far-reaching consequences. The Seljuk Turks had initiated a practically unending inflow of the nomadic masses. The Seljuks were followed by the Mongols in the 13th century who were trailed by new Turkic tribes. As became clear later, the westward displacement of the Turkic ethnic masses was an incremental process. It is remarkable that the Armenian and Georgian lands were being invaded not only from the East. Weakening of the Georgian kingdom in the 30s of the 13th century aggravated the vulnerability of its Western boundaries.

The second largest ethnic mass of nomads was moved from the South. The nomadic Kurds infiltrated into the Transcaucasian ethnocultural world as mercenaries, and, as a rule, settled in urban areas. Inter alia, some individual groups of Kurds penetrated into Dvin and Ganja just in this way.<sup>3</sup> They continued to maintain contact with their vernacular ethnicity remaining faithful to the traditional ancestral and tribal organization. The Kurdish penetration occurred from Northern Mesopotamia and Upper Syria where the revival of nomadism was conspicuous in the 10th – 11th centuries.<sup>4</sup> Evidently the nomadic Kurds were in the first place attracted by the

mountainous regions of the Armenian Taurus. As to the massive migration of the Kurds into the Southern and then Northern regions of Armenia, it started much later, in the first half of the 16th century.<sup>5</sup>

The 12th – 13th centuries again see an influx of individual nomadic hordes also from the pre-Caucasian prairies, meanwhile at the time when Georgia was a mighty kingdom, this process went on quite peacefully. In 1118, the Georgian King David the Builder (1089 – 1125) personally organized a resettlement of a large horde of Qipchaks (Cumans) headed by Atrak.<sup>6</sup> The settlers received land plots, summer and winter pastures, and committed themselves to supply one warrior from each family.<sup>7</sup> The Cumans settled down both in the central and eastern regions of Georgia as well as in Northern Armenia, contacting closely with the local population.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, they had never completely changed over to the sedentary life, and one section of them led by Atrak in late 20s of the 12th century returned to their native prairies.<sup>9</sup> The Qipchaks remaining in the Georgian kingdom continued their military service achieving high positions at the Georgian Court. The military commander Khubasar at the time of Georgy III (1156–1184) and Queen Tamar (1184–1207), though for a short time, held the position of the Supreme Commander of the Country's Armed Forces ("Amirspasalar").<sup>10</sup> The first group of the Qipchaks was followed by others, so that the Georgian chronicler uses the term "new Qipchaks", to distinguish the newly arrived from the old settlers.<sup>11</sup> The Cumans appeared in Transcaucasia for the last time in early 20s of the 13th century, when after suffering crushing defeat by the Mongols they crossed the Great Caucasus Range camping near the city Ganja. Having suffered a new defeat by the Georgian and Armenian troops they had to leave Transcaucasia for good.<sup>12</sup>

The massive intrusions of the nomads in the 11th – 14th centuries were characterized by the specific features securing advantages of the nomadic world over the sedentary. Thus, with regard to the armaments and combat practice the nomads were ahead of their adversaries – land tillers, since they had a firm grip on the military and manufacturing achievements of all the conquered nations. The remarkable military might of the nomads was also stipulated by the fact that the assault was done by their entire population with their livestock and wagons carrying all their effects. The nomadic troops moved lightning-like inflicting crushing blows any place, any time. Using the particularly favourable natural environment of the Mugan steppe, the Seljuk Turks, Mongols and the army of Timur mounted up their incursions also in winter which was a complete surprise for the local population. The mobile detachments of the nomads ignored obstacles on their way, even when burdened with booty and captives. Aristakes Lastivertsi, an Armenian historian, describes an episode from the history of the Seljuk campaigns that could be regarded characteristic for the nomadic movements. In his words, "Through fear of them (i.e. Seljuk Turks. – H. M.), the roads were blocked, the ground was covered with a thick layer of snow, so they set out in two parties. Moving ahead were herds of horses and mules with no burden, to clear the way, they were followed by the whip-driven captives and the wagon trains."<sup>13</sup>

The tribal and ancestral relations made the nomads' army solid and cohesive. Understanding the political situation in Transcaucasia, the peak of feudal fragmentation in Armenia on the eve of the Seljuk intrusion and triggering the centrifugal forces in the Georgian kingdom at the Mongol invasion may help to explain the nomads' conquests.

Many waves of nomads, the emergence of new invaders could have no similar consequences for the Transcaucasian ethnopolitical world. A retrospective look at the 11th – 14th centuries realities yields a well-substantiated conclusion on the differing natures of military actions undertaken by the Turkic peoples and the Mongols in Transcaucasia. The generalization of a vast material has enabled the following conclusion to be made: "A military action with an intention to seize the territory and to eliminate or partially absorb the existing population can be termed as *invasion*."<sup>14</sup> To my mind, it is in this sense that the invasions of the Seljuk and later the Turkic tribal confederations like Aq-Qoyunlu and Qara-Qoyunlu have to be understood. Following the seizure of most Transcaucasia and Asia Minor, the Seljuks started to actively

reclaim the occupied areas. For them, and for other Turkic tribal confederations in the subsequent ages, there started the period of "countryland acquisition", exactly like it had been with the proto-Bulgars and the Hungarians.

In the case with the Mongols we deal with an option of development when the incoming nomadic ethnic groups disappear from the invaded territories immediately following their loss of military might. It is general knowledge that the Mongol invasions were extremely destructive, accompanied by devastation of huge areas and tremendous loss of life among the population. However, the Mongols used to leave the conquered lands in the possession of the previous owners rather than to dispossess the local landlords, which was very characteristic to the Turkic peoples. In the late 13th century the Mongol invasions were actually replaced by raids, i. e., the military actions changed their character. "Raids" can be described as military undertakings intended to loot an area and capture part of the population to be sold into slavery, rather than to seize the land.<sup>15</sup>

Yet, it is hardly to be doubted that the relationships between the agricultural community of Transcaucasia and the multiethnic nomadic masses in the 11th – 14th centuries were critically hostile. The peaceful relations between the nomads and the sedentary could be possible only if mighty states had been created by the sedentary nations in Transcaucasia. Regretfully, the political picture of Transcaucasia provided no grounds for optimism. Everything was going on rather in the reverse order. The continuous influx of large groups of nomads unrelated to one another or to the sedentary population economically, became a serious impediment on the way to political consolidation of the Transcaucasian countries.

At the time of receding power of the central authorities, to retain the nomads in a state of submission became an overcommitment even for the Seljuk Sultans and Mongol Khans. The decaying power of the "Great Seljuks" or the state of the Il-Khanid dynasty was accompanied by flashes of political activity by the nomadic tribes with tragic consequences for the Armenian political formations. The nomads, particularly the Mongols, played a significant part in exacerbating the political fragmentation of Georgia. Meanwhile, they probably were guided also by the traditional flatland administrative directives.<sup>16</sup> The political realities, the factor of cultural and religious divergences did not facilitate the formation of ethnocultural contact zones or the emergence of symbiotic agricultural-nomadic economic systems. Moreover, the displacement of the nomads was implemented along the direction lines changing the principle of age-long ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic engagement. The nomads moved inland to Asia Minor and the Transcaucasian countries, making their strong point Aturpatakan. This Iranian-speaking area was eventually turkicized, so that a Turkic-speaking area wedged between Armenia and Iran forming a rift between age-old neighbours. The Caucasian-Iranian contact zone lost its original value. The previous Armeno-Iranian boundary line changed into a continuously open gate letting in an endless Turkic ethnic masses. On the other hand, the Turkic advancement continued to North-West and North-East where the Armenian-Georgian, Armenian-Alban and Georgian-Alban contact zones were located.

The nomads were a multiethnic and multicultural mass. The longer the way passed by the nomads, the more variegated and complex was the ethnolinguistic composition of the nomadic conglomeration. The Transcaucasian sedentary community did not distinctly sort out the details of the nomadic tribal composition perceiving it as an indetermined entity. The local sources cannot boast too much familiarity with the rich ethnic nomenclature or social structure of the new-comers; perhaps at best the medieval Armenian and Georgian authors alone could be interested in the origin of a specific nomadic people. The only exception may perhaps be the Mongols who could have attracted their sedentary contemporaries by their original setting, living conditions, their ethnic and legal standards and beliefs.

It is quite explicable that the emergence of the nomads in Transcaucasia complicated the previous ethnic profile, while the constant influx of new large groups of nomads slowed down the ethnic consolidation of nomadic conglomerations resulted both from previous waves of migrations or later penetrations.

These notes have appeared through analyzing some written sources giving account of the past as perceived by the erstwhile chroniclers. It is quite probable that in real life the relationships between the nomads and the sedentary were more complicated than those imagined by the history writers and chroniclers. It is not to be excluded that the symbiotic elements, exchange of armaments, troop organization, administrative experience, etc. occurred on a larger scale than what is known to date. Clearing up the picture completely will have to be done jointly by historians, archaeologists, ethnographers and culture historians. Conclusive results have yet to be obtained.

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## Maisonneuve & Larose

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Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans

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## LES SOUVERAINS SELDJOUKIDES ET LEURS SUJETS NON-MUSULMANS

Les relations de toutes sortes qui s'établirent entre les Turcs, fondateurs d'une patrie en Anatolie, et les peuples autochtones de ce pays, de structure sociale et ethnique très différente, quant à la religion et à la culture, constituent, sans aucun doute, un sujet d'études fort intéressant. Mais les sources concernant les relations multifformes entre ces deux éléments, à une époque importante, certes, mais d'autant plus plongée dans les ténèbres, sont loin d'être assez variées et assez riches pour nous satisfaire. Cela tient, à côté de l'insuffisance, du point de vue de la quantité et de la qualité, des sources elles-mêmes, au fait que les auteurs musulmans font le plus souvent passer au premier plan les faits politiques et militaires et trouvent donc superflu de donner des renseignements sur les sujets autochtones, calmes et obéissants. C'est pour cette raison que les détails fournis par les chroniques musulmanes sur les éléments turcs et indigènes de l'État sel-djoukide sont limités et accidentels. Par contre, les chroniques chrétiennes, du fait qu'ils y sont directement intéressés, comportent — bien qu'elles soient au fond de même nature que les précédentes — sur les relations de leurs coreligionnaires avec les Seldjoukides beaucoup plus de mentions.

Parmi les divers facteurs déterminant la politique et les relations d'un peuple nouveau venu en Anatolie, à l'égard d'éléments étrangers qu'il y rencontre, la psychologie et les traditions antérieures de ce peuple occupent, sans aucun doute, une place importante. En effet, même avant d'avoir embrassé l'Islamisme, les Turcs s'étaient distingués en Asie Centrale, en tant qu'État

et communauté sociale, par leur large compréhension et leur tolérance vis-à-vis des races et des religions étrangères ; ils avaient toujours accordé la liberté et leur protection aux communautés qui se réfugiaient auprès d'eux, par suite de pressions religieuses exercées en Proche Orient. En outre, dans les États Gök-türk, Uygur, Khazar, les Turcs eux-mêmes formant des communautés chamanistes, bouddhistes, chrétiennes, juives et enfin mahométanes, vécurent généralement en paix et en harmonie les uns à côté des autres. Les Mongols, Chamanistes avant leur adhésion à l'Islamisme, se comportèrent de la même manière à l'égard des religions étrangères ; ils réagirent avec tolérance et indifférence envers certains membres de la dynastie des khans qui avaient embrassé le Bouddhisme ou le Christianisme et suivirent avec une objectivité totale les controverses qui eurent lieu en présence des khans entre les adeptes de différentes religions <sup>(1)</sup>. Nouvellement passés à l'Islamisme à leur venue en Anatolie, les Turcs avaient encore la structure d'une société chamaniste, quant à leur mode de vie, de pensée et quant à leur croyances ; c'est pour cette raison qu'ils poussaient la tolérance au-delà même de celle de la religion musulmane. A côté de cette tradition dont ils étaient porteurs, d'autres facteurs importants jouaient un rôle dans cet état d'esprit, tels que la personnalité des souverains seldjoukides, conscients des nécessités du milieu social et de l'importance pour leur État des éléments non-Turcs qu'ils gouvernaient, les contacts avec les Byzantins, les visites de ces souverains à Constantinople, à titre de sultan ou de prince impérial, la visite des princes de Byzance chez eux, enfin les mariages conclus en grand nombre avec des femmes chrétiennes.

En effet, aussitôt que les premières conquêtes et invasions prirent fin, et que l'autorité de l'État fut établie, la libre conduite des nomades, qui ne reconnaissaient l'ordre et la discipline que dans le cadre de l'organisation tribale, fut placée sous contrôle ; les souvenirs amers de l'époque d'invasion furent ainsi vite oubliés. L'invasion seldjouke, qui avait débuté comme une véritable immigration du peuple turc et comporté, pour cela,

(1) Voir : Osman Turan, *Turcs et l'Islamisme* (en ture), Revue de la Faculté des Lettres d'Ankara, IV, 4 (1946), p. 461-464.

un caractère différent d'une occupation militaire quelconque, avait donné lieu à des destructions et des pertes plus considérables que celles qu'eût occasionnées une armée régulière, du fait même qu'elle était, la plupart du temps, exécutée par les tribus, sous la conduite de leurs chefs (boy beyi), soustraits aux ordres et au contrôle de l'administration centrale. C'est pourquoi, malgré un grand nombre de passages concernant l'accueil favorable fait à cette époque aux Turcs par les Chrétiens, l'invasion trouve, non seulement dans les sources chrétiennes mais aussi dans les sources musulmanes — puisque, aussi bien, les pays musulmans subissaient le même sort — un écho désagréable. Pour bien faire voir que cet état de choses, conséquence de la nature de la conquête et des nécessités de la vie nomade, n'a rien à voir avec le fanatisme religieux ou racial, il suffit de rappeler que les Turcs passés à l'état sédentaire furent également les victimes de ces incursions. A côté des sources chrétiennes et en plus des sources musulmanes, des ouvrages historiques écrits en Anatolie sont de même remplis des mêmes plaintes formulées contre les nomades. Il ne s'agit pas dans cette étude d'incidents survenus pendant l'invasion, mais de relations qui furent en cours pendant les temps normaux, à partir de l'établissement de l'ordre gouvernemental <sup>(1)</sup>. Il ne faut d'ailleurs point perdre ceci de vue : Les principautés des Marches (Uc beyliği) formant le noyau du système d'État turc, et aussi les organisations tribales, une fois devenues maîtresses d'un certain lot de terre, il ne restait plus grande différence de mentalité ni de conception entre les souverains seldjoukides et les chefs de tribus, dans leur comportement vis-à-vis d'éléments étrangers vivant sous leur autorité.

Les auteurs modernes qui n'ont pas approfondi la nature de l'invasion, le mode de vie des nomades et la conception turque de l'État, croyaient que les Chrétiens eurent à subir des Turcs seldjoukides beaucoup de persécutions et que les Croisades

(1) Le présent article forme le second chapitre d'une étude composée de quatre parties. Les problèmes envisagés plus haut sont étudiés dans le chapitre premier, intitulé « *Turquisation de l'Anatolie* » ; la troisième partie porte ce titre : « *Turcs musulmans et autochtones chrétiens* » et la quatrième, « *Islamisation* ».

furent organisées pour cette raison. Cette opinion s'appuie sur une impression acquise des chroniques du temps de l'invasion et fut même élargie et appliquée à des temps postérieurs. Or, le règne de Melik-Shāh (1072-1092), coïncidant avec les préparatifs des Croisades, est passé à l'histoire comme une époque de bonheur, de l'avis unanime des sources chrétiennes et musulmanes. La science occidentale de nos jours voit d'autres causes aux Croisades. Le fait que Tuğrul-beg et Alp-arslan, prédécesseurs de Melik-Shāh, considéré dans le monde musulman des siècles durant comme le meilleur des sultans, ne sont pas décrits comme de bons souverains dans les sources chrétiennes, tient à ce qu'ils règnent justement à l'époque des conquêtes.

L'opinion erronée sur les facteurs des Croisades mise à part, il existe aujourd'hui au sujet de la nature de l'administration seldjoukide fondée en Anatolie, du point de vue de ses relations avec les peuples chrétiens, deux opinions diamétralement opposées, fruits toutes deux de recherches imparfaitement exécutées et prétendant l'une qu'elle fut une époque de persécutions, et l'autre, un temps de bonheur. A. A. Vasiliev, qui trouve la première exagérée, dit qu'il est également difficile de se rallier à celle de W. M. Ramsay. En effet, ce dernier, fâute d'avoir suffisamment étudié la question, dit, à propos d'un certain événement, et cela rien qu'en se fiant à une impression reçue des sources byzantines, que les Chrétiens d'Anatolie vécurent plus heureux sous l'administration des Seldjouks que sous celle de Byzance, et qu'ils n'y connurent aucune pression, ni persécution religieuse (1). Vasiliev, qui trouve cette opinion également exagérée, n'en donne aucune preuve et se contente de toucher simplement au problème. Mais nos recherches tendent à confirmer l'opinion de Ramsay. Il est en effet maintenant prouvé que les populations indigènes, ainsi qu'on l'observe parfois aux temps d'invasion, préféraient l'administration turque, surtout après la fondation de l'État seldjoukide ; elles continuèrent alors à vaquer en pleine liberté à leurs affaires religieuses et à conserver l'organisation de leurs Églises ; elles possédaient sous ce

(1) *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*, II, Paris 1932, p. 26.

régime des moyens matériels plus avantageux <sup>(1)</sup>. Ces mots qui mettent en relief les observations et aussi l'opinion de l'historien syrien Michel, au sujet des événements de 1115 <sup>(2)</sup> : « De leur côté, les Turcs, qui occupaient des pays au milieu desquels habitaient (les Chrétiens), qui n'avaient aucune notion des mystères sacrés (c'est-à-dire de la Trinité) et, pour cela, considéraient le Christanisme comme une erreur, n'avaient point pour habitude de s'informer sur les professions de foi (c'est-à-dire les dogmes chrétiens) ni de persécuter quelqu'un pour sa profession de foi, comme (faisaient les Grecs), peuple méchant et hérétique <sup>(3)</sup> », reflètent on ne peut mieux la position de l'État seldjoukide vis-à-vis des religions étrangères. Le fameux historien arménien, Matthieu d'Edesse, qui écrivit son ouvrage vers le milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle hors de la zone de souveraineté seldjoukide, dit, dans la relation d'un voyage que fit Melik-shāh en 1086, allant de l'Anatolie Orientale en Syrie, que le sultan se comportait comme un père envers la population des pays qu'il traversait, que son cœur était plein de charité pour les Chrétiens, que beaucoup de villes et de contrées passèrent pour cette raison de leur propre gré sous son administration, que sur une demande du patriarche arménien Basile, en 1090, l'on obtint de lui un firman exemptant d'impôts les églises, les monastères et les prêtres <sup>(4)</sup>. D'après un autre auteur arménien, Melik-shāh aurait reçu le patriarche, celui-ci tenant haut le crucifix, et lui aurait remis ce firman portant le tughra, quoique cela ne fût pas conforme aux traditions islamiques, ainsi que nous le verrons plus bas <sup>(5)</sup>. Samuel d'Ani, un autre auteur arménien, qui puise ses renseignements dans un ouvrage contemporain, et qui n'a point saisi le sens du gouvernement d'Alp-arslan, celui-ci étant le sultan de l'époque d'invasion, dit que Melik-shāh, abandonnant les coutumes et la politique de son père, gagna le cœur de ses ennemis, qu'il

(1) *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford 1895, p. 16, 27.

(2) On trouvera des détails à ce sujet dans « *Turquisation de l'Anatolie* ».

(3) Michel le Syrien, *Chroniques*, trad. Chabot, Paris 1905, T. III, p. 222.

(4) *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse, Continué par Grégoire le Prêtre*, trad. Dulaurier, Paris, 1858, pp. 196, 201.

(5) Vardan l'Historien, trad. turque par H. Andreasyan, Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih semineri Dergisi I, 2 (1937), p. 180.

établit partout une administration sage et pacifique, qu'il était raisonnable, énergique et le plus juste des sultans connus, qu'il ne causait de la tristesse à personne, qu'il se faisait aimer de tous grâce à ses pensées élevées et à sa charité, qu'il agissait avec magnanimité envers tous les hommes et surtout envers les Chrétiens, puis il ajoute : « Il aimait tant notre peuple qu'il demandait pour lui-même nos prières et nos bénédictions » <sup>(1)</sup>. Ce caractère de Melik-shāh se manifeste tel quel dans les autres sources chrétiennes. En effet, les livres d'histoire géorgiens le caractérisent aussi comme le plus distingué des hommes, comme célèbre par sa bonté, sa charité et sa justice envers les Chrétiens, comme un homme accompli, sans méchanceté. Ainsi ce prince est passé à l'histoire comme un souverain exceptionnel dont les hautes qualités humaines furent reconnues de tous les peuples, qu'ils fussent musulmans ou chrétiens. C'est pourquoi, à sa mort, les Chrétiens participèrent au grand deuil des Musulmans avec les mêmes sentiments que ces derniers <sup>(2)</sup>. Sa mort fut cause de la dislocation de l'empire Seldjoukide et de la naissance d'une foule de troubles. Mais aucun changement ne s'opéra vis-à-vis des sujets chrétiens. Sous Berkyārūk (1094-1104) le gouverneur de l'Arménie, Ismā'il, fut aimé des Arméniens à cause de la protection qu'il leur accorda et de la charité qu'il leur témoigna ; il embellit les monastères, quoique cela fût non-conforme aux traditions islamiques, protégea les moines et assura la prospérité au peuple en supprimant les exactions <sup>(3)</sup>. Plus tard, chez les Artukides et les Akhlat-shāh, maîtres en Anatolie orientale, cette tradition fut maintenue. En effet, en 1121, pour réduire à merci les habitants de Gerger, connus pour leur brigandage, Belek, émir de Kharput, traversa le Tigre, y enleva la population sans la réduire en esclavage, mais agit avec beaucoup de pitié envers elle et, afin qu'elle ne fomentât plus de troubles, il la transporta avec troupeaux et familles dans la contrée de Hanazit, son propre pays, où il l'installa dans des

(1) *Tables Chronologiques*, trad. M. Brosset, Collection d'historiens arméniens, T. II, Saint-Petersbourg 1876, p. 451, 455.

(2) M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, Saint-Petersbourg 1849, T. I, p. 349 ; S. Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, trad. M. Brosset, Saint-Petersbourg 1864, p. 182.

(3) Matthieu, p. 205, 207 ; Vardan l'Historien, p. 184.

villages <sup>(1)</sup>. La mort de cet émir, célèbre à cause de sa valeur et des combats qu'il livra aux Croisés, fut accueillie, dit-on, avec joie par ces derniers, mais avec grande douleur par les Chrétiens, pour son comportement généreux vis-à-vis des Arméniens <sup>(2)</sup>. Le long règne de Nedjm ed-Dîn Alpî, souverain Artukide (1152-1176), fut considéré par les Chrétiens comme une époque de prospérité <sup>(3)</sup>. Sous Şaltuğ, émir d'Erzerum (1145-1176), sous son beau-père, Sökmen II, Shāh d'Akhlat (1128-1183) et sous Ildeniz, Atabek d'Azerbaydjan (1146-1172), les Chrétiens orientaux vécurent une époque de paix et de justice. A ce propos, un fait cité par Vardan l'Historien est digne de remarque. Selon lui, un prêtre arménien nommé Avet était connu pour sa sagesse et sa bonté ; il prêchait partout. Armenshāh reçut solennellement à Malazgird ce prêtre dont la renommée et l'influence étaient très répandues, lui demanda de prier pour lui et lui témoigna beaucoup de respect. Mais les prêtres sans caractère, ses ennemis, le dénoncèrent comme espion à l'empereur de Byzance et furent ainsi cause de son assassinat. Ce souverain se rendit compte après la mort que ces accusations étaient infondées et en fut très mortifié <sup>(4)</sup>. On doit noter aussi la rumeur d'après laquelle Emir Karadja aurait été tué en 1182 à Malazgird par le Shāh d'Akhlat, pour avoir outragé la croix <sup>(5)</sup>. L'entente et l'harmonie réciproques qui régnaient alors entre Musulmans et Chrétiens avaient atteint un tel degré que dans la ville de Duveïn les églises et les mosquées étaient attenantes ; les souverains musulmans épousaient des princesses arméniennes ou géorgiennes <sup>(6)</sup>. Mais parfois, dans les guerres survenues entre les États musulmans et chrétiens, les sentiments religieux étaient surexcités et l'union entre les deux éléments se trouvait troublée. Le roi géorgien qui assaillit Duveïn en 1163 passa par les armes la population musulmane de la ville ; il brûla les mosquées et fit descendre les croissants placés à l'extrémité des minarets, pour les emporter

(1) Michel le Syrien, III, p. 206.

(2) Matthieu, p. 311.

(3) Michel le Syrien, III, p. 364.

(4) Vardan l'Historien, p. 201, 202.

(5) Id., p. 210, 211.

(6) V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, p. 134, 135.

à Tiflis. Très affectés par ces incidents, Sökmen et Ildeniz passèrent à l'offensive et prirent ainsi leur revanche sur les Géorgiens. La fameuse croix se trouvant à la plaine de Gag fut détruite. D'autre part, l'église d'Ani, transformée soixante ans auparavant en mosquée et pourvue d'un croissant, fut prise pas le roi David, avec l'aide de la population chrétienne ; le croissant fut descendu et remplacé par la croix <sup>(1)</sup>.

Pendant que la politique et le comportement des souverains turcs de l'Anatolie orientale se déroulait dans cette atmosphère, plus à l'Ouest, dans les provinces s'étendant vers l'Anatolie centrale, provinces placées sous la domination des Dānīshmendites, les relations avec les sujets chrétiens prenaient à peu près le même aspect. Cette dynastie de gazis à l'âme guerrière, dont les hauts faits trouvent un écho dans leur œuvre épique appelée « Dānīshmend-nāme », est citée, chose digne d'attention, de façon élogieuse par les sources chrétiennes. L'historien Michel le Syrien dit que sous le premier monarque de la dynastie, Dānīshmend Gāzî, qui assiégea et prit Malatya du Chrétien Gabriel, cette ville vécut une ère de prospérité et de justice et que lui-même agit avec bienfaisance et miséricorde envers les Chrétiens, ce qui confirme de façon remarquable Matthieu l'Arménien, qui dit que la mort de ce prince, survenue en 1104, fut douloureusement accueillie par la population chrétienne <sup>(2)</sup>. L'on avoue aussi que le fils de ce dernier, Melik Gāzî Gümüş-tekīn, qui greva les Chrétiens et notamment le monastère de Bar Sauma de lourds impôts, fit montre néanmoins d'un grand respect envers les Chrétiens et leurs biens sacrés. Un incident en connexion avec ce fait mérite d'être cité ici : Un Iranien s'était assis sur une croix ; les Chrétiens s'en plaignirent au gouverneur de Malatya, qui leur livra l'homme, afin qu'il reçût sa punition. Selon la coutume d'alors, les Chrétiens noircirent le visage du délinquant, le montèrent sur un âne et le promenèrent dans les rues de la ville. Melik Gāzî, qui apprit la chose, ne se contenta pas de cette punition ; il chassa l'Iranien

(1) Vardan l'Historien, p. 195, 205 ; Ibn ul-Esir. Egypte, H. 1303, XI, p. 107.

(2) Michel le Syrien, p. 188 ; Matthieu, p. 256.

hors des frontières de ses États (1). Mais Mehmed, fils de ce monarque, était très pieux et très fanatique. Il ne buvait pas de vin et poursuivait une politique favorable à l'Islam et aux Musulmans ; il faisait démolir les églises et employait les marbres qu'il obtenait ainsi dans les édifices qu'il faisait construire à neuf à Kayseri. A cause de sa politique antichrétienne, il ne pouvait se fier à la fidélité de l'élément chrétien. C'est ainsi que, lors de l'attaque de Niksar par l'empereur Byzantin Jean Comnène en 1141, il agit avec une extrême sévérité envers les Chrétiens. Effrayé à l'idée que ces derniers pussent appuyer l'empereur, il faisait tuer toute personne qui, même par mégarde, prononçait son nom ; il confisquait sa maison et s'emparait de ses enfants (2). Mais cette situation était exceptionnelle ; sous les successeurs de ce prince on revint à l'ancienne politique de tolérance et d'équité. Mehmed, émir de Malatya, était très aimé des Chrétiens dans la ville ; lui-même faisait souvent des visites au monastère de Bar Sauma. Pour cette raison, ayant perdu son trône et ayant été mis en prison par Nūr ed-Dīn, les prêtres du monastère lui envoyèrent de l'argent. Quand il s'enfuit de prison et vint à Malatya (1175), il exprima sa reconnaissance en exemptant d'impôts le monastère. Mais les prêtres, pensant que cette situation singulière éveillerait la haine des Musulmans, le prièrent de réduire seulement à 300 *dinars* ces impôts qui avaient été portés à 700 *dinars* par Émīr Gâzî, ce qui fut agréé, et appliqué également à un autre monastère (3). Encore un fait digne d'être signalé, et qui met à découvert les relations de l'État Dānīshmendite avec la population autochtone est ceci : Les souverains de cette dynastie firent battre monnaie portant inscription en langue et caractère grecs et témoignèrent de cette façon qu'ils prenaient en considération les conditions économiques locales ainsi que la psychologie de l'élément chrétien. La même observation peut être faite chez les Artukides.

Comparés aux autres États qui avaient établi leur domination

(1) Michel, 235, 264, 286.

(2) Id., 237, 249, 310.

(3) Id., 364.

sur le pays, celui des Seldjouks d'Anatolie se trouvait dès le début dans une situation exceptionnelle. Son influence et son prestige étaient rehaussés du fait même que les souverains appartenaient à la dynastie seldjoukide. Mais, cause plus importante de ce prestige, la grande majorité de la population turkmène vivait dans les terres d'Anatolie centrale, placées sous leur administration. D'autre part, les pays chrétiens à conquérir et à peupler étaient situés surtout à leurs frontières. C'est pourquoi ils attiraient plus que les autres les forces turques immigrantes et nomades. Il eût été possible que les Seldjoukides, sous l'influence des luttes sans fin, adoptassent une politique de fanatisme vis-à-vis de la population chrétienne. Mais en restant fidèles à la vieille tradition de tolérance, les sultans montrèrent qu'ils préféraient suivre une voie plus féconde quant aux intérêts de l'État et au développement du pays. Ils étaient en effet conscients de la nécessité et de l'importance de la population indigène, productrice en agriculture, à côté de leurs congénères nomades ou encore peu enracinés au sol. De plus, en satisfaisant les éléments chrétiens ils ne se contentaient pas de les gagner à leur cause envers les ennemis contre lesquels ils étaient en lutte, mais prouvaient aussi aux peuples vivant au-delà des frontières et geignant sous le joug de l'administration byzantine, qu'ils n'étaient pas des ennemis redoutables. Ils eurent ainsi en mains, après leur installation en Anatolie, l'arme morale qui leur avait tant facilité la conquête. La population indigène pouvait être satisfaite de deux façons : moralement et matériellement. Sous la domination byzantine elle n'était pas propriétaire des terres et était pressurée par l'aristocratie terrienne <sup>(1)</sup>. Les Seldjoukides, tout en attribuant, selon l'ancien droit tribal ture, la propriété de toutes les terres à l'État, avaient contenté et su s'attacher ces éléments indigènes mécontents, en donnant à tous leurs sujets, musulmans et chrétiens, assez de terres pour qu'ils pussent s'occuper d'agriculture, en percevant des impôts équi-

(1) Charles Diehl, *Byzance*, Paris 1934, p. 165-179 ; même auteur, *Les grands Problèmes de l'Histoire byzantine*, Paris 1947, p. 102-107 ; L. Bréhier, *La Civilisation byzantine*, Paris 1950, 163-167 ; G. Finlay, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, London 1851, p. 107.

tables et appliquant une bonne administration <sup>(1)</sup>. En effet, aussitôt qu'il fonda une organisation d'État régulière, le premier sultan seldjouk d'Anatolie, Süleymanshāh (1077-1086) rendit la liberté aux paysans qui travaillaient jusqu'alors comme serfs pour les grands propriétaires terriens byzantins, et attacha les Chrétiens à son État en distribuant des terres entre eux, moyennant impôt. Ainsi l'une des pierres de fondation de l'État seldjoukide — facteur puissant de longévité — était posée <sup>(2)</sup>. L'intérêt que cet homme d'État à large vue témoigna aux Chrétiens et à leur religion, la justice dont il fit preuve envers eux lorsqu'il conquiert Antioche augmenta encore sa célébrité <sup>(3)</sup>. Les luttes incessantes de son fils Kiliç-arslan 1<sup>er</sup> avec les Byzantins et les Croisés, l'occupation partielle des territoires de ses États par ces derniers, n'empêchèrent pas ce prince de se conduire avec clémence et générosité envers ses sujets chrétiens. Cette conduite était en même temps la conséquence du comportement de cet élément autochtone, qui ne prit pas position contre lui durant les périodes difficiles, mais lui fut au contraire favorable. Témoin la population de Malatya et principalement les Syriques qui avaient l'intention de rendre la ville à Kiliç-arslan, ayant à leur tête le métropolite syriaque. C'est pourquoi ce dernier fut tué par ordre de Gabriel. Un fait encore plus digne de remarque : à Constantinople, il y avait jusqu'au temps d'Alexis 1<sup>er</sup> une colonie arménienne et une syriaque, avec leurs églises respectives. Lorsqu'un prêtre venu d'Antioche raconta que Syriques et Arméniens entretenaient des relations avec les Turcs, l'empereur fit brûler ces églises et en fit chasser les adeptes ; la plupart de ceux qui restèrent devinrent « hérétiques », c'est-à-dire orthodoxes. C'est pourquoi la mort de Kiliç-arslan 1<sup>er</sup> en 1107 fut

(1) Osman Turan, *Le Droit terrien sous les Seldjoukides de Turquie*, REIsl. 1948. Dans une nouvelle étude intitulée *Féodalisme seldjoukide* et qui paraîtra bientôt, nous avons exposé le même sujet de façon plus circonstanciée et avec les problèmes qui s'y rattachent.

(2) Finlay, même ouvrage, p. 51 ; Zettersteen, *Suleiman*, in EI. Les beys turkmènes aussi, avaient, tout comme les Sultans, compris le sens de cette politique concernant les sujets et l'agriculture. De même Atsiz agit ainsi en 1076, pour le développement de l'agriculture à Damas et pour que le peuple devint producteur (Ibn ẖalānisi, p. 109, Sibṭ, fol. 32).

(3) Ibn ul Aṣṭr, X, p. 47 ; Sibṭ ibn el-Djevzi, *Mir'āt uz-Zamān*, Bibl. Ahmed III, 2907, 71 a ; Matthieu, p. 187 ; Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, Byzantion XVII, p. 45.

un jour de deuil pour les Chrétiens <sup>(1)</sup>. Dans l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie il est dit à propos de Mes'ūd 1<sup>er</sup> (1116-1156) que « la plus grande partie de son territoire et de ses sujets sont *Rûms* (Grecs) ; à cause de sa justice et de son bon gouvernement, les *Rûms* préférèrent vivre sous son administration » <sup>(2)</sup>. En fait, bien que le règne du sultan Mes'ūd fût une période troublée de l'histoire seldjouke, un incident raconté par Niketas et Kinnamos montre comment l'administration seldjoukide d'alors attirait vers elle la population chrétienne et confirme ainsi pleinement le passage en question de l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie. A l'expédition qu'il entreprit en 1142 contre les Turcs qui assiégeaient Uluborlu (Sozopolis), l'empereur Jean Comnène expulsa de leurs demeures les Chrétiens qui vivaient sur les îles du lac de Beyşehir, parce que ceux-ci entretenaient des rapports de bon voisinage avec les Turcs, et avaient adopté les coutumes de ces derniers, parce qu'ils avaient accepté la protection du sultan de Konya et vivaient dans l'opulence grâce au commerce qu'ils avaient fait avec les Turcs. Excédés par les pressions d'ordre religieux et matériel dont ils souffraient de la part des Byzantins, ils avaient rompu toutes relations avec eux. Devant cet état de choses, l'empereur, qui avait dressé son camp militaire au bord du lac, les somma d'obéir ou de quitter le pays et prendre le chemin de Konya. Comme ils accueillirent cette proposition avec des railleries, l'empereur s'empara — difficilement — des îles et en chassa la population <sup>(3)</sup>. D'ailleurs, la politique à courte vue de Byzance perdait, à cause de pareils incidents, la sympathie des Chrétiens et créait elle-même un penchant en faveur des Turcs.

A côté des facteurs d'ordre matériel qui rendaient l'État seldjoukide sympathique aux Chrétiens, la politique de liberté et de tolérance religieuse n'en constitue pas moins un autre d'égale importance. Kiliç-arslan II (1156-1192) qui fonda l'unité

(1) Matthieu, 263 ; Michel le Syrien, III, p. 185, 186.

(2) *Siḡar al-âbā' al-baḡārika*, Paris Bibl. Nationale ; manuscrits arabes, 301-302, p. 274.

(3) Nicetas Choniates (dans Cousin, *Histoire de Constantinople*), T. V. Paris 1673, p. 37 ; Le Beau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, XVI, p. 52 ; Finlay, p. 175 ; Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, p. 389 ; même auteur, *Intermixture of races in Asia Minor* (proc. Brit. Acad. VII, 1916), p. 27 ; F. Chalendon, *Les Comnènes*, II, p. 181.

nationale en Turquie et assura l'avenir de l'État seldjoukide, ce grand sultan, célèbre pour sa politique avisée, est aussi une personnalité fort attachante à cause de la profonde compréhension, de la tolérance dont il fit preuve envers les religions étrangères. Les rapports amicaux qu'il entretenait (en 1181) à Malatya avec Michel le Syrien, auteur de la fameuse histoire, les discussions religieuses et philosophiques qu'il faisait faire en sa présence, mettent entièrement en lumière sa valeur. Au dire de cet auteur, le sultan avait toujours auprès de lui un philosophe nommé Kemâl ed-Dîn. Quand il vint à Malatya, il envoya à Michel, qui était alors à la tête du monastère de Bar Sauma, une lettre, une crosse sacerdotale et quelque argent. Quand l'année suivante il revint à Malatya, il chargea un détachement de cavalerie commandé par trois émirs de l'inviter en son nom ; lui-même alla en grande pompe au-devant du patriarche et, quoique cela fût contraire aux coutumes islamiques, il lui ordonna de paraître en audience avec crucifix et Évangile, conformément à la tradition chrétienne. Là-dessus le grand-prêtre et sa suite élevèrent les croix au bout des lances et arrivèrent devant le sultan en entonnant des cantiques. Quand le patriarche s'approcha, le sultan ne lui permit même pas de descendre de cheval et, parvenu auprès de lui, il l'embrassa et ne le laissa pas lui baiser la main. Grande fut alors la joie des Chrétiens. L'entretien que le patriarche eut avec le souverain au sujet des religions et des livres saints plut beaucoup au sultan. L'auteur continue en substance ainsi : « Nous entrâmes à l'église où nous priâmes pour le Sultan et pour le peuple ; le lendemain le Sultan écrivit un édit déclarant le monastère exempt d'impôts ; il envoya un présent en or passementé contenant une relique de Saint Pierre. Nous restâmes avec lui un mois à Malatya ; il nous posait alors des questions sur N. S. Jésus-Christ et les prophètes. A son départ de Malatya, j'étais, sur son ordre, avec lui. En route, nous conversâmes avec son philosophe Kemâl ed-Dîn sur les paroles du Livre Saint. Lorsque le philosophe dit que les Syriaques étaient intelligents et sages, le Sultan en fut content ». La lettre que Kiliç-arslan écrivit au patriarche, après sa victoire sur les Byzantins, est aussi très intéressante. Il y

dit qu'il sait que le patriarche est content à cause de ses victoires, que ses succès sont bénis de Dieu, grâce aux prières de ce dernier ; il énumère ensuite les victoires et demande de ne pas cesser de prier pour lui <sup>(1)</sup>.

Nous savons malheureusement fort peu de chose sur ce grand souverain et les activités intellectuelles de son époque. Ce peu de chose suffit néanmoins à faire voir qu'il était intéressé de près aux problèmes religieux et philosophiques, et qu'il pensait avec largeur et liberté d'esprit. On saisit grâce à cette mentalité qui lui est propre qu'il désirait assouplir les dogmes afférents aux questions de religion et de droit et faire évoluer l'institution de l'*Idjtihâd* (libre-examen) dans l'Islam, dans un sens favorable à un règlement plus aisé des affaires de ce monde. En effet, dans une discussion juridico-religieuse qui eut lieu devant lui entre 'Alâ' ed-Dîn Kâshânî et Esh-sha'rânî, celui-ci prétendit, sur la foi d'une tradition venant d'Abû Ḥanîfa, que tous les « *müdjtehid* » étaient justes dans leur *idjtihâd*, tandis que Kâshânî, se référant, lui aussi, à Abû Ḥanîfa, dit qu'ils pouvaient tout aussi bien avoir tort. La discussion ayant dégénéré en querelle, le sultan dit à son vizir d'éloigner du pays Kâshânî. Mais le vizir opina que celui-ci étant un personnage important, mieux vaudrait se débarrasser de lui en l'envoyant comme ambassadeur auprès de Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd. Ainsi fut fait <sup>(2)</sup>. C'est à cause de sa conception religieuse large, de sa tolérance et de ses tendances philosophiques que le fanatique Mahométan Nûr ed-Dîn se refusait à considérer ce grand monarque comme un Musulman véritable ; il le prenait pour un impie, un libre-penseur et invitait ce *gâzî* de l'Islam, comme condition à la conclusion de la paix, à renouveler son credo ; il lui enjoignait aussi de faire la paix avec ses voisins musulmans et de passer à l'état de guerre contre les Byzantins et les Francs, disant que dans le cas contraire il serait obligé de ne pas admettre qu'un souverain musulman se trouvait à la tête d'un pays musulman <sup>(3)</sup>. La conduite de Nûr ed-Dîn

(1) Michel le Syrien, III, p. 390, 394, 395.

(2) Ibn al-'Adîm, *Buġya*, British Museum, add. 23354, 2 b.

(3) Ibn el-Astr, *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, dans R. textes des Croisades, Hlst. Orient. T. II, 2, p. 291.

est sans doute dictée aussi par la rivalité politique existant entre les deux souverains. Mais il ne faut pas oublier non plus que le caractère de Kiliç-arslan joue également un rôle considérable dans l'accusation que porte ce monarque dévot à cause de son comportement dans les affaires de religion. Il sied donc de trouver naturelle la conduite des Arméniens qui jugeaient Kiliç-arslan magnanime et le reconnaissaient comme leur protecteur et leur bienfaiteur, envers et contre les souverains chrétiens (1). Son fils Rükn ed-Dîn Süleymanshāh, qui avait su rétablir l'unité seldjouke, menacée de dislocation, fut considéré par la foule comme tombé en hérésie, pour avoir prôné, comme son père, la liberté de pensée et s'être adonné à la philosophie. On dit qu'il accordait crédit aux doctrines des philosophes et leur faisait de larges dons. Mais comme il était très intelligent, il cachait ses croyances à la foule, afin de ne pas s'attirer sa haine. Un jour, un libre-penseur, adepte de la doctrine des philosophes, et un faḳīh (théologien) avaient eu une discussion, et ce dernier avait battu le philosophe, sans que le monarque eût pu élever la voix. Quand, après le départ du faḳīh, le philosophe dit à Rükn ed-Dîn : « Comment pareille chose peut-elle se passer en ta présence ? » Celui-ci répondit : « Si j'avais parlé sur ce sujet, ils nous auraient tous tués ; il n'est pas possible de manifester ce que tu désires ! (2) ».

Les visites des sultans seldjoukides à Constantinople et leur mariage avec des Chrétiennes influaient sans doute favorablement sur leur tolérance et leur sympathie envers leurs sujets chrétiens. La vie que menait à Istanbul Ġiyās ed-Dîn Keykhusrev, fils puiné de Kiliç-arslan (mort en 1211) ne fut pas trouvée conforme au Sheriat et l'on dit que le Kadi Tirmizī délivra pour cette raison un *Fetvā* précisant que ce prince ne pouvait accéder au trône. Même si l'authenticité du *Fetvā* est sujette à caution, le fait seul que des rumeurs pareilles pouvaient circuler à Konya

(1) Grégoire le Prêtre, *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse, Continué par Grégoire le Prêtre*, trad. E. Dulaurier, Paris 1858, p. 344, 346, 348.

(2) Ibn al-Aṣṭr, *Kāmil*, XII, p. 76 ; Ibn Bībī, *al-Avāmīr el-'alāniyye ft'l-Umūr el-'Alāniyye*, *Ayasofya* 2985, p. 59 ; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, transl. E.A.W. Budge, Oxford 1932, p. 360.

est suffisamment digne d'attention <sup>(1)</sup>. D'ailleurs, une autre rumeur s'était répandue à Constantinople, d'après laquelle l'empereur de Byzance aurait baptisé le sultan <sup>(2)</sup>. Or ce sultan, dont la culture islamique était très forte, avait senti à Byzance la fierté d'appartenir à la dynastie seldjouke et d'être le fils des Alp-arslan et des Melik-shāh <sup>(3)</sup>. Sa mère était chrétienne et, d'après une mention, erronée sans doute, la haine que lui vouait son frère Rūkn ed-Dīn avait pour cause cette parenté <sup>(4)</sup>. Durant son séjour à Byzance, il se maria avec la fille de Mavrozom. Les trois fils de Ġiyās ed-Dīn Keykhusrev II (1237-1244) étaient nés des femmes chrétiennes qu'il avait épousées, hors de ses femmes appartenant respectivement aux dynasties Ayyūbite et Mengüçük. La mère de İzz ed-dīn Keykāvus II, Berdülüye, était d'une famille chrétienne ; c'est probablement elle que Vincent de Beauvais désigne comme la fille du bourgeois de Konya <sup>(5)</sup>. Le célèbre voyageur G. de Rubrouck, qui passa par Konya au moment de la lutte de Keykāvus et de Rūkn ed-Dīn Kiliç-arslan, dit que Ġiyās ed-Dīn avait, à part son fils Keykāvus, qu'il avait eu d'une princesse géorgienne, deux autres dont l'un était né d'une odalisque grecque et l'autre d'une femme turque ; que des Turcs et des Turkmènes en grand nombre s'étaient entendus avec le dernier, pour tuer les enfants des femmes chrétiennes, et que, d'après ce qu'on lui raconta à Konya, ceux-ci se proposaient de détruire, une fois la victoire remportée, toutes les églises et de massacrer tous les Chrétiens, mais qu'ils furent défaits et que le prince fut enchaîné. Ils'agit là, sans doute, de Rūkn ed-Dīn Kiliç-arslan <sup>(6)</sup>. Pourtant diverses sources indiquent que lui aussi est né d'une mère chrétienne, qui était même fille de prêtre <sup>(7)</sup>.

Pour bien montrer quelle était à cette époque la situation

(1) Ibn Bibī, p. 94.

(2) Le Beau, XVIII, p. 288.

(3) Ibn Bibī, p. 53.

(4) Nicetas, p. 531 : *Seldjouk-nāme anonyme*, Ankara 1952, p. 41.

(5) Ibn Bibī, p. 473 ; Aksaraylı, *Müsāmeret ül-aḥbār*, éd. Osman Turan, p. 40, 50 ; Vincent de Beauvais, *Miroir historial*, trad. J. de Vigny, Paris 1495, 1531, Livre XXXII, Chap. 26 ; Pachymère, trad. Cousin (*Hist. Const.*) T. VI, p. 110.

(6) W. of Rubrouck, transl. W. Rockhill, London 1900, p. 280.

(7) Ibn Bibī, p. 473 ; Abu 'l Faraġ, *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beyrouth 1890, p. 447 ; V. de Beauvais, loc. cit.

des femmes chrétiennes à la Cour seldjoukide et à quel degré étonnant la tolérance envers le Christianisme y était poussé, il convient de parler du mariage de Keykhusrev avec la princesse géorgienne et de mentionner les promesses qu'il fit à l'occasion d'une autre tentative matrimoniale. Lors de son union en 1237 avec la fille de Rosudan, le Sultan avait promis de ne pas s'occuper de la religion de sa femme. D'après la source géorgienne, la princesse avait emporté à la Cour seldjoukide son prêtre, ses icônes, ses suivantes et ses serviteurs. Jusqu'au jour où sa mère qui l'avait accompagnée, la calomnia, disant, dans le but de priver l'héritier David du trône, qu'elle entretenait un commerce illicite avec son frère, la princesse conserva sa religion ; mais le sultan, au reçu de la lettre calomniatrice, lui imposa de force l'Islam, fit tuer quelques gens de sa suite et jeter quelques autres, dont David, en prison. Abu'l Faraj, qui raconte cet événement en concordance avec les sources géorgiennes, note, sans parler de calomnie, que peu de temps après, la reine passa à l'Islamisme <sup>(1)</sup>. Quelles que fussent les circonstances de sa conversion, cette reine appelée en Turquie Gürçi Hatûn (la Dame géorgienne) et qui se remaria et prit pour époux Muîn ed-Dîn Pervâne, entretenait des relations suivies avec des savants et des derviches musulmans tels que Djelâl ed-dîn Rûmî ; elle était musulmane sincère et amie de la bienfaisance <sup>(2)</sup>. Le même esprit se retrouve dans la lettre de Ġiyâş ed-Dîn, par laquelle il demande à Baudouin, empereur latin de Constantinople, la main d'une princesse de ses parentes, en conformité avec un traité d'alliance dont la signature est décidée. Le sultan dit dans cette lettre que la princesse jouirait d'une liberté entière en fait de religion, comme chez son propre père, qu'elle aurait une chapelle dans le palais, qu'elle pourrait garder des gens d'Église auprès d'elle, que lui, le sultan, ne détestait pas du tout cela, car tant que vivait son père, sa mère qui était une Grecque avait pleine liberté de faire ses prières

(1) Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I p. 502, 524 ; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 403 ; Saint-Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, II, p. 292 ; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mamelouks*, I, 2, p. 141.

(2) Efiâki Dede, *Menâkıb el-'ârîfîn*, trad. Cl. Huart, *Les Saints des Derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918-1922, I, II, cf. Index.

selon son propre culte. De plus, l'envoyé du sultan promettait que son maître ferait édifier une église pour les Chrétiens dans chaque ville, qu'il allouerait des revenus à ces temples et à leurs servants et ajoutait qu'il assurerait la reconnaissance de la suprématie du patriarche de Constantinople et de l'Église romaine par les évêques et les archevêques grecs, arméniens et autres se trouvant dans ses États. Mais le sultan ayant plus tard préféré s'entendre avec les Byzantins contre les Mongols (traité conclu en 1243 à Akropolites), le projet d'alliance et, partant, celui du mariage ne purent être réalisés. Cette lettre écrite à Constantinople le 5 août 1243, est conservée dans les Archives françaises <sup>(1)</sup>. Quand on pense que la mère de Ġiyās ed-Dîn était Māhperî Hatûn et qu'Alâ' ed-Dîn Keykubād, après avoir pris la forteresse de Kalonoros ('Alā'iye), épousa la fille de Kirvârd, souverain de cette cité, l'on se fait une idée claire de l'origine de cette dame. Cette princesse, dont la piété est démontrée grâce aux grands monuments religieux qu'elle laissa, était musulmane au moins depuis 635 (1237) d'après les inscriptions qui se trouvent sur ces édifices <sup>(2)</sup>.

Les détails fournis par les sources seldjoukides sur les rapports des sultans de l'époque avec leurs sujets chrétiens montrent que les auteurs chrétiens n'exagéraient pas beaucoup à ce propos <sup>(3)</sup>. De fait, au temps d'Izz ed-Dîn Keykâvus II, les oncles chrétiens du sultan nommés Kir Khāya et Kir Kedid, étaient devenus très influents et avaient accédé au poste de commandant d'armée (Beglerbegi). Tâdj ed-Dîn Hüseyin, fils de Fakhr ed-Dîn 'Ali, avait épousé la fille de Kir Khāya. On prétend que pour éloigner le sultan des docteurs de la Loi, ses oncles l'avaient emmené à Antalya où l'on s'adonnait aux jeux et au plaisir ; ces oncles allaient jusqu'à railler la religion des Musulmans. Une fois, dans une excursion faite dans la plaine de Filobâd, Kadi Bedî' üd-Dîn était de la partie. L'oncle

(1) Ducange, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français*, ed. Buchon, Paris 1826, p. 289-291 ; *Le Magasin pittoresque*, Paris 1845, p. 263.

(2) Ibn Bibi, p. 247 ; Halil Edhem, *Kayseriye Şehri*, Istanbul 1334, p. 62-68 ; İsmail Hakkî, *Kütâbeler*, I, p. 75.

(3) Aksarayî, p. 40, 82 ; Baybars Mansurî, *Zubdat ul-fikre*, British Museum. Add. 23325, 53 a.

chrétien du sultan dit moqueusement à ce dernier, à propos de l'occupation de Bagdad par les Mongols : « Mevlâna, il paraît qu'on va tuer votre Khalife ! », sur quoi le Kadi lui riposta : « De votre propre aveu, l'on a pendu votre Dieu ; qu'est l'assassinat de notre Khalife auprès de cela ? » (1). Eflâkî, de son côté, confirme l'authenticité de l'incident en disant que des discussions sur les religions avaient eu lieu entre Chrétiens et Musulmans au temps où Keykâvus s'amusait au palais de Filobâd et que le sultan avait posé aux savants musulmans une foule de questions épineuses de forme légendaire, dit la source, poussant les interlocuteurs à démontrer que l'Islam est l'unique religion vraie, question auxquelles seul Djelâl ed-Dîn Rûmî aurait su répondre (2). Il se peut bien qu'à la suite de la querelle survenue entre 'Izz ed-Dîn et Rûkn ed-Dîn, querelle dont parle Rubrouck (voir plus haut), la rumeur selon laquelle ce dernier aurait voulu tuer tous les Chrétiens, ait fait son apparition, comme une expression du mécontentement des Musulmans devant la trop grande faveur accordée aux Chrétiens par 'Izz ed-Dîn. En racontant cela à Rubrouck les Chrétiens de Konya ont dû certainement dire en même temps qu'ils étaient partisans de Keykâvus. Abu'l Faraj écrit entre autres qu'en 1258 Keykâvus vint au monastère de Bar Sauma et promit à Mar Dionysius une foule de bonnes choses (3).

Cette tolérance religieuse des sultans seldjoukides et la sympathie dont ils faisaient montre envers les Chrétiens se reflètent dans les sources chrétiennes sous forme de légendes selon lesquelles ces sultans auraient pratiqué secrètement le Christianisme. En effet, Pachymère et Gregoras disent que le patriarche Arsinius, ami des Seldjoukides, avait témoigné une grande amitié à Keykâvus, lors de son séjour à Constantinople, amitié qui prêta même, disent-ils, à des cancans. Par contre, d'après l'évêque de Pisidie, le patriarche se défendait en 1266 en déclarant que Keykâvus était un Chrétien caché et que lui, le patriarche,

(1) Aksarayî, p. 50, 51.

(2) *Derviches tourneurs*, II, p. 196, 197.

(3) *Chronography*, p. 435.

travaillait dans cette direction <sup>(1)</sup>. Sur Kiliç-arslan II, dont nous avons esquissé plus haut le portrait, des légendes populaires similaires pénétrèrent jusqu'aux sources des Croisés. Ainsi, la mère de ce sultan serait la sœur du comte de St. Gilles. A son lit de mort, cette femme aurait prié son fils d'adhérer au Christianisme, de croire en Jésus-Christ et d'aimer les Chrétiens. Le sultan lui ayant répondu que devant les païens (c'est-à-dire les Musulmans) cela était impossible, la mère aurait dit : « Mon fils, quand je mourrai, fais-moi construire un tombeau en forme de pyramide et placer une croix dessus ». Le sultan lui ayant répliqué qu'il ne pourrait placer la croix en plein jour, sa mère lui aurait demandé de le faire pendant la nuit. Quand le sultan mit ce vœu en pratique, les Musulmans en furent, dit-on, blessés ; là-dessus, deux Musulmans voulurent arracher la croix de l'endroit où elle était fixée, mais ils tombèrent tous deux raides morts. Quand, trois jours plus tard, une foule composée de Musulmans vint pour démolir le tombeau, la foudre en tua la plupart <sup>(2)</sup>. D'après le voyageur français B. de la Broquière (XV<sup>e</sup> siècle) la mère du Bey des Turkmènes Ramazanoğlu était une Grecque chrétienne qui fit baptiser son fils afin de faire disparaître *la mauvaise odeur* existant chez les non baptisés. Le fils disait que de Mohammed et de Jésus il préférait celui des deux qui était en vie ; il n'était par conséquent ni bon musulman, ni bon chrétien. Il paraît que Karamanoğlu aussi fut baptisé de la même manière <sup>(3)</sup>.

Ces rumeurs sont importantes, plus pour l'impression favorable que les sultans seldjoukides avait faite sur les Chrétiens que pour caractériser ces princes. De fait, à cette époque, où la civilisation musulmane était supérieure à la chrétienne, où les Chrétiens d'Anatolie étaient très faibles du point de vue culturel, il ne peut être question de penchant pour la religion chrétienne elle-même dans la large tolérance et l'intérêt que

(1) M. M. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, II, p. 370-371 ; P. Wittek, *Yazijioghlu Ali on the Christian Turks of Dobruja*, B 50 As, XIV-3 (1952), p. 659-661.

(2) Nicolas de Treveth, *Chronique* (in Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, Paris 1829, I, p. 441).

(3) *Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, p. 89-92 ; Hasluck, *Chris. Isl.* I, p. 32.

témoignaient les sultans seldjoukides envers les Chrétiens. D'ailleurs, l'éducation de ces princes était basée sur une forte culture islamique ; ils s'intéressaient beaucoup à l'histoire et à la littérature musulmanes, et même les poèmes qu'ils écrivirent en persan nous sont parvenus. Tels Tuğrul-beg, Alp-arslan et Melik-shāh, ces princes se sentaient les sultans et les héros de l'Islam. Libéraux encore imbus sous bien des rapports de vieilles croyances, de pensées et de modes de vie chamanes, ils étaient néanmoins conscients de leur fidélité à l'esprit de l'Islam et au Prophète et même, selon des Ḥadīs (paroles du Prophète) alors en circulation — et quel qu'en soit le degré d'authenticité — ils croyaient sincèrement que le Prophète les bénissait et les confirmait dans leurs actes et paroles <sup>(1)</sup>. Tuğrul-beg disait : « Si je bâtissais une maison et si je n'édifiais pas une mosquée à côté, j'aurais honte de Dieu ». C'est de cet idéal que découle le fait qu'à côté des grandes mosquées et des caravansérails destinés au service public, les palais seldjouks et ottomans sont de modestes proportions <sup>(2)</sup>. Ces princes savaient qu'en Anatolie, pays rempli et entouré de Chrétiens, leur sort était lié à celui de l'Islam et qu'il leur était nécessaire de renforcer la culture islamique et l'esprit de Guerre Sainte. D'ailleurs, l'idée de lutte, introduite dans la société chamane préislamique, s'était jointe chez eux à l'idéal de guerre pour la religion (*Djihād*) <sup>(3)</sup>. Par conséquent, les sultans seldjouks, pour garder vivace l'idéal de la Guerre Sainte, faisaient accompagner les expéditions militaires de religieux et de *Gāzī* <sup>(4)</sup>. La première rencontre belliqueuse de l'armée de Kiliç-arslan II et de celle des Dānishmendites fut empêchée grâce au zèle religieux des ulémas se trouvant dans les deux camps <sup>(5)</sup>. La première chose que faisaient les sultans seldjouks à la conquête de chaque ville ou de chaque bourgade était d'y nommer des juges (*kādi*), des

(1) Mahmud Kāşgari, *Divānu lugat it-Türk I*, p. 294 ; Rāvendī, *Rāhat uş-Şudūr*, GM, p. 17, 18, 65 ; Nedjmeddin Rāzi, *Mirşād ul-'ibād*, Tahrān, 13 ; Jüveynī, *Jihān-gushā*, ed. M. Kazvini, GM. I, 17 ; Nizām ed-dīn shāmi, *Zafer-nāme*, ed. F. Tauer, p. 218 ; Aksarayī, p. 51 ; *Menāḳib ul-'ārifīn*, Bibl. Ankara Maarif. 227 a.

(2) 'Imād ed-dīn 'Isfahānī, *Zubdat un-nuṣṣa*, ed. Houtsma, p. 27.

(3) Voir notre *Turcs et Islamisme*, p. 470-473.

(4) Ibn Bībī, p. 137, 138.

(5) Grégoire le Prêtre, p. 343-344.

professeurs (*müderriş*), des *imams*, des orateurs religieux (*khatib*) et des *müezzins*, puis d'édifier des mosquées, des collèges (*médresés*), des couvents (*zāviye*), de faire donc des villes et des bourgades en question des cités musulmanes et de leur insuffler de la force grâce à la culture islamique. Pour les villes et bourgs conquis lors de l'expédition de Melik-shāh à Antioche, on avait aussitôt envoyé cinquante chaires de mosquée (*minber*). Süleyman-Shāh, le premier sultan seldjoukide de Turquie, avait demandé de Syrie un juge (*kādī*) pour l'organisation religieuse des territoires situés autour de Tarsus <sup>(1)</sup>. Kiliç-arslan II, dont nous avons relaté plus haut les idées libérales et le comportement envers les Chrétiens, fit de la ville d'Aksaray, qu'il avait fait bâtir, un pied-à-terre pour ses expéditions et y fit construire à cet effet des mosquées, des collèges, (*médressés*), des palais, des caravansérails et des bazars; il y installa les *gāzī*, les négociants et les savants qu'il avait fait venir d'Azerbaydjan. Dans cette ville, qu'il habitait souvent et dont il avait fait un camp militaire musulman, il ne permit pas, afin qu'elle ne perdît rien de son caractère, que les Grecs, les Arméniens et les gens peu recommandables demeuraient. Pour cette raison, chaque ville ou bourgade d'Anatolie était alors connue par un surnom indiquant sa renommée, et Aksaray prit de la sorte celui de *Dār üz-zafer* (Lieu de la Victoire). Ainsi, tandis que Kiliç-arslan était connu des peuples chrétiens à cause de sa générosité, de sa justice et de sa charité, il entra pour les Musulmans dans l'histoire comme un des grands *gāzī* et réformateurs de la religion <sup>(2)</sup>. Tout en poursuivant leur politique islamique, ces souverains faisaient en même temps preuve de tolérance envers les communautés religieuses et les sectes musulmanes non sunnites. Ainsi qu'on le verra dans le chapitre intitulé : « Turcs musulmans et autochtones chrétiens », il n'y a dans les sources aucune trace de persécution ni de pression. Si d'ailleurs ils n'étaient, sous bien des rapports, de grandes personnalités, il n'aurait pas été ques-

(1) 'Imād ed-dīn Isfahānī, *Zubdat un-nuṣṣa*, ed. Houtsma, p. 55 ; Sibṭ ibn al-Djevzi, *Mir'āt uz-Zamān*, Topkapı, Ahmed III, 2907 (t. XIII), p. 62 b.

(2) Kādī Ahmed de Nigde, *al-Valad al-Shafīk* Bibl. Fatih 4519, p. 191, 292 ; Aksarayı, p. 30 ; Seldjoukname anonyme, p. 38 ; Hamdullah Kāzvinī, *Nuḣṣat al-Kulūb*, G.M. 95 ; *Tarikhī Guxida*, G.M. 482.

tion de la fondation d'une patrie turque à une époque si troublée de l'histoire.

Ces princes, toutefois, ne s'attachaient qu'à l'esprit de l'Islam ; dans les détails, bien des traditions leur étaient indifférentes, et ils recommandaient d'agir dans ce domaine selon les intérêts pratiques de l'État. Par exemple, quoique l'Islamisme eût prescrit à tout Musulman la Guerre Sainte comme un devoir sacré, et que le fondement de la force armée fût la troupe des soldats d'*ikṭā'* musulmans et les sipahis disséminés partout dans le pays, ils entretenaient au siège du gouvernement un fort contingent de mercenaires chrétiens, composé de Francs, d'Arméniens et de Géorgiens. C'est grâce à ces mercenaires que les Seldjoukides purent apaiser la révolte de Baba Işḥak<sup>(1)</sup>, parce qu'à côté des Turkmènes qui croyaient en la mission prophétique de Baba Resûl, les soldats musulmans formant le contingent de l'armée seldjouke, pris de peur devant la force morale de ce dernier, n'osaient pas assaillir les révoltés. Même un souverain tel que 'Alâ' ed-Dîn Keyḳubād (1219-1237) avait nommé commandant d'armée, pour l'expédition d'Arménie, un Chrétien appartenant à la famille des Comnène, l'Émir Komnenos, père de la marâtre du souverain<sup>(2)</sup>. Nous avons dans les textes quelques mentions qui montrent qu'aux premiers temps, il y avait des fonctionnaires chrétiens. Vers la fin du règne de Kiliç-arslan II, un prêtre grec appelé Michel comptait parmi les fonctionnaires de l'administration des Finances. Dānīshmend Gāzī, qui avait pris Malatya à Gabriel en 1102, y laissa un Chrétien nommé Basile comme administrateur. Les Syriaques et les Juifs qui, au temps de splendeur de la civilisation islamique avaient perdu leur ancienne situation privilégiée, conservèrent néanmoins longtemps encore leur renommée en tant que médecins. Hasnon était venu en Turquie seldjoukide pour soigner Ikhtiyār üd-Dîn Hasan, vizir de Kiliç-arslan II, et Seyf ed-Dîn, Grand-Ecuyer. Au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle la médecine avait beaucoup progressé en Anatolie, parallèlement au développement général de la

(1) Voir notre article : *Keyhusrev II*, dans *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* et *Kişîs al-'adāla* dans les *Mélanges Köprülü*, İstanbul 1953.

(2) Pour Émir Komnenos, voir notre article *Keyhusrev I<sup>er</sup>*, dans : *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

culture. On y avait dans chaque ville de grands hôpitaux, où l'on faisait des cours de médecine ; nous avons dans les sources des indications en nombre suffisant au sujet de tout cela et sur les médecins. Mais nonobstant cet état de choses, ce furent deux médecins chrétiens, appelés l'un Safy ed-Devle et l'autre Vasil, auxquels on eut recours pour soigner Keykubâd. A la cour d'Aydinoğlu Mehmed beg, il y avait un médecin juif ; l'estime et la haute situation dont celui-ci jouissait à cause de son habileté blessèrent les sentiments religieux du voyageur Ibn Baṭūṭa, qui l'avait vu <sup>(1)</sup>.

Quand on étudie les relations existant entre l'État seldjoukide et la population chrétienne, il convient de prendre en considération les mouvements de déportation en masse qui eurent souvent lieu au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Car si l'on n'explique pas les causes d'événements tels que le transport massif des Chrétiens avec leurs familles, leurs troupeaux, leurs biens meubles, d'une contrée à l'autre, la nature des relations en question ici reste obscure et vague. Ces déportations qui ont eu lieu surtout au temps des guerres et incursions entreprises par les souverains seldjoukides, dānishmendites et artukides les uns contre les autres, furent la conséquence de facteurs économiques. En effet, les luttes, et les dévastations subséquentes, qui duraient depuis longtemps avaient diminué la production, à tel point qu'un grand nombre de villes et de villages tombaient en ruines. Par ailleurs, une grande partie des Turkmènes venus en Anatolie continuait encore à vivre la vie de nomades. C'est pour cette raison que, dans le but de rehausser la prospérité du pays, les souverains seldjoukides s'occupèrent sans relâche de l'installation des populations musulmanes et chrétiennes, leur distribuant, en cas de besoin, des terres, des outils agricoles, des animaux et des grains de semence ; édifiaient des maisons et des villages, accordant même quelquefois à cet effet des exemptions d'impôt. C'est donc là la raison du transport en masse et de la réinstallation des Chrétiens au sujet desquels nous allons rapporter ici-même certains incidents. La déclaration de l'Artukide Kara-arslan, faite au sujet

(1) Bar Hebraeus, p. 237, 334, 391 ; Ibn Bībī, p. 296, 297 ; Ibn Baṭūṭa, trad. Sherif Pasha, I, 333.

d'une pareille déportation, dit éloquemment ce qu'elle veut dire : « Nous n'allons pas faire des esclaves des gens que nous avons emmenés ; nous les transporterons aux villages et eux travailleront pour nous dans leurs fermes (1) ».

Ainsi que nous l'avons dit plus haut, Belek avait transporté en masse, avec biens et troupeaux, les Arméniens de Gerger adonnés au brigandage et leur avait assigné des villages dans la région de Hanazit (2). Dānismend Gâzî, qui avait guerroyé contre Gabriel et les Francs à l'époque où il prit Malatya, renvoya à ses villages le peuple dispersé alors aux alentours et distribua du blé, des bœufs et autres matières servant à la production agricole. Quand le fils de ce prince prit cette même ville, il agit de même : il distribua aux cultivateurs du blé de semence, des bœufs, des troupeaux de moutons (3). Le souverain dānismendite Yagî-Basan profita des difficultés dans lesquelles se débattait Kiliç-arslan II et envahit la région de Kayseri (Lykandos). Il transporta chez lui la population chrétienne, forte de 70.000 individus, sans porter atteinte à la liberté de ces gens. Après cet incident, Kiliç-arslan qui y vint en 1157, accepta la requête de la population qui demandait à ne pas être transportée et contenta le peuple dispersé vers les frontières de la Petite Arménie (Cilicie) en le réinstallant dans ses propres villages. Le sultan Mes'ūd et son fils Kiliç-arslan emportèrent à leur retour de la campagne sans succès de Malatya, déjà une première fois beaucoup de gens, et une seconde fois exactement 12.000 personnes (4). Dans ces transports l'on saisit aussi l'intention de porter atteinte à la force de production de l'ennemi. Mais quelles que soient l'aide et la protection accordées par l'État, dans les mouvements de transport en masse, on voit surtout au début, que le peuple ne désirait point se séparer de son pays et que, bien des fois, il réagissait contre de pareils mouvements par une grande frayeur. Ainsi, l'assaut donné par le monarque Dānismendite Mehmed contre son frère Devle

(1) Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 276.

(2) Michel le Syrien, III, p. 206.

(3) Michel le Syrien III, p. 188, 220 ; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 237.

(4) Grégoire le Prêtre, p. 343-347 ; Michel le Syrien, III, p. 259, 345.

à Malatya fit croire au peuple, terriblement effrayé, qu'il serait exilé en masse à Sivas <sup>(1)</sup>.

On a par contre d'autres exemples montrant que les émigrés se sentaient plus heureux dans leur nouvelle patrie. Les détails que l'on donne à propos d'une expédition que fit Ġiyās ed-Dîn Keykhusrev I<sup>er</sup> en 1196 dans la région de Menderes, placée alors sous l'administration byzantine, sont, à ce point de vue, très intéressants. Le sultan, revenant avec son armée, ramena avec lui une forte population grecque. Il s'enquit de ceux qui, parmi ses soldats, avaient pris de force les biens de ces gens-là et molesté leurs femmes et leurs filles ; il leur restitua les biens pris. Il fit inscrire dans des cahiers les noms, les pays des exilés, ainsi que les noms des personnes qui les avaient faits prisonniers. Il sépara les gens par groupes de cinq mille, selon les familles et les pays, et leur procura des vivres pour le voyage. Il installa à la région d'Akşehir (Philomelion) un groupe qu'il avait fait transporter ainsi, lui distribua des habitations et des terres, des outils agricoles et de la semence ; enfin, il l'exempta d'impôts pour une durée de cinq ans, et même après la conclusion de la paix avec l'empereur de Byzance, il donna aux gens l'autorisation de retourner, s'ils le voulaient, à leur pays d'origine. Mais ces hommes étaient très contents de leur nouvelle patrie ; ils ne voulurent pas rentrer ; et les Grecs, pressurés par l'administration byzantine, émigrèrent, en voyant la prospérité de ces gens, du territoire byzantin, et devinrent sujets du sultan. Devant ce fait, un historien byzantin bien connu déclare en substance ceci, qui est très intéressant : une conduite si clément vis-à-vis des prisonniers fit oublier à ceux-ci leur propre patrie ; beaucoup de gens émigrèrent vers le pays du sultan, sans que, pour cela, il y eût guerre. De ce fait, le nombre des saints a diminué ; les villes de Rûm se sont vidées, et les gens sont allés chez les barbares pour y fonder des colonies. Il ne faut pas s'étonner que les peuples souffrant sous le joug des tyrans et se trouvant privés d'aide n'aient pas leurs maîtres et quittent de leur propre gré leur pays <sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) Michel le Syrien, III, p. 253.

(2) Nicetas, p. 504, 505 ; Le Beau, XVII, p. 28.

A côté de ce passage particulièrement important, non seulement du point de vue des relations de l'État seldjoukide avec les autochtones, mais aussi pour la remise au jour d'autres problèmes de l'histoire, il sied de rappeler ici encore une fois la situation des habitants des environs de Beyşehir, qui s'attachèrent au sultan Mes'ūd et prirent position contre Jean Comnène. Toutefois, il y eut, à l'occasion des conquêtes, des cas où la population chrétienne était expulsée et remplacée par des Turcs. En effet, au moment où l'expédition de Ġiyās ed-Dīn sur les territoires byzantins s'achevait de la sorte, son frère Muḥid-Dīn Mes'ūd, melik (roi) d'Ankara, assiégea et prit la ville de *Dadybra* (Devrek?), dans la guerre qu'il entreprit en 1197 en Paphlagonie contre Byzance. La requête de la population visant à rester en ville, contre paiement d'impôts, fut rejetée ; on accepta seulement que les gens abandonnassent la ville, avec familles et biens, et des Turcs furent installés à leur place <sup>(1)</sup>.

Les Chrétiens d'Anatolie vivant sous l'administration seldjoukide ont librement conservé l'organisation de leurs Églises, leurs institutions religieuses ; et les Grecs n'ont eu aucune difficulté à maintenir des relations avec le patriarche de Constantinople. Les métropolitites et les évêques grecs-orthodoxes des villes et bourgades étaient placés sous les ordres de ce patriarche. En 1173 le métropolitite d'Ankara, Michel, étant dans la gêne, c'est-à-dire se trouvant à la tête d'une toute petite communauté chrétienne au milieu d'une forte majorité turque, s'adressa au conseil du Synode réuni à Constantinople pour demander son transfert à l'évêché de Giresun <sup>(2)</sup>. Quand l'empereur de Byzance Michel Paléologue (1259-1282) vint à Konya pour s'assurer l'aide du sultan contre ses ennemis, l'évêque de Konya joua le rôle de médiateur entre le souverain seldjoukide et l'empereur <sup>(3)</sup>. Marco Polo dit que les villes de Turcomanie (Anatolie) sont les centres des diocèses, mais il se contente

(1) Nicetas, p. 478 ; Le Beau, XVII, p. 14 ; P. Wittek, *Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie*, Byzantion X (1939), p. 42.

(2) V. Grumel, *Léon Métropolitite d'Amasée* (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), *Études Byzantines*, T. III (1945), p. 168.

(3) Pachymère, p. 14.

d'ajouter qu'il serait long de fournir des renseignements à leur sujet <sup>(1)</sup>. G. de Rubrouck parle de son côté des églises et lieux de pèlerinage célèbres de Sivas et de Kayseri <sup>(2)</sup>. Il n'est pas nécessaire de citer ici les autres passages concernant cette question. <sup>(3)</sup> Ce qui est encore digne de remarque, c'est que dans des inscriptions placées sur certains édifices, par exemple dans celle en grec, datée de 1283, qui se trouve au-dessus de la porte de St. Chariton, appelé par les Turcs Ak Manastir (Monastère blanc), près Konya, le nom de l'empereur Andronikos est cité avant celui de Ġiyās ed-Dîn Mas'ūd <sup>(4)</sup>.

Lorsqu'on parle de la situation des Chrétiens vis-à-vis de l'État seldjoukide, il y a lieu aussi de s'arrêter sur la question de savoir comment les principes traditionnels posés par l'Islam au sujet des *Zimmî* (Chrétiens et Juifs) y étaient appliqués, ou plutôt, si de pareils principes existaient réellement. Quel que soit le degré d'authenticité de la fameuse déclaration attribuée au Khalife Omar, nous savons qu'à des époques diverses, les États islamiques promulguaient souvent des édits visant l'application des principes fixés par ce document, en ce qui concerne l'habillement, la construction et la restauration des églises, le mode des cérémonies religieuses chez les *Zimmî*. Même sous le règne de Melik-shāh, le khalife avait signé un *tevkîr* (édit) concernant la distinction de leur habillement de celui des Musulmans <sup>(5)</sup>. Nous n'avons aucun renseignement sur la zone d'application de cet édit, c'est-à-dire que nous ne savons pas s'il fut appliqué hors de la Mésopotamie, sur les territoires de l'Empire de Melik-shāh ; nous ignorons aussi si ce prince s'y intéressa. Au contraire, si Melik-shāh, décrit avec tant d'admiration et d'éloges par les Chrétiens, avait fait cela, on en aurait trouvé sans faute la trace dans les sources. Ces édits promulgués en conformité avec la tradition, ne peuvent

(1) Ed. Charignon, I, 34.

(2) W. Rockhill, p. 276.

(3) A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrh.* Leipzig, 1903, pp. 16-18, 168.

(4) Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam* II, 381, 382.

(5) Ibn ul-Djevzi, *el-Muntazam*, Haydarabād 1359, IX, p. 55 ; 'Imād ed-Dîn Isfahāni, *Zubdat un-nusra* ed. Houtsma, p. 78.

être considérés comme des moyens de pression sur les *Zimmi*, mais le sentiment d'infériorité que faisait naître chez eux cette différence de costume les poussait à négliger d'obéir aux stipulations et avait donc aussi pour effet la promulgation de nouveaux édits. Pendant que les Seldjoukides régnaient en Anatolie, des édits nouveaux de cette sorte faisaient leur apparition en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte. Ainsi, Nûr ed-Dîn Mahmûd, qui était très dévot et très méticuleux dans l'application des principes religieux, avait, en se basant sur la déclaration d'Omar, rendu obligatoire aux Chrétiens de porter ceinture, de ne pas laisser pousser de longs cheveux, et aux Juifs d'attacher un morceau d'étoffe rouge sur leur épaule, afin qu'ils pussent être reconnus <sup>(1)</sup>. Par contre, en Anatolie, où régnait une plus grande tolérance que celle de l'Islam, et où bien des coutumes traditionnelles chamanistes étaient encore vivaces, il n'était pas trop question — on le voit bien grâce aux détails donnés plus hauts — des règlements traditionnels concernant l'habillement et les institutions religieuses des *Zimmi*. Seulement, à cause de la proximité des territoires musulmans, on est témoin en Anatolie orientale de quelques manifestations de cette sorte, et cela plutôt sous forme de superstition. Par exemple, on dit que lors d'une excursion de Kara-arслан, souverain artukide, en 1152, à la région de Hanazit, ce prince vit au village de Bargaluş une église bâtie et embellie extérieurement par un prêtre nommé Joseph. Quelques Turcs, qui n'aimaient pas ce dernier, lui ayant dit que « là où une nouvelle église est construite, le souverain meurt, il fit tuer le prêtre, démolir l'église et en défendit désormais la construction et la réparation ; mais après sa mort, l'on obtint l'autorisation de réparer <sup>(2)</sup> ».

Les relations qui se sont développées entre Kiliç-arслан II et Michel le Syrien prouvent d'ailleurs que les stipulations attribuées au khalife Omar n'étaient pas appliquées en Anatolie. Dans une lettre adressée à 'Izz-ed-Dîn Keykâvus I<sup>er</sup>, Muḥid-Dîn 'Arabî expose une à une toutes ces stipulations et en demande l'application ; mais nous n'avons aucune mention susceptible

(1) Michel le Syrien, III, 342.

(2) Michel le Syrien, III, 307.

de nous faire croire que cela fut réalisé <sup>(1)</sup>. Un incident survenu en 1261 sous ʿIzz ed-Dîn Keykâvus II, dont les libres rapports avec les Chrétiens étaient — comme nous l'avons vu — de nature à blesser les Musulmans, devrait être examiné sous cet angle : sur la demande de Hulâgû, le sultan envoya le régent Shems ed-Dîn Yavtash avec l'ambassadeur du khan ; arrivés à Erzincan, ils virent que les Chrétiens se dirigeaient, sous les ordres du métropolite arménien Merḥasya, en foule vers l'Euphrate, dans le but de fêter l'Épiphanie (Ġiṭâs) ; ils élevaient leurs crucifix au bout de leurs lances et faisaient résonner les cloches. Yavtash essaya de les en empêcher. Mais l'envoyé de Hulâgû dit que, ces terres appartenant non à ʿIzz ed-Dîn mais à Rûkn ed-Dîn, l'on ne pouvait intervenir, et demanda au métropolite quel était l'usage au temps du père de ces princes, du sultan Ġiyâş ed-Dîn Keykhusrev ; à quoi l'autre répondit : « Nous envoyions annuellement 3000 *dirhem* et étions libres d'agir comme nous voulions ». Là-dessus, il reçut de lui cette somme <sup>(2)</sup>. Yavtash a-t-il fait cette intervention parce qu'élever la croix et faire sonner des cloches étaient contraires aux stipulations de la déclaration d'Omar ? Comme il ne peut s'agir d'une telle intervention de la part d'Izz ed-Dîn Keykâvus, Yavtash a-t-il agi simplement en son propre nom ? Ou bien est-ce là une entreprise spécialement conduite contre Merḥasyā, à cause des mouvements anti-musulmans du temps des Mongols ? Ou encore, a-t-on simplement voulu percevoir des impôts ? Nous ne sommes pas à même d'élucider ces questions. Une chose est sûre, c'est que cet incident confirme la liberté dont jouissaient les Chrétiens au temps de Ġiyâş ed-Dîn.

Timûrtash, devenu gouverneur d'Anatolie, à la suite de la conversion des Ilkhanides à l'Islamisme et de la dislocation de l'État seldjoukide, est une personnalité connue pour sa justice et ses activités religieuses, qui le poussèrent même à prétendre qu'il était *Mehdî*. Vers ces temps, toutes différences d'habillement entre Musulmans et *Zimmî* étaient effacées ; c'est pourquoi

(1) Aksarayî, p. 328 ; Musée de Konya No 145.

(2) Baybars Manşûrî, *Zubdat ul-fikre*, British Museum, Add. 23325, 52 a ; Nuvey ri, *Nihâyet al-arab ft funûn al-adab*, Bibl. Köprülü 1188, 19 b.

Timürtash obligea les Chrétiens et les Juifs à porter des signes les distinguant des Musulmans ; comme dit la source, « il releva ainsi l'Islam et abaissa les mécréants » (1). Cet événement survint en 1322, comme une sorte de réaction contre les privilèges dont les Chrétiens jouissaient sous les Mongols, et eut de longues répercussions. En effet, quelque temps après la chute de Timürtash, le voyageur arabe Ibn Baṭṭûta observe que les Grecs de Denizli se distinguaient des Musulmans par un port de costume différent et par des insignes spéciaux (2). De même, Schiltberger, qui se trouvait en Anatolie vers la fin du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, dit que les Chrétiens portent un mouchoir bleu et les Juifs un mouchoir jaune sur la tête (3).

Les monastères, qui jouèrent un rôle important dans les activités religieuses et culturelles des Chrétiens en Turquie au Moyen-Age, y étaient, on le voit, assez répandus. Celui de St. Chariton à Konya était souvent visité par Mevlâna Djelâl ed-Dîn Rûmî. Notre but n'est pas de nous étendre ici sur les monastères ; nous nous bornerons simplement à noter la politique et la position de l'État seldjoukide à l'endroit de ces institutions et nous ne nous étendrons que sur le monastère de Bar Sauma, le plus important de tous. Situé aux environs de Malatya et constituant un lieu saint et un centre de culture des Syriaques, Bar Sauma maintint sa haute situation et sa renommée durant tout le cours de la domination seldjouke. On le croyait fondé au nom d'un apôtre ; on y recevait, hormis ceux qui venaient d'Anatolie, la visite des Chrétiens venant sans cesse de Syrie et de Mésopotamie. On dit qu'il hébergeait 300 moines. De nombreux passages dans les textes témoignent que les sultans seldjoukides le visitaient parfois et faisaient des dons aux prêtres. Il paraît que le monastère payait à l'État un impôt annuel de 300 *dinar* au xii<sup>e</sup> et 1000 *dinar* au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les souverains l'exemptaient quelquefois d'impôts, comme d'ailleurs ils le

(1) Aksarayi, p. 327. Pour la qualité de Mehdi de Timürtas, voir l'introduction (p. 32) de cet ouvrage.

(2) Ibn Baṭṭûta, I, p. 318.

(3) Hakluyt Society, p. 75.

faisaient avec d'autres monastères (1). Begtimür, devenu Shāh d'Akhlat, avait, malgré ses promesses anciennes, grevé d'impôts les églises et les monastères de la région de Sason (2). Mais ces impositions ne constituent pas un manque d'équité à l'égard des Chrétiens ; car les impôts payés par ces institutions possédant de riches terres, des villages, etc., ne sont autres que la continuation des droits revenant à l'État, après que ces biens furent transformés en *vakoufs*. L'État percevait, du moins pour l'administration des *vakoufs*, quelques impôts sur les revenus de ces fondations laissées par les Musulmans ; les Francs aussi agissaient de même en Syrie envers les prêtres (3). L'émir Dānishmendite, dont le fanatisme et la politique de violence vis-à-vis des Chrétiens ont été mentionnés plus haut, s'empara en 1151 du grand crucifix d'or qui se trouvait au monastère de Sarika (aujourd'hui, village de Sariz), en chassa les moines et installa les Turcs sur les terres appartenant au monastère ; mais ses propres gens lui dirent que ses aïeux avaient respecté ce lieu ; de la sorte, les prêtres rentrèrent dans leurs droits en payant la rançon pour la croix d'or et l'impôt annuel (4). D'après un autre passage, les Chrétiens de Konya, persuadés que la croix outragée faisait des miracles, s'adressèrent en 1247, c'est-à-dire sous Keykāvus II, au gouverneur de la ville, pour acheter le terrain en question et y faire construire, moyennant paiement d'impôt, une église. Mais le kadi 'Izz ed-Dîn ne le permit pas (5). Il ne faut pas entendre par là qu'on a simplement refusé de donner l'autorisation pour la construction d'une église ; d'autres facteurs découlant du caractère de ces temps y jouaient sans doute leur rôle.

(1) *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*, p. 365 ; Zekeriya Kāzvini, *Aṣār ul-Bilād*, Göttingen 1848, p. 356 ; Michel le Syrien, III, p. 286 ; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 435 ; V. de Beauvais, Livre XXXI, chap. 142 ; Yaḳūti, *Notices et extraits*, Paris 1789, II, p. 515.

(2) Vardān l'Historien, p. 211 (trad. turc).

(3) Michel le Syrien, III, 286. C.H. Becker, *Cizye*, *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, III, p. 200.

Les villages *vakoufs* concédés par les Arméniens aux églises, ainsi que les certificats (*vakfiye*) y afférents sont rapportés par Orbelian ; la composition et le style de ces derniers sont analogues à ceux des Musulmans (*Histoire de la Siounie*, trad. Brosset, Saint-Pétersbourg 1864, p. 190-215).

(4) Michel le Syrien, III, 298.

(5) V. de Beauvais, Livre XXXII, chap. 53 ; Michaud, *Bibl. Croisades*, I, 337, IV, 356.

Quand, au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la Turquie devint un pays où se concentrèrent des activités commerciales internationales <sup>(1)</sup>, il se forma dans les villes des colonies de commerçants occidentaux. Ainsi, les négociants italiens avaient à Sivas un consulat, et une chapelle dans le khan Kemâl ed-Dîn où ils demeurèrent longtemps <sup>(2)</sup>. La grande route commerciale qui coupe l'Anatolie de l'Ouest à l'Est était parsemée d'églises et de monastères. Par exemple, les commerçants latins avaient leur église à Erzincan, et les Franciscains leur couvent à Erzerum. Rubrouck avait rencontré à Ani cinq frères qui prêchaient. Dans le traité conclu entre Venise et Ilyas Beg, émir d'Ayasoluk et de Balat, on avait reconnu aux Vénitiens le droit de construire à Balat des maisons, des boutiques, des églises et d'installer, selon la coutume, un cimetière auprès de l'église pour qu'ils pussent ensevelir leurs morts. L'article 17 du firman qu'Ebu Saïd Bahadır Khan délivra aux Vénitiens reconnaissait aux prêtres et moines latins le droit de construire des églises et des couvents. tant qu'il leur plairait, sur tout le territoire de l'État ilkhanide ; donc, pratiquement, sur les routes anatoliennes allant jusqu'à Tebriz. Les Franciscains avaient quatorze couvents dans les limites de l'État ilkhanide <sup>(3)</sup>. On trouve beaucoup de passages dans diverses sources, selon lesquels des colonies juives s'étaient constituées dans certaines villes d'Anatolie et habitaient des quartiers spéciaux. Il y avait bien des Juifs à l'arrivée des Seldjoukides en Anatolie <sup>(4)</sup>. Mais la plupart de ceux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle vinrent du dehors, à la suite du développement commercial. Il est évident qu'eux aussi jouirent de la liberté religieuse accordée aux non-musulmans. Il est du reste intéressant de relever qu'un Juif espagnol du nom de Benjamin de Tudèle considère, dans la relation de voyage qu'il écrivit au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Turcs comme les alliés des Juifs <sup>(5)</sup>. Quand on pense à la situation acquise par les Juifs auprès des Turcs

(1) On trouvera des détails à ce sujet dans l'ouvrage intitulé « *Histoire économique de la Turquie au Moyen-Age* », que nous espérons pouvoir publier prochainement.

(2) Bratianu, *Commerce Génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1929, p. 166, 163

(3) Mas Latrie, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, T. V. (1864), p. 224, XXXI (1870), p. 78, 79, 90, 99 ; G. de Rubrouck, trans. Rockhill, p. 274.

(4) W. M. Ramsay, *Intermixture*, p. 6. 7. 8.

(5) *Voyage de Benjamin de Tudelle*, Paris 1830, p. 82, 85.

avant l'Islamisme et sous les Ottomans, on doit bien admettre qu'il en était de même au temps des Seldjoukides, identiques à leurs congénères sous ce rapport.

La domination des Mongols apporta un certain changement à la situation des Chrétiens. Les Musulmans n'étaient pas des sujets fidèles aux yeux des Mongols païens. Eux, de leur côté, favorisaient les Chrétiens, d'une part à cause de ce fait, et d'autre part parce que les Musulmans avaient de la sympathie pour les Mamelûks leurs rivaux, qui avaient pris sur eux la défense de l'Islam. Parmi les Chrétiens désireux de profiter de cette situation, nommons le métropolite arménien (djāselik) d'Erzincan, Merḥasyā, qui s'était étroitement lié d'amitié avec Abaga Khan et excitait ce dernier contre les Musulmans. Une haine violente naquit ainsi entre Mu'īn et ed-Dīn Pervāne, le personnage le plus influent des Seldjoukides, et Merḥasyā. Dans la dispute qui eut lieu en présence du Khan, Merḥasyā demanda qu'Erzincan lui fût livrée en *iklā* et promit en retour l'envoi, chaque année, de cinq cents cavaliers ; ainsi il aurait en mains les moyens de réduire à néant la domination seldjouke à Erzincan. Pervāne, de son côté, prétendait que le métropolite protégeait un grand nombre de paysans, en les faisant habiller comme des ecclésiastiques, en conséquence de quoi il empêchait qu'une grande somme faisant partie du tribut (*djizye* et *kharādj*) anatolien entrât au Trésor. Pendant que l'inimitié entre ces deux personnages se développait de cette façon, Mu'īn ed-Dīn Pervāne, se fiant au sultan mamelûk Baybars, ordonna en 1276 l'assassinat de Merḥasyā (1). La période mongole fut ainsi cause d'une suite de frictions entre les deux éléments. Le penchant des Chrétiens pour les Mongols poussa les Mamelûks à entreprendre en Anatolie orientale et en Cilicie des expéditions punitives contre eux. Enfin, la conversion de Gâzân Khan à l'Islamisme créa une réaction anti-chrétienne ; mais, avec le temps, l'ancienne harmonie fut rétablie.

(1) Ibn Sheddād, *Histoire de Baybars*, trad. turque şerefeddin Yaltkaya, Istanbul 1941, p. 85, 84. Bar Hebraeus raconte l'événement d'une autre façon, en attribuant cela à Besarç, émir de Harput, qui s'enfuit en Égypte après l'assassinat ; il ne fait pas mention de ce que Merḥasyā fut tué sur l'ordre de Pervāne (p. 455).

Le peuple autochtone d'Anatolie, excédé de la mauvaise administration byzantine, avait, pendant l'invasion seldjouke au <sup>x</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle, manifesté de la symathie aux Turcs ; de même, après l'invasion mongole et à la suite de l'écroulement du sultanat de Konya, il fut favorable aux principautés des Marches. La première invasion avait tout d'abord occasionné des pertes, des destructions et des émigrations, jusqu'au jour où l'ordre administratif fut créé par l'État seldjouk. L'occupation par les Turkmènes des régions occidentales, septentrionales et méridionales de l'Anatolie a suivi exactement le même processus. Quant, en effet, Michel Paléologue fit transporter en 1261 la capitale de Nicée à Constantinople, l'organisation de la défense des frontières se trouva affaiblie et la pression exercée par les Turkmènes concentrés en Paphlagonie, en Bythinie et dans la région de Menderes à la suite de l'invasion mongole fit s'écrouler rapidement les frontières de Byzance. L'historien byzantin Pachymère raconte de façon vivante comment le peuple autochtone abandonna ses foyers devant cette pression turkmène et quelle densité atteignit l'exode des fugitifs. Mais il relate tout aussi bien que la population indigente, souffrant des persécutions et des exactions de Byzance, préféra la domination turque ou bien émigra au pays des Turcs, pour pouvoir vivre une vie plus heureuse et plus prospère ; qu'elle servit à ces derniers de guide dans leurs invasions. N. Gregoras écrit même que le clergé s'était entendu avec les Turcs et qu'il leur était favorable <sup>(1)</sup>. Mais les Turkmènes aussi furent sympathiques aux yeux des Chrétiens, tout comme les Seldjouks, aussitôt qu'ils fondèrent leurs principautés des Marches, selon leurs propres traditions et en les greffant sur l'organisation seldjoukide. Le passage suivant d'Ashik Pasha Zâde sur la prise de Brousse est intéressant sous ce rapport : « Orhan Gâzi demanda à ce vizir : Pourquoi avez-vous livré cette forteresse ? Qu'est-ce qui vous obligeait à cela ? Le vizir répondit : Nous l'avons livrée pour plusieurs causes ; l'une est que votre fortune grandit de jour en jour, tandis que la nôtre est retournée. Nous nous en sommes aperçus. Une autre cause

(1) Pachymère, trad. Cousin, p. 184, 262, 751 ; Finlay, p. 446 ; P. Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği*, trad. turque, p. 15-18, 25, 26.

est ceci : le gouvernement de votre père s'est emparé de nos villages, qui vous obéissent maintenant et nous ont oubliés ; eux sont contents, nous aussi, nous voulons l'être... Comme nous ne pouvions pas nous procurer du dehors les choses dont nous avons besoin, la forteresse nous est devenue une prison. Quand le monarque est impuissant, le pays est vite dévasté. Nous avons été entraînés par notre méchant empereur. Le monde change toujours ; c'est maintenant nous qui subissons l'un de ces changements. Orhan Gâzî demanda : Pourquoi y a-t-il eu tant de pertes ? Il fut répondu : A cause de la famine <sup>(1)</sup> ». Osman Gâzî à qui l'on demandait pourquoi il respectait tant les Grecs de Bilecik, répondit : « Ce sont nos voisins ; nous sommes venus ici en étrangers ; ils se sont bien conduits envers nous ; il faut donc que nous les respections <sup>(2)</sup> ». Les gens de la région de Göynük et de Yenice étaient tout au regret de n'être pas entrés plus tôt sous la domination d'Orhan Gâzî <sup>(3)</sup>.

C'est ainsi que se déroula la politique de tolérance religieuse et de justice des Seldjoukides envers les races étrangères ; et cette politique fut exactement continuée par les Ottomans, successeurs des Seldjoukides, en tous points. Ce fut là aussi le facteur principal de l'expansion rapide des conquêtes ottomanes dans les Balkans. L'autonomie et les privilèges que Mehmed II le Conquérant accorda, à la suite de la conquête d'Istanbul, à l'Église grecque, à une époque où l'Europe ne jouissait pas encore de la liberté religieuse, n'est au fond rien de nouveau et constitue simplement une manifestation nouvelle d'une tradition vivante depuis les Seldjouks. Il est hors de doute que cette politique de l'État et des souverains seldjoukides devant les races et les religions étrangères est en connexion avec le comportement tolérant du peuple turc lui-même qu'ils représentaient. Il est, par conséquent, nécessaire de compléter le présent article par une étude sur les rapports réciproques des deux éléments, intitulée : « Turcs musulmans et autochtones chrétiens ».

Osman TURAN.

(Ankara)

(1) *Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, Istanbul 1332, p. 30 ; Neşri, *Cihan-numâ*, Ankara 1949, p. 134 ; Leipzig 1951, p. 39.

(2) Aşık Pasha zâde, p. 14.

(3) Aşık Pasha zâde, p. 43.

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# THE IDEAL OF WORLD DOMINATION AMONG THE MEDIEVAL TURKS

## I

Sociology and ethnology have demonstrated that the actions, thoughts and beliefs of a people are closely related to one another, and that certain institutions survive as a remnant or a development of a former mode of life and creed. For instance, the shamanist creed which, contrary to the religions originating among the un-warlike races of India yet in line with the Islamic conception of Holy War, promises a reward in proportion to the number of foes killed in action, cannot be explained fully without considering the war-like life and spirit of the Turks. Likewise, it is only natural that the political power or impotence of peoples should leave a mark on their psychology, or that certain creeds inspiring either hope or despondency for the future should come into existence. And such ideas and tendencies, assuming the form of an ideal, can influence the course of history. The modern historian, who seeks to understand and explain the past realistically with its moral and material factors will have to dwell on these relationship and their implications.

This line of thought leads us to a study of the manner in which material power affected the psychology of the Turks who, prior to Islam, had built great empires and extended their rule over many lands and races ; of the political creeds and ideals that came into existence, or of the extent to which such moral factors influenced the course of the Turkish history. In fact, the existing sources contain an adequate amount of

records indicating that throughout the Middle Ages the Turks sincerely believed not only in an ideal of world domination, but also in their being a chosen people of God. According to the *Oghuz-nâme*, an epic reflecting the Turkish activities during the Hiong-nu, Gök-Türk, and Seljuk periods, the legendary ancestor Oghuz Khan is a hero who subdued many an ancient race and conquered China, India, Persia, Syria, the Byzantine Empire and Russia. He and his sons have a celestial origin with miraculous events attending their births. Like Jenghiz Khan's shaman Gökçe, Oghuz Khan's shaman Ulugh-Türk (also called Irkıl-Khoja and Korkut-Ata) prophesied that God would grant Oghuz domination over the world <sup>(1)</sup>. According to a legal tradition of the ancient Turks Oghuz Khan, as a symbol of this world domination, sent arrows to the east and west and on his death-bed divided the realm according to the relationship supposed to exist between the arrow and the bow <sup>(2)</sup>. In addition to the *Oghuz-nâme* which contains some reflections from the Hiong-nu period there are other indications that the ideal of world domination existed among the Hiong-nu, the ancestors of the Gök-Turks : a phrase which appears in the Chinese sources and which shows the belief in the celestial origin of their sovereignty, the existence of the ideal of and the same belief in the heavenly origin of domination among their European successors, the Huns and the Danubian Bulgars, may well be quoted as evidence (see below).

Thus, the idea of world domination that began in a legendary form and originated with the Hiong-nu acquired a prominent and historical form under the Gök-Turks (Tou-hioue). Syriac sources, in connection with an exchange of envoys (568 A. D.) between the Khan of the Gök-Turks and the Byzantine Emperor Justin, furnish the following information which does not appear in other sources : Tears, it is said, filled the eyes of the Turkish Khan on the arrival of the Byzantine envoy. When requested

(1) *Oghuz Kagan destanı*, ed. W. Bang and R. Rahmeti, Istanbul, 1936, 11, 15, 17, 21, 27, 29, 23.

(2) Osman Turan, *The use of an arrow as a juridical symbol among the ancient Turks* (in Turkish), *Belleten* XXXV (1945), 305-318.

to explain why he wept, the Khan answered : « We have been told by our ancestors that the time is ripe for us to invade the whole world » <sup>(1)</sup>. This answer is important, suggesting as it does not only the existence of this ideal but also its ancient date and its extension to neighbouring peoples. The Orkhon Monuments, which were erected some 60 years later and which occupy an exceptional place in the history of nationalist ideas and tendencies, are saturated with the same ideal. In fact, this idea is expressed in the monument which begins with the sentence : « When the blue sky was created above and the black earth below, in between man was brought into being, and my ancestors Bumïn and Istemi Khans ruled over the sons of Man ». Though Turks did not subdue many different races in that time, the idea of domination over other peoples is at least implicit here. The Turkish ruler has such a firm belief in the power of his people that he thinks that the Turkish state can be destroyed not by a foreign people, but only by the disobedience of the Turkish people itself to its own laws and King. A sentence such as : « Hearken, o lords of the Oghuz and Turks and Turkish people. Unless the sky falls down and the earth is worn through by holes who can undermine your government, your Law ? I have brought so many peoples under the Law. O Turk ! So long as thou dwellest in Ötüken, thou shalt maintain an eternal empire » <sup>(2)</sup>, illustrates that ideal eloquently. This political ideal of the Turks springs from the requirements of their shamanist creed, and from the belief that God has created them as a chosen people. A characteristic of this God who, like the Jehova of the Jews, is possessed of the qualities of the deity as described by Celestial Creeds, is that in difficult times He rushes to the rescue of the Turks, saving them from annihilation by sending a hero of celestial origin. This belief is reflected by the statements : « To save the Turkish people from annihilation, the God of the Turks lifted up my father Il-teris, and mother Il-bilge to the top of the heavens » <sup>(3)</sup>.

(1) Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, trad. Chabot, Paris, 1905, III, 150.

(2) V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, Helsingfors, 1896, 97, 105, 117.

(3) *Türk Tanrısı... Türk budun yok bolmasun tiyin budun bolsun tiyin* (Thomsen, *ibid.*, p. 100, 101).

Because of this divine favour bestowed on the Turkish people, Turkish kings were no ordinary mortals. Their person and their authority alike were believed to be of divine origin. A sentence from the Orkhon Monuments which reads « *Tanrı teg tanrıda bolmış Türk Bilge kagan bu ödke olurtum* » <sup>(1)</sup>, that is to say « I, Godlike and heaven-born Bilge Khan ascended my throne », as well as passages from the Tonyukuk Monument clearly reflect that belief. In the correspondence exchanged by Gök-Türk kings and Chinese emperors the formula implying the divine origin of authority was put at the top of the letters. The Chinese formula « Cha-po-liu Khan, sage empereur de l'empire des grands Tou-kioüe, envoyé par le ciel (né)... », that appears at the beginning of the letter of Ishbara (Sha-po-liu) Khan <sup>(2)</sup>, is indeed an exact translation of the original sentence. As the Chinese styled their emperors the son of Heaven, and as the original Turkish conception of authority was similar to it, that formula was sometimes translated to read « the Son of God » <sup>(3)</sup>. The letter dated 584 A. D. by the same Khan, for instance, was translated into French in this sense by Pelliot <sup>(4)</sup>. This formula is the result of a belief in the celestial origin of authority, and a record showing that it first appeared among the Hiong-nu is important as an evidence of its antiquity. In fact, Chinese sources mention that T'uman bore the title of « T'ang-li Ku-t'u Shan-yu », which meant the Son of Heaven <sup>(5)</sup>. It appears that this, like the letters of Gök-Türk kings, was translated differently to suit the Chinese conception. Certain scholars, who failed to note the difference between the Turkish and the Chinese conceptions, expressed the opinion that the former, which is entirely a product of the Turkish view of religion and authority, had been transmitted to the Turks by the Chinese. The formula « Khan by (the grace of)

(1) Thomsen, *ibid.*, 114.

(2) Thomsen, *Ancient Turkish Inscriptions of Mongolia* (Turkish translation), T M III, 111, 116.

(3) Stanislas Julien, *Documents sur les Toukioue*, Paris, 1877, 48.

(4) *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale*, Toung Pao, XXVI (1929), 205, 206.

(5) O. Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, New York, 1951, 450.

God, God-like, Melemir (appointed by God) », which appears on a monument in Greek of the Danubian Bulgars, prior to their slavification <sup>(1)</sup>, is identical with the statement found in the Orkhon monuments. This shows that they, too, believed in the divine origin of authority, which could be a remnant of the Hun period. From the statement of Priskos that Attila declared that he had been appointed by God as the ruler of the whole world, we gather that the Western Huns, as well as the Asiatic Huns, shared this conception <sup>(2)</sup>.

This belief and the formula reflecting it were bound to appear in the manuscripts of the Uighurs, whose kingdom was in every way a continuation of that of the Gök-Türks <sup>(3)</sup>. This belief in the divine origin of authority appears more clearly among the Mongols, who remained within the framework of Turkish culture and adopted the style of the Uighur chancellery. The two famous historians of the Mongol Period, Juweynī and Rashīduddīn, narrate, on the basis of what they heard from distinguished Mongols, that a shaman named Gökçe or Tab-Tangri was in communion with God, and that the holy man once announced that God had bestowed the domination of the world on Jenghiz Khan <sup>(4)</sup>. A statement by Ascelin, the Pope's ambassador to the Mongols in 1247, that he was the representative of the greatest head of the Christians, angered Bayjū, the Mogul commander, in so much as it implied a partnership in the Khan's domination of the world, which ran counter to the aforesaid belief, and the papal letter omitted to mention the Khan's name. In the letter he addressed to the Pope, the commander specified that the domination of the world was entrusted to the Mongols by God <sup>(5)</sup>.

(1) Géza Féher, *Les titres des Khans Bulgares*, in *Uspensky Memorial Volume*, Paris, 1930, 38.

(2) S. Eckhard, *Attila and his Huns* (in Hungarian), Budapest, 1940, 151; G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, Yale University Press, 1953, 97.

(3) E. Chavannes et P. Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, Paris, 1913, 189; A. Caferoğlu, *Titles of Khans among Tu-kiu and Uighurs* (in Turkish), *T H I T M*, I, 105-119.

(4) Osman Turan, *On the name of Çingiz* (in Turkish), *Belleten* XIX (1941), 268.

(5) *Voyage du Frère Ascelin*, trad. Bergeron, Paris, 1830, 233; P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la papauté*, 119, 120.

The Turkish formula *Mengü Tangri kücindä kür uluğ ülüs nïng talūy nïng khān yarlıġımız*, which was sometimes replaced by its Mongolian equivalent, was used by Mongol khans at the top of their letters. This is a continuation of the Turkish concept of authority, and of a Turkish literary tradition. It is clear that this formula, of which the French version of P. Pelliot reads « Dans la force du ciel éternel, (nous) le Khan Océanique du grand peuple tout entier, notre ordre » <sup>(1)</sup> agrees with that used by the ancient Turkish Khans, that the text of the Orkhon monument *Tanrı-teġ tanrı yaratmış Türk Bilge Kagan sabım (sözüm)* <sup>(2)</sup> is its original form, and that the Mongols acquired it from the Uighurs with slight modifications. The same formula, with certain Islamic terms added, was used by the Khans of the Golden Horde, too <sup>(3)</sup>. Georgian sources mention that the Mongols, when referring to their God, put the phrase *Mengü Tanrı güjindä* (« By the Power of the Eternal God ») at the beginning of their books <sup>(4)</sup>, i.e. their official documents. The Mongols, the Armenian historian Kiragos writes, believed that the Heavens belonged to God, and the Earth to Jenghiz Khan, and in proof thereof maintained that Jenghis was born not of human parentage but of a heavenly light <sup>(5)</sup>. In fact, such miraculous births were attributed to all the ancient Turkish heroes. Kings, because of their divine origin, were strangled with a bow string, without shedding their blood. The Turks, after they had become Moslems, continued this shamanist practice, and Seljuk rulers and great emirs met their death in this manner <sup>(6)</sup>.

(1) P. Pelliot, *ibid.*, 15-23; for the same formula on coins, see Mubarek Galib, *Ancient Moslem Coins* (in Turkish), Istanbul, 1321, 62.

(2) Thomsen, *Inscript.*, 122.

(3) A. N. Kurat, *Yarlık ve Bilikler*, Istanbul, 1940, 64 (*Mengü Tangri kücindä Muhammad rasul Allah Haji Giray sözüm*).

(4) M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 487.

(5) Kiragos, trad. E. Dulaurier, in T M, II, 173.

(6) F. Köprülü, *La Proibizione di versare il sangue nell'esecuzione d'un membro della dinastia presso i Turchi ed i Mongoli*, in *Annali del R. Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli*, Nuova serie, I, 15-23; also in *Bull. Hist. Turk. Law* (in Turkish), Ankara, 1944, I, 1-19.

## II

At the time that they adopted Islamic civilization the Turks held these conceptions and ideals. We are not going to explain here the reasons that led to their conversion to Islam. This was outlined in an article entitled « The Turks and Islam » <sup>(1)</sup>. It will, however, be to the point to remark that certain affinities between the basic principles of shamanism and Islam played no small part in this change of religion, that the attributes of the God of Islam and those of the Turkish God, as noted by the 12th century Syriac historian Michael <sup>(2)</sup>, were not much different, that the Islamic concept of Holy War was consistent with the Turkish spirit, and that certain traditions of the Prophet tending to favour the Turks, which were extensively known even before the conversion of the Turks to Islam, seem to have attracted them to that religion. A tradition of the Prophet mentioned in the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Sa'd and purporting to imply that the Turks would drive the Arabs into the desert, another widely reported tradition « Do not hurt the Turk till he hurts you » <sup>(3)</sup>, works written by certain Mohammedan authors in praise of the Turks like that of Jahīz, the belief brought about by the crisis through which Islam was passing in the 10th century that Turkish conquerers from the East would save the world of Islam — all these convinced the Turks that Islam confirmed their ideal of world domination. The Seljuk invasion, which established the Turkish sway over the world of Islam, served to preserve and strengthen that ideal. The « holy tradition » (*ḥadīth-i ḳudsī*) : « I have an army in the East which I call Turk, I set them on any people that kindle my wrath » <sup>(4)</sup>, allegedly a word of Allah and equally applicable to the Mongols, first appeared at the time that the Seljuk Empire had just

(1) Osman Turan, in *Bull. Fac. of Arts of Ankara* (in Turkish), IV 4, 465-471.

(2) Michel le Syrien, III, 156.

(3) Apart from the great collections of traditions by Bukhārī, Muslim, Nasā'ī, Suyūṭī and others, this kind of tradition can be found in the geographical dictionary of Yāḳūt and several medieval chronicles.

(4) Maḥmūd of Kāshgār, *Dīwān luḡāt al-Turk*, I, 293.

been founded, and was later repeated in many works dealing with the Turks. This tradition is nothing but an Islamized form of the pre-Islamic belief of the Turks that they were a chosen people of God, and that the domination of the world was bestowed on them by Him. The Moguls urged the neighbouring rulers to surrender by sending them letters containing this « Word of Allah », which had gained extensive circulation. In the letter addressed by Hulagu to Malik al-Nāṣir, the opening words « We are the soldiers of Allah » allude to that tradition <sup>(1)</sup>. Maḥmūd of Kāshgār saw the greatness of the Seljuk period, and was proud of it. After observing that God had bestowed world domination and the control of nations upon the Turks, that he had made them superior to other peoples, that he blessed and aided with his providence all those who followed them and that he protected mankind from evil through them, this learned citizen of Kāshgār narrates under oath that he had heard the following authenticated tradition from two Imans of Bukhārā and Nishāpūr : referring to the rise of the Ghuz (Oghuz) Turks and the signs which will announce the last days of the world, the Prophet said : « Learn the language of the Turks, for their rule will last long ». « If this tradition is authentic », says Maḥmūd after recording it, « it is necessary to learn Turkish. If not, then reason makes it necessary for people to learn it ». He thus expressed the Turkish ideal of world domination <sup>(2)</sup>. Obviously what is important in this matter is not the authenticity of the tradition attributed to the Prophet, but rather the psychology reflected by it and its results.

Mohammedan thinkers, realizing that the internal and external dangers to which the world of Islam had been exposed were averted by the Turks, expressed their gratitude and cherished the Turkish ideal of world domination. The following story of Rawandī, who dedicated his work to Ġiyāthuddīn Keykhusrev, is significant. « Grant me Thy grace, oh Allah, if my inter-

(1) Aksarāyī, *Musāmarāt al-akhbār*, Ankara, 1944, 51 ; 'Aṭā-Malik Juwaynī, *Jahān-Gushā*, I, 17 ; Jūzajānī, *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī*, transl. Raverty, 353 ; Nizāmuddīn Sāmī, *Zafarnāme*, ed. F. Tauer, 218 ; Afāki, *Manaqib al-'arīfīn*, Ankara Public Library, 227 a.

(2) Maḥmūd of Kāshgār, I, 2-3.

pretations of the divine law are right », prayed Imam Abū Ḥanīfa according to the story, during his last pilgrimage to Mecca, « for I have consolidated the religion of Mohammed for Thy sake ». To this an invisible speaker answered : « Thou speakest the truth, so long as the sword remains in the hand of the Turks, thy faith shall not perish ». Adding his opinion of this story, the same author says : « Praise be to God that the defenders of Islam are mighty and followers of the Ḥanaffī school, happy because the Turk carries the sword in his hand to the lands of the Arabs, Persians, Byzantines, and Russians » <sup>(1)</sup>, thereby expressing the feelings of all Mohammedan writers. In addition to the works of such well-known authors as Fakhruddīn Mubārakshāh, Naṣīruddīn b. 'Abduljalīl and Ibn Ḥassūl, a large number of other sources express feelings of gratitude for the service rendered to Islam by the Turks <sup>(2)</sup>. We shall content ourselves with quoting a passage attributed to Afrasiab, and apparently known among the Turks, which Fakhruddīn Mubārakshāh mentions in connection with his praise of the Turkish slaves who founded kingdoms far from their native land : « Like a pearl torn away from the mother-of-pearl in the sea, the Turk when separated from his home becomes precious, a crown for kings and an adornment for brides alike ».

The poem of Ġazzī (1049-1130), wherein the Turks are described as demons in war but angels in peace, is quoted in a large number of sources. Thus, many thinkers believed in the Turkish ideal of world domination and elaborated it. From the time of the Seljuks onwards, non-Turks had no longer any political part to play in the world of Islam, and the belief that domination was an exclusive right of the Turks became firmly established. The Caliphate at Bagdad, which lost its political authority with the emergence of the Seljuks, attempted under Nāṣir li-dīnillāh (1180-1225) to re-establish its political sovereignty after the dismemberment of the Seljuk Empire. The Turks

(1) *Rāḥatū's-ṣudūr*, Gibb Mem. Series, 17-18.

(2) *Tārikh-i Fakhruddīn Mubārakshāh*, ed. D. Ross, 36; Naṣīr uddīn b. 'Abdul-jalīl, *Kitāb al-naḥd*, Teheran 1331; Najmuddīn Rāzī, *Mirṣād al-'ibād*, ed. Teheran, 11-12; Yāḳūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, 403; Vaṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, 105.

considered this an illegitimate action, and warned the Caliph not to step beyond the sphere of religious affairs <sup>(1)</sup>. Having originally admitted the superiority of the Arabs and Persians in civilization the Turks, once they had gained world domination and power, regarded them as an effeminate body of men whose morals and character had become lax under the drowsy influence of civilization. Even certain Turks exposed to the same influence were considered no better than Arabs and Persians, and called *Tajik* in derision <sup>(2)</sup>. Although the heaviest blows of the Mongol invasion fell on the Turks, political control after the decline of the Moguls passed again into Turkish hands. In dealing with the battle of 'Ayn-Jālūt, where the Mongols sustained their first defeat, Mohammedan authors who regard the Mongols as Turks say : « What an irony of fate that the Tartars could only be defeated by the Turks, their kinsmen » <sup>(3)</sup>.

The Turks felt their ideal of world domination and superiority still more strongly in front of the Armenians, Syrian Christians, and especially the Greeks, with whom they established contact in Anatolia <sup>(4)</sup>. This is also recorded and admitted by Byzantine authors. Kutalmış regarded the Byzantines as effeminate men, and this view was one of the factors that led to the conquest of Anatolia. « What brings you here, a desire to embrace Christianity or to do evil acts ? » demanded the envoys of the first Crusade from Gür-buğa ; « we suggest that you withdraw from the country of the Christians ». « We are not interested in your God and your Christianity », proudly answered the Turkish commander, « it surprises us that you should put forward a claim on these lands, for we have taken them from effeminate people. Are your lords willing to become Turks, to renounce their God and religion ? If so, they may stay here.

(1) *Rāḥatū's-sudūr*, 334.

(2) This reflects the thought of the nomadic period. On the contrary, when the Turks had later been influenced by Persian culture and had forgotten their own Turkish traditions, they called their congenerous nomads and peasants, who were not under the same influence, « Türk » in derision.

(3) 'Aynī, *'Ikd al-Jumān*, Veli ud-din Library, Nr. 2391 (vol. XIX), 436.

(4) Briennos, trad. Cousin (*Histoire de Constantinople*), Paris, 1672, III, 674 ; Zonaras, *Chronique*, trad. M. St. Amour, Paris, 1560, I, 97 a.

We will give you cities and horses, you will become horsemen like us, and we will always extend our friendship to you. Otherwise, we will put you in chains, take you to Khorasan or kill you » <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Turks changed neither their belief nor their attitude, even after the first Crusade when they were retreating and the Byzantines advancing in Anatolia. Although the Emperor Alexis Komnenos had recaptured the Anatolian coast, the Turks regarded his alleged illness as a design to cover his cowardice. And at their military camps they amused themselves with comic plays representing the Emperor as a bed-ridden invalid with physicians rushing to his bed-side in a mirth-provoking manner <sup>(2)</sup>. After the battle of Myriokephalon (1176), the Byzantine were fully convinced that supreme power had passed from them to the Turks. So they did not even refrain from clearly admitting this fact among themselves or in their talks with the Turks. A discussion between the Byzantine emperor and a Turkish scholar, which is mentioned in a Greek source, reflects the same attitude <sup>(3)</sup>. On the other hand, a Turkish source narrates that in a discussion among the Greeks, an assurance by a priest that the Turks will not go to Heaven was countered with the question : « Will the Turks, who drove us from our homes in this world, leave us alone in Heaven ? » <sup>(4)</sup>. « The Turks who fled like women before the Moguls », writes a Byzantine chronicle, « acquitted themselves manfully against the Greeks » <sup>(5)</sup>, thereby contrasting the reactions of the two sides to the Mogul invasion. According to a tradition attributed by the Syriac Christian Michael to Ezekiel, « God incited the Turks to this invasion as a retribution for the wickedness of the Greeks » <sup>(6)</sup>. This shows the prevalence among Christians,

(1) *Histoire anonyme de la Première Croisade*, ed. Brehier, Paris, 1924, 150, 151.

(2) Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, Paris, 1945, III, 188.

(3) M. C. B. Hase, *Notice d'un ouvrage de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue intitulé Entretien avec un professeur Mohametan*, in *Notices et Extraits*, t. VII, Paris, 1810, 309-382.

(4) *Saljūk-nâme*, Top-Kapu Saray Library, 4b.

(5) N. Gregoras, I, 137 ; P. Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği*, Ankara, 1944, 16.

(6) Michel le Syrien, III, 154.

too, of a belief similar to the tradition of the Prophet Mohammed prevalent among Moslems. A similar belief concerning Attila had also existed in the Europe of his time. Thus, the Turkish ideal of world domination, which developed along with Turkish political power, was accepted by other peoples who admitted the superiority of the Turks.

The Turks also retained their feeling of superiority towards the peoples of Western Europe with whom they established contact during the Crusades, and the world of Islam, in spite of its political dismemberment, believed that the superiority would remain in the hands of the Turks. Sheikh Sharafuddīn Būsīrī, inspired by a vision he saw during the battle of Acre, foretold to Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl that « The Turks once on their forward march, would not yield an inch of ground to the Crusaders » <sup>(1)</sup>. The Turks, however, noticing the valour and chivalry on the Franks on the battlefield, had a higher regard for them than for other peoples, and the Franks, too, felt the same admiration for the Turks. « The Turks are a heroic people », writes a chronicle of the First Crusade. « They thought they could frighten us as they frightened the Arabs, Moslems, Armenians, Syrian Christians and Greeks. The Turks believe they belong to the same race as the Franks (an allusion to the myth that the Turks and the Franks had their origin in Troy). They maintain, therefore, that only the Turk and the Frank have a right to become a knight. If they embraced Christianity no one could equal their power. But our men will not, I hope, be terrified by the Turks, and we shall beat them by the Grace of God » <sup>(2)</sup>. This reflects the mutual admiration which both sides had for one another. In fact the Franks, who had come to fight the Turks and give assistance to the Byzantines, went back home convinced that the latter had betrayed them and the cause of Christianity. On the other hand, the Franks, as mentioned by noteworthy sources, changed their feeling of antagonism towards the Turks who showed themselves to be chivalrous and valiant in war and kind and human in peace.

(1) Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, II, 127.

(2) *Hist. anon. 1<sup>re</sup> croisade*, 51 ; *Histoire du voyage à Jérusalem par Tudebode* (Michaud, *Bibl. des Croisades*), I, 255 ; G. Finlay, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1851, 235.

Following the Mongol domination, the Turks, rallying round the Ottoman Dynasty, sought to revive their ideal of world domination, strengthening it with such sacred elements as Mohammed's alleged statement on the conquest of Istanbul and the existence near that city's walls of the tomb of Abū Ayyūb, a disciple of the Prophet <sup>(1)</sup>. To this they added a more intelligent conception of national culture, language and history. Furthermore, a concept of history which, through the Seljuks and Karakhanids, reached back to the mythical ancestor Oghuz-khan, assumed at this period a clearer form. What is even more important is that at that time the ideal of world domination penetrated the consciousness of the masses. In fact, the myth of *Kızıl-Elma* « The Red Apple », which symbolized the ideal of world domination, appeared for the first time at this period in Anatolia. A brilliant metal ball on Justinian's monument standing before the Church of St. Sophia was the lucky charm of the Byzantine Empire. In the 14th century, when the Byzantines thought that the falling down of that metal ball would spell the doom of their Empire, the Turks believed that by taking possession of that lucky charm they would realize their dream of world dominion. Such was the Turkish myth of the « Red Apple », and as the Turkish Empire grew wider, the Red Apple moved farther and farther away. Thus, following the conquest of Istanbul it moved to the dome of St. Peter's in Rome. The fact that Evliya Çelebi saw a connection between this and a myth relative to the birth of Mohammed is rather significant <sup>(2)</sup>. In spite of the Ottomans' attachment to the theory of Ibn Khaldūn, they believed in the permanence of the Empire even when it was on the decline. This is important, insofar as it demonstrates the strength of the ideal.

How did the Turks, with their ideal of world domination, and with their feelings of superiority, behave throughout the

(1) On the traditions on the conquest of Constantinople, see M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, JA, 1926, and Osman Turan, *The Conquest of Constantinople and History* (in Turkish), in *Türk Yurdu*, Ankara, 1954, I, 30, 35.

(2) F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford, 1929, II, 736.

middle ages towards the many foreign races and religions under their rule ? That this rule which lasted so long and united so many lands and races, could not have endured without justice and religious tolerance is self-evident.

In fact, we have in our hand a sufficient number of documents which show that the ideal of world-domination ran parallel to an ideal of humanity, and that the Turkish people and Turkish thinkers along with the Turkish rulers nurtured this ideal of humanity. This point was dealt with in my articles entitled « Coordination of Nationalist and Humane Feelings in the Teaching of History » <sup>(1)</sup> and « Les Souverains Seljoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans » <sup>(2)</sup>, and other aspects of this subject will be studied in the future. The Turks made extensive use of this spiritual factor in realizing their ideal of world domination. Another important factor which undoubtedly contributed to the growth of Turkish political power was the fact that the Turkish people and the Turkish rulers in their concept of state thought above everything else of public good and social solidarity. This is not the place for handling this subject. We shall therefore, content ourselves with giving two quotations. The Gök-Türk kings, according to the Orkhon Monuments, sought « to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to make the Turkish people happy and powerful », and in a correspondingspirit the Gök-Türks, under the Chinese yoke, wondered : « I was a people with a Khan. But, where are, now, my government, my Khan ? Whom shall I serve now and why ? » <sup>(3)</sup>. Likewise, Mohammedan authors write thta, whilst the rich in other countries squandered their wealth for their own pleasures, wealthy Turks, first in Turkestan and then in Anatolia, devoted their wealth to charity, and to religious, social and cultural institutions <sup>(4)</sup>. But orf this moral element supporting material power, and ideal of world domination could not have existed.

Osman TURAN  
(Ankara).

(1) *Bull. Fac. of Arts of Ankara* (in Turkish and French), X, 3-4 (1952), 209-225.

(2) *Studia Islamica*, I, 65-101.

(3) Thomsen, *Inscript.*, 106, 107.

(4) Osman Turan, *Seljuk Caravanserais* (in Turkish), in *Bellesten* XXXIX (1946), 489-491.



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# ŞĀHĪB-DĪVĀN ŠAMS AD-DĪN MUḤAMMAD JUVAINĪ AND ARMENIA

HAYRAPET MARGARIAN

Yerevan State University

## Abstract

*Following the Seljuk invasion of the 11th century, the Armenians and Iranians found themselves under one rule, and the ancient historical and cultural ties between these two neighbouring nations became once again close and versatile. The similarity of their historical destinies appears to be more evident in the 13th-14th centuries, when Armenia and Iran were incorporated in the Mongol Empire.*

*Among the Šāhīb Dīvāns, the highest ranking officials in the hierarchical system of the Īl-khānīd state, a special place belongs to Šams ad-dīn Muḥammad Juvainī, famous for his civilised personality and attainments. The present article tries to elucidate those details of the biography of Juvainī, which concern Armenia and Armenian-Iranian relations of his time. Along with the Armenian and Persian sources, the author has made extensive use of the data obtained from the Georgian chronicles, which considerably improve the picture of the historical reality.*

Following the Seljuk invasions of the 11th century, a new stage opened in the centuries-old Armenian-Iranian historical and cultural relations. The two neighbouring countries found themselves under one rule, and the ancient ties between the Armenians and Iranians once again became close and versatile. The similarity of their historical destinies appeared to be more evident in the 13th-14th centuries, when Armenia and Iran were incorporated in the Mongol Empire. These two centres of settled civilisation stayed dominated by a nomadic element for quite a long time.

In the mid-13th century an Īl-khānate was actually created in the western part of the vast territories conquered by the Mongols. It was centred in a land of ancient culture and traditions. This newborn state existed almost a century and finally collapsed in 1353. Iranian bureaucracy found a favourable ground for its activities within the Īl-khānate, thus supporting the very existence of the state. Topping the system of hierarchy in the state was the powerful Šāhīb-dīvān, responsible for finances, whose real power and enormous influence are hard to overestimate. In many cases the Šāhīb-dīvāns were the actual rulers of the state, although, in general, many of them eventu-

ally met death on a scaffold, falling victims to repression from their sovereigns or accusations by their enemies.

In the long line of the *Şāhib-dīvāns*, who replaced one another with breathtaking rapidity, a special place belongs to *Şams ad-dīn Muḥammad Juvainī*, who served *Hülegü* (1256-1265) and *Ābāqā* (1265-1282) *īl-khāns* and is famous for his civilised personality, versatile activities and attainments, and the tragic death.

*Şāhib-dīvān Juvainī* is not a stranger to the Armenian history either. He was considered an important figure in medieval Armenian sources that was rather referred to by his position as *Şāhib-dīvān*<sup>1</sup> than by his first or family name. From the middle of the past century, *Şāhib-dīvān*'s activities have attracted the attention of the Armenian historians. His economic accomplishments, as well as his ties with Armenia and his role in the fate of the city of Ani, are thoroughly studied.<sup>2</sup> However, along with the data obtained from the Armenian and Persian sources, the information of the Georgian chronicles, requiring detailed analysis, would also add much to the still incomplete history of the Armenian-Iranian cultural relations of that time.

*Şams ad-dīn Juvainī* was born into a prominent Iranian family. His father, *Bahā' ad-dīn* had been the *Şāhib-dīvān*<sup>3</sup> since 1230. 'Alā' ad-dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juvainī, the prominent Persian historian, the author of *Tārīx-i jahān-guşā*, who for a long time ruled Baghdad, was *Şams ad-*

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<sup>1</sup> Typically, even the skilful *Łewond Ališan* could hardly guess that the *Şāhib-dīvān*, who is mentioned in conjunction with the *Zakarians*, did not belong to their family (see *Ł. Ališan, Şirak*, Venice, 1881: 101). Mistaking *Şāhib-dīvān* for "the son of Avag, the son of Ivane", he most probably relied on an inscription left by *Şāhib-dīvān*'s daughter *Xuandza* in Ani, where the princess wrote about herself: "the daughter of *Şamaşadin Sahip Divan* and landlady *Xoşak'*, granddaughter of *Atabeg Ivane (Divan hay vimagrut'yan*, Part 1, compiled by H. Orbeli, Erevan, 1966: 27, inscription 82). *Ł. Ališan* failed to restore the underlined words at the time (see *Ališan, ibid.*: 62). In the same paper, *Ališan*, and following in his footsteps, *Hr. Ačařean* went even further by claiming that *Şāhib-dīvān* was *Avag*'s son from another woman (See *Ł. Ališan, ibid.*: 175, *Hr. Ačařean, Hayoc' anjanunneri bařaran*, vol. IV, Erevan, 1948: 141).

<sup>2</sup> See *H. Źamkoč'yan*, "Ani k'alak'i 13-rd dari yerku arjanagrut'yan masin", *Erevani petakan hamalsarani gitakan ařxatankner*, vol. 47, Erevan, 1955: 91-108; *A. Hovhannisyan*, "Drvagner hay azatagrakan mtk'i patmut'yan", vol. I, Erevan, 1957: 211-216; *B. Ařak'elyan*, "K'alak'nerə yev arhestnerə Hayastanum IX-XIII dd.", vol. II, Erevan, 1964: 81, 86, 116, 132-133; *L. Babayan*, *Hayastani soc'ial-tntesakan ew k'alak'akan patmut'yunə XIII-XIV darerum*, Erevan, 1964: 327, 352-353.

<sup>3</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New ed., vol. II, Leiden-London, 1965: 606.

dīn's brother.<sup>4</sup> Şāhib-dīvān Juvainī carried out active economic duties at the time of Īl-khāns, making enormous fortune off that. He owned vast territories, innumerable landed estates and other property. He constantly invested in highly profitable dealings.<sup>5</sup> In Armenia, Şāhib-dīvān Juvainī acted mostly as an entrepreneur. Therefore, the Armenian historians called him *Xoĵa*, a merchant.

From 1260s, Şāhib-dīvān started making attempts to acquire some property in Armenia. It was then that the once powerful and influential Zakarian rulers were going through terrible ordeals, which compelled them to put a part of their ancestral estate up for sale. As a result, in 1261 "the wealthy Šamšadin (Šams ad-dīn)" bought the city of Mren from the son of Shahinshah the First, Artashir the First,<sup>6</sup> while a few years later, in 1267, "the offspring of Shahinshah sold Ani".<sup>7</sup> This last evidence, brought to us by one of the successors of Samuel Anetsi, requires certain clarification.

First of all, the question is, who exactly from the Zakarian family sold the once Bagratunis' capital and to whom. According to L. Babayan, Shahinshah the Second Zakarian, who supposedly came to power in 1263 after the death of his father Ivane the Second, put Ani up for sale, whereas, in fact, in 1260-1280s Ivane the Second hit the highest point of his political activity and enjoyed a very high status at the Georgian court.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, as a descendant of Amirspasalar Zakare, the Head of the "House of Shahinshah" (the term originates from the name of Shahinshah the First, the son of Amirspasalar Zakare), he should have been the one to conduct the sale of Ani.

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<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, this family connection did not escape a Georgian chronicler's attention, cf.: "the brother of the great vizier of Xoĵa Šamšadin (i.e. Šams ad-dīn Juvainī's brother 'Atā Malik)" (*Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun*, T'argmanut'unə hin vrac'erenic', aṛaĵabanə ew canot'agrut'yunnerə P. Muradyani, Erevan, 1971: 69). For original, see *Kartlis cxovreba*, vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1959: 182. On Juvainī family, see Ann Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia. Aspects of Administrative, Economic, and Social History, 11th-14th Century*, Columbia lectures on Iranian Studies, N 2, New York, 1988: 305-306; D. O. Morgan, "Who Ran the Mongol Empire?", *JRAS*, 1982: 124-136; idem, "Persian Historians and the Mongols", in idem (ed.), *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, London, 1982: 109-124.

<sup>5</sup> Rašīd ad-dīn, *Sbornik letopisej*, vol. III, Moscow-Leningrad., 1946: 115; cf. also Lambton, op. cit.: 65-66.

<sup>6</sup> I. A. Orbeli, "Nadpisi Mrena", *Hayagitakan hetazotut'yunner*, vol. I, Erevan, 1974: 41.

<sup>7</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Hawak'munk' i groc' patmagrac'*, Yaṛaĵabanov, hamematut'eamb yawelucnerov ew canot'ut'wvnnnerov A. Ter-Mik'eleāni, Vaġaršapat, 1893: 161.

<sup>8</sup> *Kartlis cxovreba*, ibid.: 259, 284. *Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun*: 130, 152.

Historians seem to have confidently answered the second question: whom was Ani sold to? Šams ad-dīn Šāhib-dīvān bought Ani.<sup>9</sup> Underpinning this assertion is the fact that in 1284, before his execution, Šāhib-dīvān, quite confidently, gave instructions as to what the fate of Ani should be after his death.<sup>10</sup>

Instead, historians are divided on the exact date of the deal and the extent of ownership rights that Šāhib-dīvān had had on Ani. In dealing with these issues, scholars exclusively extract the information from the epigraphical monuments found in Ani. Thus, some authors, citing one of the inscriptions, claim that Ani was sold at an earlier date. This point of view maintains that Šāhib-dīvān with two other persons, jointly purchased Ani sometime between 1261 and 1263. According to one of the inscriptions, several years later, at least in 1276, the city became the sole property of Šāhib-dīvān.<sup>11</sup> Another viewpoint holds that prior to the sale of the city in 1267, Šāhib-dīvān had been a tax collecting official (*kapalaru*) in Ani, etc.<sup>12</sup>

In all appearances, the epigraphic materials from Ani contain controversial information and, in effect, cannot be viewed as a reliable source in determining the issue of the ownership of the city.

In this case, another question emerges: how trustworthy is the date of 1267, asserted by one of Samuel Anetsi's followers? The problem with this source is that in describing various events preceding the sale of Ani (the burning of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258, the 1266 assault of the Mamluks on Cilician Armenia, the journey of Hetum the First to the Mongol court), the chronicler allows some chronological deviations.<sup>13</sup> Information in the section about Ani is nonetheless quite accurate from the chronological standpoint. Before recording the sale of Ani, the chronicler describes the accession to the throne of Ābāqā in 1265, and, immediately after the sale, the 1268 revolt of Prince Tegüder.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, until a new indisput-

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<sup>9</sup> H. Žamkoč'yan, *ibid.*: 107, A. Hovhannisyan, *ibid.*: 211, B. Aṛak'elyan, *ibid.*: 81, 86, 116. L. Babayan, *ibid.*: 352.

<sup>10</sup> Rašīd ad-dīn, *ibid.*: 116; the original text, see Rašīd ad-dīn Faḍl-allāh Hamadānī, *Jāmi' at-tavāriḫ*, ed. by M. Roušan and M. Mūsavī, vol. 2, Tehran, 1373/1994: 1159.

<sup>11</sup> H. Žamkoč'yan, *ibid.*: 107-108. Agreeing with this point of view was also B. Aṛak'elyan (see B. Aṛak'elyan, *ibid.*: 116).

<sup>12</sup> A. Hovhannisyan, *ibid.*: 211; Babayan, *ibid.*: 352.

<sup>13</sup> B. Aṛak'elyan points to chronological mistakes of Samuēl Anec'i, when he claims Šāhib-dīvān and his associates became the owners of the city of Ani as early as 1263 (see B. Aṛak'elyan, *ibid.*: 81).

<sup>14</sup> Not to be confused with the Īl-Khān Tegüder Aḥmad (Rašīd ad-dīn Faḍl-allāh Hamadānī, *op. cit.*: 1124-1148; Lambton, *op. cit.*: 249-250).

able evidence to the contrary is found, 1267 should be considered an accurate date of the sale of Ani. It was the year when Şāhib-dīvān succeeded in adding the most prominent Armenian city of the time to his possessions, which had still been highly profitable.

The Persian official's connections in the Armenian circles became even stronger, in the years to come, namely in 1269, when he married Khoshak, the daughter of an important representative of the Zakarian clan, Atabeg Avag.<sup>15</sup> The establishing of this marital tie is suggestive of a carefully arranged affair. Researches have rightly established that Şāhib-dīvān was an elderly man, and was obviously motivated by a desire to multiply his estate.<sup>16</sup> In that case, however, Khoshak's own motivations and her likewise well-planned considerations are not being taken into account.

To give this issue a comprehensive analysis, the milestones of Khoshak's biography, as well as her obvious expectations related to that marriage should be reviewed. By the time of her marriage, Khoshak was a grown woman who had gone through a variety of hardships, in which she had to defend her rights. First of all, let's try to calculate how old the Zakarian princess was in 1269. The only and the most reliable information in this regard comes from Kirakos Gandzaketsi. The historian writes that in 1236, when Mongols laid siege to Kayen fortress, the father "wishing to soften their hearts", gives his daughter and many riches away to them, so that they would relax their grip".<sup>17</sup> Thus, Khoshak must have been born before 1236, but not long before the above mentioned events took place. This claim is based on the account by the same author, according to which in 1250, at the time of her father's demise, Khoshak was still considered a "child".<sup>18</sup> Therefore, the Avag's estate, the "home of Avag", was given by Mongols first to Zakare, the son of Shahinshah

<sup>15</sup> See Step'anos Orbelean, *Patmut'iwn tann Sisakan*, I luys əncayec' Mkrtič' Emin, Moscow 1861: 306-307; idem, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, Erevan, 1942: 27.

<sup>16</sup> See Hovhannisyan, *ibid.*: 214. Possibly A. Hovhannisian was wrong calling Şāhib-dīvān an "old man" at the time he married. Şāhib-dīvān's brother, the historian 'Aṭa Malik, was born in 1226, and their father died in 1253 at the age of 60 (see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II: 606). Therefore, even if we assume that Şāhib-dīvān was born in 1213, when his father was 20, in 1269 he was 56. The likelihood of this calculation being accurate is not high, though. Clearly, Şāhib-dīvān came into this world sometime around 1220s.

<sup>17</sup> Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, Aşxatasiryt'yamb K. Melik'-Ohanjanyani, Erevan, 1961: 255.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*: 321.

Zakare the First, and then to Khoshak's mother Gontsa,<sup>19</sup> who belonged to the Kakhaberidze family from Ratcha (in Western Georgia). The Georgian King Ulu David (David the Seventh) hurried to take advantage of this situation and, through the marriage with Gontsa, to become Avag's heir. Georgian chronicles tend to present king's travel to Bjni, which was the headquarters of Avag's vast estate, as a courtesy call, and the marriage as result of love, but they fail to conceal what really happened. According to the Georgian chronicler, on his way home from the Mughan field, the Georgian king "passed and entered the land of Avag Atabeg, the son of Ivane Atabeg; and Avag had died at that time not having left a male offspring, but he only had a daughter named Xvashak. The king went to Bjni to mourn. He saw the beautiful wife of Avag, the daughter of Kakhaberidze, the *eristav* of Ratcha, called Gvantsa and fell in love with her; and a short time later he took her as his wife and made her the Queen".<sup>20</sup> Thus, Khoshak's ancestral estates became the domain of the Georgian court. Consequently, Khoshak, indisputably the richest bride in all Georgia and Armenia, was left out of her father's inheritance. The Georgian historian asserts, though not directly, that King Ulu David left Avag's daughter in her father's estate (*mamuli*)... and ordered her (guardianship) to Sadun from Mahkanaberd, a wise person, whom the King honoured with the request to head the house of Avag".<sup>21</sup>

An unexpected ending took place in 1261-1262, when the Mongols crushed the Armenian-Georgian uprising led by Ulu David. The Georgian King escaped the execution, but instead, the Mongols killed Queen Gontsa. Georgian chroniclers tried to blame Khoshak for instigating the Mongols to kill her mother.<sup>22</sup> Apparently, the relations between Gontsa and her daughter Khoshak were so tense that it warranted such an unusual innuendo. Only after these events, in other words, in the early 1260s, did Khoshak become the supreme owner of the "House of Avag".

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<sup>19</sup> See *ibid.*; cf. Step'anos Orbelean's (*Patmut'iwn tann Sisakan*: 302) testimony: *ew zi Avagn vaxčaneal ēr i 699 t'uin ew kin nora Gonc'ayn unēr dustr mi Xošak' anun ew išxēr amenayn išxanut'ean nora*. Similar information can be also found in the Chronicles attributed to Orbelean (see *idem*, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*: 26).

<sup>20</sup> See *Kartlis cxovreba*, vol. 2: 237; *Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun*: 109-110.

<sup>21</sup> *Kartlis cxovreba*: 237; *Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun*: 110.

<sup>22</sup> *Kartlis cxovreba*: 250-251; *Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun*: 123. S. Orbelean maintains that the murder of Gontsa was carried by his uncle Smbat Orbelean and his accomplice princes (see *Patmut'iwn*: 306).

If we assume that in 1236, when the Mongols captured Khoshak, she was at least 1 or 2 years old, then we can conclude that in 1269, when she married Šams ad-dīn Şāhib-dīvān, the Zakarian princess was no less than 34 years of age. Taking the medieval perceptions of a rich bride of such a noble lineage into account, she should have long been married.

The Zakarian princess, however, made no mistakes. All facts indicate that Khoshak's marriage was an exceptionally successful and a very well timed political step. Having found herself in the dire situation, Khoshak had to fight on two fronts. Contending her holdings were, on the one hand, the generations of Zakare Amirspasalar, and on the other, the progeny of King Ulu David. And while Zakare the First, the son of Shahinshah, too, was executed together with the Queen Gontsa, and his younger brothers, as was noted above, were compelled to sell their properties (Shahinshah the First died of grief shortly after his elder son was executed), Ulu David completely retained his power and influence. Therefore, for her peace of mind, Khoshak needed a new, more powerful, guarantor, with a higher status within the Īl-khānate, someone like Şāhib-dīvān. And so, these were the remarkable circumstances, under which this union was shaping up; the bride's and the groom's goals, at least on the surface, being harmoniously unanimous.

This union, however, was not created without some outside brokerage. Stepanos Orbelean mentions his uncle, Smbat's role in that, but his testimony is not considered very convincing by researchers.<sup>23</sup> Neither Armenian nor Georgian sources corroborate the historian's claim that Smbat Orbelean was the *Hayragir* or the guardian of Khoshak in the "House of Avag". Instead, as we noted above, Georgian chroniclers on many occasions assert that it was Sadun the Second Mahkanaberdtsi who occupied that position. It is, therefore, hard to imagine that Khoshak could have got married without the close participation in the process of this prominent political figure, who, in the 1260's and 1270's, played a key role in Eastern Georgia and Armenia. Thanks to his outstanding physical strength, wrestling dexterity, military commander's prowess, multilingual abilities, and oratorical skills, Sadun had been well known since the mid 1250's. His swift ascent to power at the Georgian court during the next several decades can be largely accredited to his close ties with the Iranian bureaucracy. Still, Georgian chronicles attribute his rapid

<sup>23</sup> See A. Hovhannisyan, *ibid.*: 214, f.n. 2; L. Babayan, *ibid.*: 277.

empowerment simply to direct patronage from the great Šāḥib-dīvān Šams ad-dīn Muḥammad Juvainī.<sup>24</sup>

As far as Sadun himself is concerned, before marrying his *protégé* Khoshak, he had wasted no time, establishing nuptial ties with the family of Xoḡa Aziz, one of the highest ranking officials of the Gurjistan villayet, incorporating mostly Eastern Georgia and the North-Eastern Armenia. The latter's daughter had become Sadun's wife.<sup>25</sup> This was that same "Persian by birth and by fate" Xoḡa Aziz,<sup>26</sup> whom Ulu David considered the cause of all his misfortunes.

Following in the footsteps of his patron Šāḥib-dīvān, Sadun sought to acquire control over highly profitable cities, because at that time "motherland was cheap and gold was expensive".<sup>27</sup> Even though Ulu David had "granted numerous lands"<sup>28</sup> to him before, in the second half of the 13th century, conditions for acquiring new property were especially favourable, as long as king Demetri the Second (1271-1289), being still underage and under Sadun's appointed guardianship, was de-facto denied an opportunity of conducting independent policy. At that time, relationship between Šāḥib-dīvān and Sadun had become so close that Georgian chronicles depicted their activities as completely intertwined. The historian writes: "(Sadun) had grown rich through army, gold, silver; there was no counting of his flocks and herds, as he was a jovial, well-disposed and wise man, and hence Ābāqā khan listened to him. And the great Šāḥib-dīvān, who wedded (Avag's) daughter Xvashag (i.e. Khoshak), spoke highly of him... The entire domain of the Khan was in his (Šāḥib-dīvān's) hands and obeyed his orders".<sup>29</sup> Since this passage from the old Georgian manuscript has reached us very much distorted,<sup>30</sup> it appeared as if a position of the "great Šāḥib-dīvān" ex-

<sup>24</sup> See Kartlis cxovreba: 272-273; Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun: 142.

<sup>25</sup> See R. Kiḡnaze, *Sakartvelos iṣtoris čkarotmcodneobis sakitxebi*, vol. I, Tbilisi, 1982: 188.

<sup>26</sup> See Kartlis cxovreba: 238; Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun: 111. There is also a mention of Xoḡa Aziz in Rašid ad-dīn's History (see *Rašid ad-dīn*, *ibid.*: 59) and in Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i's work (see Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, published by Mkrtič' Emin, Moscow, 1860: 67).

<sup>27</sup> *Divan hay vimagrut'yan*, part VI, Compiled by A. Avagyan and H. Janp'oladyan, Erevan, 1977: 71, inscription 140a.

<sup>28</sup> See Kartlis cxovreba: 257; Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun: 129.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, respectively: 272-273, and 142.

<sup>30</sup> See Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun: 205, f.n. 86. The last edition of the manuscript makes an attempt to emend the obvious distortion by inserting two new words into the text (see *ġamtaaymčereli, Asčlovani maṡiane*, Tbilisi, 1987: 162).

isted in the administrative apparatus of Avag Atabeg. Such an assumption must be firmly dismissed. All the data points to the conclusion that the chronicler meant the “great Şāhib-dīvān” of the Hülegü ĩl-khān, Şams ad-dĭn Juvainĭ.

The Georgian author continues: “And he bought many lands, and kings granted him Kars... The Khan handed him the Georgian army and let him command it”. The last sentence of this passage clearly shows that the author is talking about Sadun, who in fact held the position of the commander-in-chief. At the same time, Şāhib-dīvān Şams ad-dĭn had never had anything to do with the Georgian army. However, the parallel Armenian translations of this fragment also attribute that particular field of Sadun’s activity to Şāhib-dīvān, the fact, which later led astray the Armenian researchers, who built their false conclusions upon this fact. They are convinced that Şāhib-dīvān’s activities, beside Ani, spread over other Armenian and Georgian cities and regions.<sup>31</sup>

The Zakarians and the Mahkanaberdtis were not the only ones who sought to establish family ties with the high-ranking Persian official. Representatives of the Armenian trade and usurious capital cooperated with Şāhib-dīvān too, and they bought property from the rulers who were at the brink of economic breakdown. Close ties with Şāhib-dīvān also established the Orbelean family. It could not have been otherwise, as from 1260s to 1270s, during his fight against his former overlords, the Zakarians, and his rivals, the Mahkanaberdtis and the Proshians, Smbat Orbelean, the head of the Orbelean family, had to rely on Şāhib-dīvān’s support, since the latter “controlled all parts of Ābāqā Khan’s acres”.<sup>32</sup> Shortly before his death, Smbat “went to the great Divan (office) of the royal court, to see Arghun and Sahip (Şāhib-dīvān), in the central town of Tabriz. There, he was taken seriously ill and died of that illness. (Before his death) he gave all his possessions to his brother Tarsayič, and passed to him Arghun’s and Sahip’s protection, as he himself joined angels”.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the Orbelean prince preferred to have as his patron Şāhib-dīvān, who was at the

<sup>31</sup> See H. Žamkoč’yan, *ibid.*: 96-97; A. Hovhannisyan, *ibid.*: 212; L. Babayan, *ibid.*: 327, f.n. 1. B. Aṛak’elyan is even convinced that in addition to Kars, Şāhib-dīvān owned also Axalc’xa (see Aṛak’elyan, *ibid.*: 86, 102). On the contrary, Georgian scholars have never had any doubts about whom the medieval author wrote. According to Revaz Kiknadze, Sadun became the owner of Kars in 1273 (Kiknadze, *ibid.*: 173).

<sup>32</sup> S. Orbelean, *Patmut’iwn*: 306-307.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*: 307.

top of the Īl-khānate's hierarchical system, rather than the hostile Armenian and Georgian rulers.

Some time after her marriage, Khoshak moved to Iran with her husband and lived there for over 15 years. In 1270 she still lived in Armenia and participated in the Dzagavan church council.<sup>34</sup> After 1270, however, and up until the late 1280s, no record of her can be found in the Armenian or Georgian sources. We can conclude from Šāhib-dīvān's will written in October of 1284, prior to his execution that Khoshak was in Iran at that time.<sup>35</sup>

Religious differences could hardly make obstacles for the conjugal life of Khoshak and Šāhib-dīvān. Even more so, Khoshak preserved her close ties with the Christian monasteries through years, while Šāhib-dīvān was known as a devoted patron and defender of Islam and all Muslims.<sup>36</sup> As a matter of fact, Khoshak was not the first Zakarian princess to marry a Muslim ruler. In 1210, Tamta, the daughter of Atabeg Ivane was given in marriage to Ayyubid Malik al-Auhad, and after he died, she married to his brother Malik Ashraf, and finally, in 1230 Khorazmshah Jalāl ad-Dīn married her. What is more, Tamta had apparently remained Christian, as the Armenian monasteries of Taron enjoyed her patronage, and the Georgian residents of the Ayyubid estate were given privileges.<sup>37</sup> Khoshak did not feel isolated in the Iranian environment also thanks to her Iranian name, *Xōšak* (*xvašak*) ("pleasant"),<sup>38</sup> which did not at all sound unusual to those around her.

Although in 1262 and 1263 Šams ad-dīn in the capacity of Šāhib-dīvān succeeded in appointing his sons to the key positions, in 1289 he was delivered a reciprocal blow by his enemy Maǧd al-Mulk Yazdī,<sup>39</sup> and since then he struggled to retain his positions. In the early 1280s, Šāhib-dīvān's growing influence and the wealth he had accumulated were the topic of numerous rumours and the motive for slander. No matter how huge Šāhib-dīvān's wealth and how vast his lands were, his powerful and daring enemies eventually managed to destroy the almighty official. The medieval Armenian poet Frik

<sup>34</sup> G. Hovsep'ean, "Jagavanic' žoľovə", *Šotakat'*, Eǧmiacin, 1913: 23-27.

<sup>35</sup> Rašīd ad-dīn, *ibid.*: 115-116; Rašīd ad-dīn Faǧl-allāh Hamadānī, *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II: 607, Lambton, *op. cit.*: 66-67.

<sup>37</sup> Kirakos Ganjakec'i: 165.

<sup>38</sup> H. Ačařean, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, Erevan, 1944: 523. Khoshak's name occurs only once in *Jāmi' at-tavārīx* as *Xōšāk-xātūn* (Rašīd ad-dīn Faǧl-allāh Hamadānī, *op. cit.*: 1159).

<sup>39</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *ibid.*: 606-607.

evocatively portrays how even the resourceful Persian Xoǰa fell victim of capricious fate:

*And we shall say about Şāhib-dīvān, who possessed all lands,  
No king's power could rival his command;  
Like an apple, he held all the khans in the palm of his hand,  
But when fortune turned away from him, he was cut in half.*<sup>40</sup>

On Monday, 4 Ša'bān 683 (16 October 1284) Şāhib-dīvān was put to death in Ahar, and some time later his sons were also executed. Khoshak's sons and daughter were, however, spared that fate. In his will, prepared prior to the execution, her husband instructed, "If my son Atabeg and his mother Khoshak Khatun would desire to travel back home, they should be allowed to do so".<sup>41</sup> That was exactly what happened afterwards, although, of course, Khoshak never married again; particularly not to the Georgian king Demetri the Second, as claimed L. Babayan.<sup>42</sup>

Although in the second half of the 1280s Khoshak is once again mentioned as "landlady",<sup>43</sup> which does not necessarily mean that she had fully retained her rights for her ancestral estates. During the first five years following Arghun Khan's ascension to throne in 1284, the status of Demetri the Second had quite improved: "Arghun liked him (Demetri the Second) and gave him the entire Armenian land...".<sup>44</sup> Georgian chronicles also register great successes of Demetri the Second and add new details. When the Georgian king came to Arghun Īl-khān, "the latter welcomed him and gave him the entire

<sup>40</sup> Frik, *Diwan* (Anthology), Published for the first time by Archbishop Tirair, New York, 1952: 374-375. A similar verse is dedicated to Šams ad-dīn Juvainī also by a Persian poet, Nūr ad-dīn Rašādī (see Rašīd ad-dīn Faḡl-allāh Hamadānī, *ibid.*: 1160).

<sup>41</sup> Rašīd ad-dīn, *ibid.*: 115-116; Rašīd ad-dīn Faḡl-allāh Hamadānī, *ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> L. Babayan, *ibid.*: 353. This point of view is based on the selective translation of *Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun* by L. Melik'set'-Bek (Melik'set'-Bek, *ibid.*: 60) and is an obvious misconstruction. The Georgian author describes in great detail the family life of the Georgian king without any hint to that circumstance. One should not forget that Demetri II and Khoshak were stepbrother and stepsister. Beside a Mongolian wife, Ulu David, the father of Demetri II, "wedded one other woman, Gontsa, and she gave him a boy named Demetri" (see S. Orbelean, *Patmut'wn*: 308). Towards the same conclusion draw the Georgian chronicles (see *Kartlis cxovreba*: 237; *Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun* 110).

<sup>43</sup> See Hovsep'ean, *op. cit.*: 23, (Alzibir, 1288); *Divan hay vimagrut'yan*, vol. III, Compiled by A. Barxudaryan, Erevan, 1967: 78, inscription 213 (Tanahat, circa 1284-1291).

<sup>44</sup> S. Orbelean, *Patmut'wn*: 312.

kingdom and Avag Atabeg's estate (house), which had belonged to Şāhib-dīvān, because the Khan was in Buqa's hands, and Buqa loved the king and was his guardian father. Victorious, as he was, he returned home with peace and sent his little son to Avag Atabeg's house for him to grow up there and, as a prince, to own a part of the estate."<sup>45</sup> Although in 1289 Georgian chronicles used the phrase "Khošak's lands" instead of "Avag's lands", they also reported that David, the son of Demetri the Second, continued to live there.<sup>46</sup> The son of Sadun II, Khutlu Buqa, was appointed as the guardian of prince David. In 1285 and 1287, that is not long after the events depicted by the Georgian author, first prince David and then, in his turn, "Atabeg and Amirspasalar Khutlu Buqa" exempted the residents of the Avan village from tax.<sup>47</sup> Thus, at that time, administrative power in the territories comprising Khoshak's estate still belonged to others. Therefore, Khoshak's ancestral property had gradually become a part of the Georgian crown prince's inheritance.

Only after Demetri the Second was executed in 1289, Khoshak could regain her rights over her ancestral property. The princess last appears in the inscription dated 1291 and 1297; both times her name is mentioned in conjunction with her son Zakare's name.<sup>48</sup> Thus, Zakare had gradually become the actual landlord of his ancestral estate.

So, what impact on the ethno-cultural identity of Khoshak did her contacts have with the Persian milieu and her transformation from "landlady" to "khatun"? No facts have been found indicating that Khoshak had changed her faith during her stay in Persia. Upon her return to Armenia, Khoshak must have become an even more devoted Christian. Even the names Khoshak gave her sons reflect how strong her clinging to traditions was. One of them was named Atabeg, in honour of his grandfather's and great-grandfather's title, while the other one was given the revered ancestral name Zakare.

Thus, Khoshak had fully displayed her ancestral pride. The first name of Khoshak and Şāhib-dīvān's daughter, Xuandza, on the other hand, clearly mirrored the Persian atmosphere of Khoshak's mar-

<sup>45</sup> *Kartlis cxovreba*: I. 2: 285; *Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun*: 153.

<sup>46</sup> *Kartlis cxovreba*: 289; *Vrac' žamanakagrut'yun*: 156.

<sup>47</sup> K. Łafadarian, *Yerevan. Mijnadaryan hušarjannerə yev vimakan arjanagrut'yunnerə*, Erevan, 1975: 195, inscriptions 197(4), 198(5).

<sup>48</sup> See B. Ařak'elyan, G. Karaxanyan, *Garni, III*, Erevan, 1962: 45, *Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaraner, ŽG (XIII) dar*, Compiled by A. Mat'evosyan, Erevan, 1984: 796.

riage. The parents named their daughter Xuandza (born from prince/princess) in order to emphasise their high hierarchal status.<sup>49</sup> Interestingly enough, this odd-sounding name began spreading in Armenia in the early 14th century, apparently inspired by the fact that a Zakarian princess wore it. At a later time, the name acquired the form “Xondza”, so that it has become difficult to figure out at the first glance that “this seemingly very Armenian word is of the Persian origin”.<sup>50</sup>

It is hard to guess how the subsequent contacts of Khoshak and Şāhib-dīvān’s descendants with Iranian environment would have developed, had they not been abruptly and unexpectedly severed. As we noted above, according to his father’s will, Atabeg and his mother could return home, and, in most probability, that was exactly what he did, together with his brother and sister. It is also known that by 1289 Atabeg was already dead.<sup>51</sup>

As far as Zakare is concerned, in 1284 his father left him the estate “... of the Shahinshahs of Ani”, and, possibly, the “house of Avag”.<sup>52</sup> It is quite obvious that Şāhib-dīvān wished to leave the property he had bought in Armenia to Zakare. However, Arghun Īl-khān, as we already know, gave these lands to Demetri the Second. Zakare himself was spared the sad fate of his siblings executed in 1289 under Īl-khān’s order, only by taking refuge in Abkhazia’.<sup>53</sup>

The data available on Zakare are insufficient to determine what his ethnic self-awareness, cultural orientation, or even religious beliefs were. The viewpoints in relevant literature depicting him as a bearer of only one faith and culture are too conflicting to be trustworthy. Furthermore, while Hakob Manandyan found it possible that Zakare was a Muslim<sup>54</sup> and he refrained from any far-fetching assumptions, Garegin Hovsepyan, Asatur Mnatsakanyan, and Shota Meskhia, without any serious substantiation, have made some quite blatant statements. The first two claim that, most likely, Zakare was

<sup>49</sup> Possibly, from *xudāvand-zā(da)*.

<sup>50</sup> H. Ačařean, op. cit., vol. 2, Yerevan, 1944: 521-522.

<sup>51</sup> Rašīd ad-dīn, *ibid.*: 123.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*: 116.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*: 123.

<sup>54</sup> See H. Manandyan, *K’nnakan tesut’yun hay žolovrdi patmut’yan*, vol. III, Erevan, 1977: 338.

an Armenian,<sup>55</sup> while the latter is positive that he “was a Georgian and belonged to the Georgian Orthodox church”.<sup>56</sup> However, the prince’s biography gives enough grounds to claim that shaped under the different ethno-cultural influences, he was a highly unique individual.

No less extraordinary was the destiny of Şāhib-dīvān’s and Khoshak’s daughter Xuandza. She married a relative of hers, Shahinshah the Third of the Shahinshahian lineage. Following in her mother’s footsteps, she, too, was guided by certain considerations. It appears that the city of Ani, which since 1199 had been the ancestral property of the Amirspasalar Zakare the Second, after it was sold by Shahinshah the First’s sons, became viewed as a hereditary property of the descendants of Atabeg Ivane. The marriage between the children of the two brothers was meant to put an end to the dispute between them. The inscription emphasises the important role Xuandza played in Ani in the late 13th and the early 14th centuries.<sup>57</sup>

Thus, the children of Khoshak turned to be more fortunate than Şāhib-dīvān’s other offspring. Khoshak herself died probably sometime between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, outliving her husband for about two decades.

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<sup>55</sup> G. Hovsep’ean, *Xalbkėank’ kam Prošeank’ hayoc’ patmut’ean mej*, Ant’ilias, 1969: 416; A. Mnac’akanyan, “Miĭnadaryan hayrenasirakan mi norahayt poem”, *Banber Matenadarani*, 8, Erevan, 1967: 299.

<sup>56</sup> Š. Mesxia, *Sašinao poliṭiḡuri vitareba da samoxeleo ċkoba XII sauġunis Sakartveloši*, Tbilisi, 1979: 262.

<sup>57</sup> *Divan hay vimagrut’yan*, Part 1: 27, inscription 82; p. 64, inscription 189.

Mongolian Princes and Their Merchant Partners, 1200-1260

Author(s): THOMAS T. ALLSEN

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## Mongolian Princes and Their Merchant Partners, 1200–1260

Historians and travelers have long noticed the close association between the pastoral nomads of the Eurasian steppe and the merchant communities of the sedentary world.<sup>1</sup> More recently, scholars have begun to scrutinize the reasons for this association. A. M. Khazanov, for example, argues persuasively that the nomads' economy is "non-autarkic," that is, so specialized in pastoral production that many essentials are lacking. Therefore, since their own economy is "one-sided," nomads are forced into trade to acquire such necessities as winter fodder, textiles, and manufactured wares.<sup>2</sup> Sechin Jagchid formulates the problem in somewhat different terms but comes to the same conclusion, noting that nomads endeavor to obtain the missing commodities from their sedentary neighbors through raiding, tributary arrangements, and commercial relationships.<sup>3</sup>

The inability of the nomads to produce domestically all they require and their consequent dependence upon the sown have important political implications. Forced into frequent contact with sedentary populations and governments, the nomads must organize themselves to conduct effective relations with agriculturally based societies and their official representatives. According to Thomas Barfield, the primary purpose of the Hsiung-nu central government was to extract resources from China in the form of booty and tribute or to compel trade on advantageous terms.<sup>4</sup> Thus the stimulus toward state formation among the nomads was generated externally through economic and political contact with established states along the frontiers of the steppe.

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<sup>1</sup> This association is also mirrored in such Turkic folklore as the Oghuz epic tales. See Faruk Sümer, Ahmet E. Uysal, and Warren S. Walker, eds. and trans., *The Book of Dede Korkut* (Austin: U. of Texas P., 1972), pp. 41–44.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1983), pp. 68–84 and 202–12.

<sup>3</sup> Sechin Jagchid, "Patterns of Trade and Conflict between China and the Nomads of Mongolia," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 11 (1977), pp. 177–204.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas J. Barfield, "The Hsiung-nu Imperial Confederation: Organization and Foreign Policy," *JAS* 41.1 (1981), pp. 45–61.

Given the nomads' concern for economic exchange with the sown and the merchants' desire for new and profitable markets, it is not at all surprising that aspiring tribal chieftains and long-distance traders often were drawn together in mutually beneficial relationships. Indeed, in accounting for the emergence of steppe polities, Omeljan Pritsak views merchants as the primary catalyst, who in association with a charismatic clan actively "promoted the creation of [nomadic] empires."<sup>5</sup> The expansion of a nomadic empire, frequently seen as a by-product of large-scale tribal migrations, might therefore be more accurately described as the extension of nomadic political control over a long-distance trade network.<sup>6</sup>

These insights into the role of merchants in nomadic states derive for the most part from the study of the pre-Mongolian period of Inner Asian history. Oddly, the position and function of merchants in the Mongolian Empire, the largest of the steppe states, have received little detailed investigation to date, despite the fact that the Činggisids' interest in commerce is well known and readily documented. One statement of such interest, succinct yet unmistakable, is found in a decree sent by Mengü Temür, the *qan* of the Golden Horde (r. 1267–1280), to Yaroslav, Prince of Novgorod (r. 1266–1272): "Mengü Temür, our word, to Prince Yaroslav: Give passage to the European merchants (*nemetskomu gosti*) into your realm." In response to this order, the obedient prince sent the required message, which reads in part:

Yaroslav to the people of Riga, to the great and small, to those who go-a-trading (*gosti*'), and to all: Your passage through my realm shall be free (*chist'*, lit., "clear"), and whosoever is hostile to me, him I shall deal with myself; but [any] merchant shall have free passage through my realm.<sup>7</sup>

These sentiments, expressed sometime between 1267 and 1272, do not constitute an innovation in attitude or policy; on the contrary, Mengü Temür's concern for commerce gives voice to a long-established tradition among the Činggisids, one that can be traced back to the founding father himself.

The purpose of this investigation is to delineate and explain the character of the relationship between Mongolian princes and merchants during the

<sup>5</sup> Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1981) 1, pp. 10–20.

<sup>6</sup> This possibility was first broached by Peter Boodberg in 1942. See his "Turk, Aryan and Chinese in Ancient Asia," in Paul Cohen ed., *Selected Works of Peter Boodberg* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1979), pp. 1–21.

<sup>7</sup> S. N. Valk, ed., *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova* (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1949), p. 57.

formative decades of the empire, 1200–1260. This will involve addressing a series of interrelated questions: What was the status of merchants at court? What kinds of service did they render the princes? What influence did the merchants exert on imperial policy? How did each party benefit from the association? And finally, did merchants in fact encourage or facilitate imperial expansion? In pursuing this line of inquiry, particular attention is paid to the *ortoy*s. *Ortoy* is a term of Turkic origin meaning “partner.” It passed into Mongolian and is widely used in the sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to denote a merchant operating with capital supplied by a Činggisid prince or court official.<sup>8</sup> Some work has appeared on the *ortoy*,<sup>9</sup> but none to my knowledge explores its contractual basis or attempts to confront the Chinese and Persian data on this institution in an effort to understand the role of merchants in the rise of the Mongolian Empire.

Professor Elizabeth Endicott-West’s companion article in this issue, “Merchant Associations in Yüan China: The *Ortoy*,” explores this institution from the accession of Qubilai (1260) to the end of the Yüan and includes an epilogue on early Ming notices of these merchant-traders. The relationship between our articles requires a few words of explanation. In addition to the chronological division of labor, we approach our common topic from slightly different angles. First, Professor Endicott-West’s contribution is more tightly focused on a particular category of merchants, the *ortoy*, whereas mine investigates the Mongols’ association with various types of merchants, as well as their attitudes and policies toward commerce in general. Second, my colleague provides a more detailed examination of the etymology of *ortoy* and related terms found in the Chinese and Mongolian sources, whereas my efforts place greater emphasis on the terminology encountered in the Middle Eastern and Slavic sources. Although the articles are not intended as fully integrated studies, the authors feel that they complement one another in important ways and together offer a comprehensive treatment of the *ortoy* institution and the role of merchants in Mongolian imperial politics.

<sup>8</sup> The Turkic form is *ortaq*, the Mongolian is *ortoy*, Persian *ūrtāq*, and Chinese *wo-t’o* 斡脫. See Nicolas Poppe, “The Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian,” *CAJ* 1 (1955), p. 40, and Paul Pelliot, “Les caractères de transcription 斡 *wo* ou *wa* et 脫 *pai*,” *TP* 37 (1944), pp. 125–30. Occasionally the term *ortoy* is used in the sense of “friend” or “comrade.” For instance, around 1270, when Abaya and Qaidu ceased fighting and made peace, Rashīd al-Dīn reports that “they called one another *ortoy*.” Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi’ al-Tawārikh*, ed. B. Karīmī (Tehran: Eqbal, 1959; hereafter cited as *Rashīd (K)*) 2, p. 754.

<sup>9</sup> A short but excellent survey of the term *ortoy* in the Il-Khān sources is in Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963–1965) 2, pp. 25–27. The pioneering work of Weng Tu-chien 翁獨健, “Wo-t’o tsa-k’ao 斡脫雜考,” *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 29 (1941), pp. 201–19, covers the institution in the Yüan dynasty, but concentrates on the period after 1260.

MERCHANTS AND THE EARLY EMPIRE: THE REIGN OF  
ČINGGIS QAN

In the centuries before Činggis Qan, ancestors of the Mongols (the Meng-wu 蒙兀 of the Chinese sources) intermittently exchanged goods with the Liao, Chin, and Hsi-hsia dynasties. Little is known of this trade beyond the fact the the Mongols were mainly interested in acquiring ironware, a commodity whose export to the steppe was generally banned by the dynasties of north China.<sup>10</sup> Although the sources provide no further data on these exchanges, it is clear that in the twelfth century the Mongols were still in contact with merchants and were well acquainted with their ways. This is brought out in an episode recorded in the *Yüan Dynastic History*. Sometime in the 1180s Činggis Qan made arrangements to marry his sister Temülün to Butu (Po-t'u 孛秃)<sup>11</sup> of the Ikires people. When the latter's envoy arrived to conclude the negotiations, the Mongolian ruler inquired:

"How much have Butu's herds grown?" Ebügentei [the envoy] responded, saying: "He has thirty head of horses and we will be pleased to bring half as the betrothal gift." The Emperor [Činggis Qan] hotly retorted: "To arrange a marriage and to discuss wealth is to behave like a merchant (*shang-ku* 商賈)! The old ones had a saying: a meeting of the minds is made firm by need. I intend to obtain All-under-Heaven. If you, the Ikires people, obey Butu and serve me loyally, that will do. What matter wealth?"<sup>12</sup>

The views expressed here seem at first reading to betray a degree of hostility toward merchants, but that is not necessarily the case. Činggis Qan at this point in his career was intent on building a following and was more concerned with long-term political gain than with short-term economic advantage. In these circumstances, he tells us, the merchant mentality is simply not appropriate. In any event, his later comments and actions reveal a very positive attitude toward commerce and traders.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Ratchnevsky, *Činggis-Khan: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), p. 7 and nn. 28, 29.

<sup>11</sup> Po-t'u is the *Yüan shih* 元史 form (see n. 12); in the Chinese transcription of the *Secret History of the Mongols* his name is more accurately transcribed as Pu-t'u 不圖. See B. I. Pankratova, *Iuan-chao bi-shi (Sekretnaia istoriia mongolov)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1962), sect. 120, p. 155.

<sup>12</sup> *Yüan shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976; hereafter *YS*) 118, p. 2921. The marriage is not dated in the text but must have occurred in the 1180s, since Butu was an in-law at the time Temüjin assumed the title of *qan*, ca. 1187–1189. See Francis W. Cleaves, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1982; hereafter *SH*), sect. 120, p. 52.

Činggis Qan's first recorded encounter with a merchant occurred in 1203. Following an abortive assassination attempt by an erstwhile ally, Činggis Qan and a few loyal followers took refuge at Lake Baljuna in northeastern Mongolia. Here the hard-pressed band swore an oath of fidelity and then managed to extricate itself from this difficult situation.<sup>13</sup> While at the lake, Asan, a Sartay (that is, Central Asian) trader, arrived from the Önggüd territory, bringing 1,000 castrated sheep to exchange for sable and squirrel skins.<sup>14</sup> This Asan, as Bartold long ago concluded, can be identified with the Ḥasan Ḥajjī of the Persian sources.<sup>15</sup> Writing of events surrounding Ḥasan's death at Sughnaq on the Syr Darya, where he had been sent in 1219 as an envoy, Juvaynī introduces Ḥasan as one "who had long been in the service of the emperor in the capacity of merchant (*ba ṯm-i-bāzargānī*)."<sup>16</sup> Apparently Ḥasan joined Činggis Qan's retinue soon after their first encounter. Nor, it should be added, was Ḥasan an isolated case. Another Central Asian Muslim, Ja'far Khwājah (Cha-pa-erh Huo-che, 札八兒火者), was present at Baljuna. In 1211, on the eve of the Mongolian invasion of the Chin, he was sent into north China on a mission to discover the intentions of the Altan Qan (that is, the Jürchen ruler). In 1215, when Peking fell to Mongolian arms, he became the first imperial agent (*daruyaci*) appointed in the conquered territory.<sup>17</sup> Thus from the very inception of the empire, officially proclaimed in 1206, Central Asian merchants had representation at court and were active participants in the Mongols' imperial venture.

The influence of the merchant interests at court is plainly revealed in Činggis Qan's diplomatic exchanges with the Khwārazmshāh, Sultan Muḥammad. Around 1215 the sultan, concerned and curious about the rising power of the Mongols in the east, dispatched a "good-will" embassy to China to gather intelligence on the capabilities and intentions of these

<sup>13</sup> On this episode, see Francis W. Cleaves, "The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant," *HJAS* 18 (1955), pp. 357–421, and H. Stang, "The Baljuna Revisited," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (1985), pp. 229–35.

<sup>14</sup> *SH*, sect. 182, p. 111.

<sup>15</sup> Wilhelm Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 3d edn. (London: Luzac, 1968), p. 414.

<sup>16</sup> 'Atā-Malik Juvaynī, *Ta'rikh-i jahān-qushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī, (London: Luzac, 1912–1937; hereafter cited as *Juvaynī (Q)*) 1, p. 67, and 'Atā-Malik Juvaynī, *The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. John A. Boyle (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1958; hereafter *Juvaynī (B)*) 1, p. 87. For the parallel passage in Rashīd al-Dīn, see *Rashīd (K)* 1, p. 354.

<sup>17</sup> *YS* 120, p. 2960; Mīnhāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i naṣīrī*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Kabul: Pūhanī maṭba'at, 1949; hereafter cited as *Jūzjānī (H)*) 2, p. 100; and Mīnhāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i naṣīrī*, trans. H. G. Raverty (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1970; hereafter *Jūzjānī (R)*) 2, p. 954.

potential rivals. The envoys arrived shortly after the fall of Peking and were granted an audience with the Mongolian ruler. After an exchange of pleasantries, Činggis Qan instructed them to relay this message to their sovereign:

I am the ruler of the East and thou the ruler of the West. Between us let there be a firm treaty of friendship, amity, and peace, and from both sides let merchants (*tujjār*) and caravans come and go and let the fineries and wares of my lands be brought to thou and let those of thy lands likewise be directed [to mine].<sup>18</sup>

The request for a commercial treaty with his western neighbor was no empty gesture or subterfuge to lull the unwary. Shortly after the envoys departed, Činggis Qan ordered his road guards (*qarāqchīān*) to give safe conduct to all merchants (*bāzargānān*) entering his domain and to direct those with particularly fine goods to his court. These measures soon (ca. 1217 or 1218) attracted three Bukharan merchants to the imperial camp. They were warmly greeted and asked about their wares. When one tried to sell Činggis Qan textiles at exorbitant prices, the Mongolian chieftain was not taken in and heatedly called the merchant to account. Anxious, however, to stimulate trade, Činggis Qan in the end offered generous prices to the Bukharans, including the individual who had endeavored to overcharge him. At the time of their departure the three were enjoined to inform the Khwārazmshāh of the Mongols' desire for peaceable economic exchange.<sup>19</sup>

Not content to wait upon events, Činggis Qan shortly thereafter ordered his sons, daughters, wives, and military commanders to select Muslims from their respective retinues and to supply each with gold and silver ingots (*bālish*) so that they might trade in the land of the Khwārazmshāh.<sup>20</sup> At the same time he readied a diplomatic embassy to reaffirm his desire for friendship and commerce. The envoys, Maḥmūd Khwārazmī, °Alī Khwājah Bukharī, and Yūsuf Kankā Ūṭrārī, arrived in Transoxania in the spring of 1218 and began discussions. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Činggis Qan's

<sup>18</sup> *Jūzjānī* (H) 2, p. 103, and *Jūzjānī* (R) 2, p. 966. A slightly different version of this message is given elsewhere in the same source. See *Jūzjānī* (H) 1, p. 311, and *Jūzjānī* (R) 1, p. 272. *Jūzjānī*'s information comes directly from Bahā al-Dīn, an embassy member whom he questioned in 1220.

<sup>19</sup> This episode is recounted in *Juwaynī* (Q) 1, pp. 59–60, and *Juwaynī* (B) 1, 78. For parallel accounts, see *Rashīd* (K) 1, p. 342, and Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Abū'l Faraj ... Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London: Oxford U.P., 1932), p. 356.

<sup>20</sup> *Juwaynī* (Q) 1, p. 60, and *Juwaynī* (B) 1, pp. 78–79; and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography* 1, p. 356.

message opened with a recognition of the Khwārazmshāh's great power and fame and concluded with this declaration:

When the regions between us are cleansed of foes and completely liberated and pacified, and on both sides the obligations of neighbors are affirmed, [then] reason and civility demand that both parties ought to tread the path of concord and that we ought to take it upon ourselves to succor and support one another in perilous times and [lastly] that we should secure the roads against harmful incidents in order that merchants (*tujjār*), upon whose comings and goings the well-being of the world [depends], might ply to and fro with a light heart.<sup>21</sup>

The historian Nasawī, who was private secretary to Jalāl al-Dīn, the son of Sultan Muḥammad, provides another version of the same message:

And thou, greatest of men, [should knowest] that my land has nurseries of soldiers and mines of silver, and that in it there are such riches that there is no need to look elsewhere. And if thou deemest it proper to open the road of visitation to the merchants (*tujjār*) of both sides, then there will be benefit for all and mutual profit.<sup>22</sup>

The sultan, perhaps alarmed by the reference to “nurseries of soldiers,” later that evening interrogated Maḥmūd Khwārazmī in private, hoping to discover Činggis Qan's true intentions. Following a lengthy examination, during which his life was threatened, the Mongols' envoy managed to convince the suspicious sultan that the goals of his master were, as stated, friendship and trade. The Khwārazmshāh then relented and agreed to the proposed treaty.

The period of amity did not last long. Sometime later in 1218 Činggis Qan's trade caravan, headed by four Muslim merchants, arrived in Ūṭrār (Otrar) on the frontiers of Khwārazm, where it came under the jurisdiction of Īnāl Khān (or Īnālchūq), the local governor. For reasons of his own, Īnāl Khān wrote the Khwārazmshāh claiming that the merchants were spies and provocateurs. The sultan, in response, ordered precautionary measures taken, but Īnāl Khān, apparently overstepping his instructions, had the merchants killed and personally appropriated their goods. The complicity of

<sup>21</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 1, p. 343. Shorter versions of this missive are available in *Juwaynī (Q)* 1, p. 70; 2, pp. 99–100; *Juwaynī (B)* 1, p. 79; 2, p. 368; and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography* 1, p. 356.

<sup>22</sup> Muḥammad Nasawī, *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī*, ed. H. Hamdī (Cairo: Dar al-fakr al-ʿArabī, 1953), pp. 83–84.

the Khwārazmshāh in the massacre is unclear,<sup>23</sup> but all sources, including Nasawī, who is very anti-Mongol, assert that the merchants did nothing to provoke such reprisals.<sup>24</sup>

When word of the incident at Ūṭrār reached Činggis Qan he sent another embassy, headed by Ibn Kafraj Bughrā, to protest and to negotiate a settlement. The envoy opened his discussion with the sultan by stating: "Thou didst give thy signature and thy hand on the security of the merchants and [didst agree] not to hinder one of them but thou hast acted treacherously and broken [thy word]." According to Nasawī, Bughrā went on to declare that if the sultan had no hand in the massacre he could prove his good faith by extraditing Īnāl Khān to the Mongols for punishment. In this event bloodshed could be averted, but if the contrary, the envoy noted, then war would inevitably ensue. Muḥammad considered the proposition and eventually decided that Īnāl Khān was too well connected to turn over so he refused the Mongolian offer and further enraged Činggis Qan by ordering the execution of the embassy.<sup>25</sup>

In the assessment of the significance of the events surrounding the massacre at Ūṭrār, the military and political repercussions have naturally received the greatest attention. The incident, after all, propelled Mongolian armies westward, and the dazzling victories that followed may well have triggered the Činggisid quest for universal empire. But however momentous its consequences, the incident is crucial in another respect: the light it casts on the role of trade in the formation of a nomadic state. A close examination of this episode tell us much about the Mongols' early concern for commercial exchange and about the character and extent of merchants' involvement with Činggis Qan and his family.

The first point to emerge from such an analysis is that at every stage of the relationship with Khwārazm, it was Činggis Qan who interjected the subject of trade into the talks: in 1215 when the sultan sent envoys to north China, in 1217 (or 1218) when the Bukharan merchants arrived in Mongolia, and in 1218 when the Mongolian embassy reached Transoxania. The wording of the communications sent to the Khwārazmshāh differs in the available sources, but all convey the same message. Even the sources openly hostile to the Mongols — Jūzjānī and Nasawī — concede this point and indeed chastise the Khwārazmians for their duplicity and rashness.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the Khwārazmshāh's role, see Bartold, *Turkestan*, p. 398.

<sup>24</sup> Nasawī, *Sīrat*, pp. 85–86.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 87. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Īnālchūq was a maternal uncle of the Khwārazmshāh; *Rashīd (K)* 1, p. 221.

Činggis Qan's dealings with the three Bukharans indicate not only a desire for trade but also a sophisticated appreciation of the ways of commerce. In his response to the merchant who offered his wares at exorbitant prices, the Mongolian ruler angrily declared to those present, "Does this person think that cloth has never been brought to us [before]?"<sup>26</sup> The comment is not, of course, to be taken as evidence that Činggis Qan had expert knowledge of the quality and value of textiles, but rather that he had among his followers professionals, such as Ḥasan Ḥajjī, who did. Further, it is apparent from the way the ill-fated caravan was formed that by this time all the members of the imperial family had their own commercial advisers. Although background data on those selected to conduct trade in Khwārazm are lacking, there are indications that a sizable portion were Muslim traders from West Turkestan.<sup>27</sup>

These merchants obviously had close and official ties to the court. They received their operating capital from the imperial family and therefore functioned as its commercial agents. The official character of their association is well reflected in Jūzjānī's statement that the caravan Činggis Qan dispatched to Khwārazm was accompanied by "merchants of his own" (*bāzargānān-i khūd*) and Juvaynī's depiction of those murdered at Ūṭrār as "merchants (*tujjār*) attached to the Tatars."<sup>28</sup> This is why the Mongolian and Chinese sources always refer to these representatives of the court as "ambassadors."<sup>29</sup>

The size of the despoiled caravan is variously reported. The Persian historians state that 450 met death at Ūṭrār, while the *Secret History of the Mongols* puts the figure at 100. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, who accompanied Činggis Qan to Khwārazm the year after the incident, records that just over 100 merchants (*ku-jeu* 賈人) perished.<sup>30</sup> The latter number is probably correct, but it may only refer to the merchant-ambassadors present, whereas the higher figure may well enumerate the entire complement of the caravan, which certainly included servants, security forces, and camel pullers.

<sup>26</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, p. 60, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, p. 78.

<sup>27</sup> The caravan was headed by four Turkestani traders, and Rashīd al-Dīn refers to those killed at Ūṭrār as "Muslim merchants" (*bāzargānān-i muslimān*); *Rashīd* (K) 1, p. 221. Jūzjānī calls them simply "*bāzargānān*." *Jūzjānī* (H) 1, p. 311, and *Jūzjānī* (R) 1, p. 272.

<sup>28</sup> *Jūzjānī* (H) 2, p. 103, and *Jūzjānī* (R) 2, p. 96; *Juvaynī* (Q) 2, p. 99, and *Juvaynī* (B) 2, p. 367.

<sup>29</sup> In *SH*, sect. 254, p. 189, they are called *elčīn*, "envoys," and in *YS* 1, p. 20, *shih-che* 使者, "ambassadors."

<sup>30</sup> Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., "The *Hsi-yu lu* 西遊錄 by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材," *MS* 21 (1962), p. 21, translation, and p. 115, Chinese text.

According to Jūzjānī, who provides an abbreviated inventory, the caravan consisted of 500 camel-loads of gold, silver, silk, precious furs (such as sable), and “elegant wares from China.”<sup>31</sup> The total value of the goods carried to Ūṭrār is nowhere tabulated, but clearly a vast amount of the Mongols’ hard-won booty was lost there. Viewed in this light, the incident was not merely an affront to Činggis Qan’s dignity and an open challenge to Mongolian arms; it was at bottom a pocketbook issue, and it is this grievance, more than any other, that provoked retribution. Such a conclusion is fully substantiated by Činggis Qan’s behavior after the massacre: he did not immediately declare war in the face of this outrage and endeavored instead to find a negotiated settlement. Although Bughrā, his envoy, opened discussions in Khwārazm by threatening hostilities, he then plainly declared that if the sultan punished the guilty and made restitution, normal relations would be restored. At this late hour the Mongolian chieftain still preferred economic exchange to military confrontation with the eastern Islamic world.

When war came in 1219, it proved to be an unmitigated disaster for the majority of the inhabitants of Transoxania. Yet for one segment of Central Asian society — the long-distance traders — the war brought in its wake new opportunities, which they were quick to exploit.

There is evidence that by 1221, as military operations in the West were reaching a climax, an active commerce in luxury goods had already developed within the frontiers of the now-expanded Mongolian Empire. Li Chih-ch’ang 李志常, the chronicler of the travels of the Taoist master Ch’ang-ch’un 長春, records the presence of Persian linen (*Po-ssu pu* 波斯布) to the west of Turfan and the movement of coral from “the West” into southern Turkestan. Of equal interest, Li notes that when his party encountered coral merchants in the Hindukush, the Mongolian officers in his escort purchased their wares in a straight business transaction.<sup>32</sup> No attempt was made to exact them by force. Yeh-lü Ch’u-ts’ai, another eyewitness, reports that in the city of T’uan 搏 (that is, Taliqān, west of Balkh) lacquerware (*ch’i-ch’i* 漆器) with Ch’ang-an trademarks (*t’i-shih* 題識) was found in abundance.<sup>33</sup> At the same time Chinese goods were flowing into Mongolia in

<sup>31</sup> Jūzjānī (*H*) 1, p. 311, and 2, p. 103; and Jūzjānī (*R*) 1, p. 272, and 2, p. 966.

<sup>32</sup> Li Chih-ch’ang 李志常, *Hsi-yu chi* 西遊記, in Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, ed., *Meng-ku shih-liao ssu-chung* 蒙古史料四種 (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chū, 1975), pp. 292–93, 344; and Arthur Waley, trans., *Travels of an Alchemist* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 79, 103–4.

<sup>33</sup> De Rachewiltz, “The *Hsi-yu lu*,” p. 22, translation, and p. 116, text.

considerable quantities. Chao Hung 趙珙, a Sung envoy sent to north China in 1221, left a brief description of this traffic:

Inasmuch as their (the Tatars') customs are simple, their neighbors, the Hui-hu (回鶻), whenever they trade in the Two Hos (Hopei and Honan), they sell [these goods] in their (the Tatars') country.<sup>34</sup>

In this passage Hui-hu probably refers to the Uighurs, although in early texts the term is sometimes used to designate Muslims as well. But however the term is employed in this particular instance, Chao's testimony makes it quite clear that this commerce was in the hands of middlemen and that the Mongols, flush with newly acquired wealth, constituted an attractive market.

The growth of consumerism among the Mongols is affirmed by Li Chih-ch'ang. While traversing the southern Altai in 1221 Li observed that foreign merchants (*ku* 賈) from the "Western Regions" (Hsi-yü 西域) imported into Mongolia flour that sold at fifty ounces of silver for eighty pounds.<sup>35</sup> At first glance the reported price — approximately 1.6 ounces of silver for only a pound of flour — seems incredible. Further, Li's data run counter to the assumption that long-distance trade in bulk goods is simply not feasible owing to high transportation costs and the low weight-to-value ratio of commodities like flour. Nevertheless, Li was a reliable observer, and there is no reason to dismiss his evidence out of hand. First, he reports that the flour in question had traveled some 2,000 *li*, or about 1,150 kilometers, to reach Mongolia, which accounts for its elevated price. Second, it is obvious from the context of his notice that the purchasers were the wives of Mongolian princes and therefore individuals who commanded the necessary resources to pay the going rate, however high. That they were willing to do so is explained, in my opinion, by the unique conditions that obtained in the early empire. The Mongols, heretofore a society with limited purchasing power, now suddenly found themselves with vast and unaccustomed wealth, and the ruling strata, the main beneficiaries of the booty and tribute, were prone to an extravagance typical of the nouveau riche. And if they wished to remain in the steppe, as many nomads did, and yet enjoy the bounty of the surrounding agricultural world, Mongolian notables had to meet the high costs of transportation. Thus, from the perspective of the merchant, long-distance bulk trade became in these circumstances an economically sound proposition.

<sup>34</sup> Chao Hung 趙珙, *Meng-ta pei-lu* 蒙鞬備錄, in Wang, *Meng-ku shih-liao*, p. 435.

<sup>35</sup> Li, *Hsi-yü chi*, pp. 281–82, and Waley, *Travels of an Alchemist*, p. 71. In Waley's translation the character for "ounce" (*liang* 兩) is mistakenly rendered as "pound."

Available sources for the final few years of Činggis Qan's reign place military operations at center stage and commercial matters recede into the background. The data presented, however, show that the evolving relationship between the Mongols and the Inner Asian merchants was both extensive and multifaceted. In the expanding Mongolian state the traders had found a powerful ally that actively promoted commerce by providing patronage, capital, and protection. The merchants also quickly discovered new markets in Mongolia that were readily penetrated and profitably exploited. Well represented at court by commercial agents attached to the *qan* and his family, the merchants conducting business with the Mongols had every reason to be pleased. Their interests had been well served to date, and even better days were still to come.

#### THE APEX OF MERCHANT INFLUENCE: THE REIGNS OF ÖGÖDEI AND GÜYÜG

Before his death in 1227 Činggis Qan named as heir his third son, Ögödei, who was duly enthroned two years later. Once the transition was completed, Mongolian military operations, held in abeyance during the interregnum, were resumed. The new campaigns successfully extended Činggisid dominion over the remnants of the Chin realm, northern Iran, Transcaucasia, and the Russian principalities. Evidence indicates that during this period the scale of court-sponsored trade grew apace with territorial expansion. Merchants now exercised a very visible and pervasive influence on imperial policy; moreover, they enjoyed special privileges and reaped great profits.

The scope of the court's involvement with merchants is reflected in the observations of two Sung envoys who traveled to Mongolia in the mid-1230s. P'eng Ta-ya 彭大雅, whose embassy arrived in 1234, relates that the ruling house,

from the Tatar Emperor (Ögödei) to the false princes of the blood, to the false heir apparent, to the false princesses,<sup>36</sup> all entrust their silver to the Muslims (Hui-hui 回回). As for [the latter] some lend it out to the populace and make abundant their interest . . . and some buy all sorts of wares and engage in trade and commerce.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> P'eng, a representative of the Southern Sung, did not consider the Činggisids or their titles legitimate.

<sup>37</sup> P'eng Ta-ya 彭大雅 and Hsü T'ing 徐霆, *Hei-ta shih-lüeh* 黑鞬事略, in Wang, *Meng-ku shih-liao*, p. 493.

The report of Hsü T'ing 徐霆, a year later, confirms and amplifies P'eng's data:

[Whenever] I observed a Tatar there would be only *sauya* (*sa-hua* 撒花).<sup>38</sup> There is no one [among them] who knows how to trade. From the Tatar Emperor on down, they give their silver to the Muslims, ordering them to go about on their own to trade and acquire interest. As for the Muslims, some lend it to others, and some conduct trade in numerous locales.<sup>39</sup>

These reports of an openhanded policy toward merchants are fully corroborated by the Persian sources. According to Juvaynī, an elderly stranger once approached Ögödei and “petitioned for 200 gold ingots to form an *ortoy* [with the *qayan*].” To the dismay of his advisers, the emperor, without inquiring into his new associate's bona fides, immediately granted the request. And on the heels of this transaction, Juvaynī tells us, Ögödei advanced fresh funds to an *ortoy* merchant who through carelessness had already lost 500 ingots of the *qayan*'s capital (*sar-māyah*).<sup>40</sup> Not surprisingly, the court's largess and lax business practices attracted throngs of merchants (*tujjār*) and speculators (*aṣḥab-i īntīja*).<sup>41</sup>

While many came in quest of capital, others flocked to Mongolia to offer wares for sale. They were not disappointed, for Ögödei ordered that goods purchased from merchants be paid for at 10 percent above the asking price, which was already inflated. When his ministers protested this unnecessary extravagance, the emperor retorted:

The dealings of our treasury with merchants are for the purpose of their finding benefit and acquiring advantage under our protection and indeed this group [of merchants] pays expenses to your scribes and it is their debt to you that I am paying off so that they shall not leave our presence suffering a loss.<sup>42</sup>

To some degree, Ögödei's frequent displays of imperial largess, extended as well to relatives, officials, soldiers, and commoners, were designed to demonstrate his incalculable wealth and unrivaled generosity and thereby served as

<sup>38</sup> *Sauya* is the Mongolian word for “present” or “booty.” The term is discussed in more detail below.

<sup>39</sup> P'eng and Hsü, *Hei-ta shih-lüeh*, p. 494.

<sup>40</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, pp. 165–66, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, pp. 208–10.

<sup>41</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, p. 156, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, p. 198.

<sup>42</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, pp. 170–71, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, p. 214.

a means of proclaiming and enhancing his great majesty.<sup>43</sup> In his dealings with merchants, however, Ögödei's liberal pricing policy may have been based on other calculations — chief among them the desire to attract goods to Qara Qorum, the new capital near the Orkhon River, which could not be provisioned locally. The surrounding nomadic economy simply could not meet the basic needs of this somewhat artificial city with its high (by steppe standards) population density. Thus the Mongolian court, a major consumer, regularly offered inflated prices to attract sellers. In any event, the emperor's liberality, whether deliberate or not, had the effect of ensuring a steady flow of commodities, including bulk goods, into the capital and its environs. Hsü T'ing, for instance, notes that merchants (*k'o-jen* 客人) annually brought 1,000 piculs (*shih* 石), or around 130,000 to 140,000 pounds, of hulled rice (*mi* 米) into Mongolia for trade.<sup>44</sup>

There was another incentive, too, that drew merchants toward the Mongolian court — the empire's extensive communications system. In the latter part of his reign, Činggis Qan founded a network of relay stations (Mongolian *jam*) to convey military messengers and foreign envoys from the frontiers to the imperial camp. Further, he set as one of his tasks the clearing and straightening of "roads and highways."<sup>45</sup> Ögödei, in emulation of his father, took a special and very personal interest in improving the communications of the empire. Under his aegis the relay system, regularized and expanded, became an integral part of the Mongolian administrative machinery. The post stations, laid out a day's march apart, connected Qara Qorum with north China, Turkestan, and the Lower Volga.<sup>46</sup> Envoys traveling on official business received en route free food, lodging, and mounts.<sup>47</sup> Ögödei, exceedingly proud of his efforts, considered the elaboration of this network his single greatest achievement.<sup>48</sup>

Juvaynī, who had personal knowledge of this communications system, notes that it was heavily used for commercial purposes. He states that together with the collection and dissemination of intelligence, the primary reason for its establishment was "to transport goods from the West to the

<sup>43</sup> For additional examples of Ögödei's great munificence, see *Juwaynī* (Q) 1, pp. 149, 156, 160–61, and *Juwaynī* (B) 1, pp. 188–89, 198, 202–3.

<sup>44</sup> P'eng and Hsü, *Hei-ta shih-lüeh*, p. 477.

<sup>45</sup> *Rashīd* (K) 1, p. 439.

<sup>46</sup> For a brief sketch, see Peter Olbrich, *Das Postwesen in China unter den Mongolenherrschaft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954), pp. 36–38.

<sup>47</sup> Christopher Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> This boast is recorded twice in *SH*, sect. 279, p. 225, and sect. 281, p. 227.

East and from the Far East to the West.”<sup>49</sup> Merchant access to the relay stations is confirmed by the Chinese sources. An imperial decree dated July 1233 addresses various disruptions in the system; it says in part: “If messengers coming from military headquarters meet any trading Muslims, [the messengers], no matter what [the merchant’s] business, shall confiscate their horses to ride between stations.”<sup>50</sup> In another decree, from December 1229, Ögödei directed that henceforth “one centurion (*po-hu* 百戶) shall be specially ordered to employ draft oxen to convey [rice] to traveling merchants staying over [at the stations].”<sup>51</sup> According to this same document, the necessary provisions were to be drawn from the households attached to the postal station (*chan-hu* 站戶). From these passages it is evident that merchants used the system extensively, had the right to do so if they did not impede the flow of military orders, and, like other official travelers, received their keep in transit.

The availability of such a service obviously was a considerable inducement to “traveling merchants.” In premodern times the most significant expenses of the long-distance trader were transportation and protection costs. Under Ögödei, merchants were able to travel cheaply and securely throughout the empire, and even if “squeezed” occasionally by the postal authorities they could reasonably expect profitable ventures in consequence of such preferential treatment.

For the merchants, these were the best of times, but their rise to a position of privilege and influence at court resulted in extreme hardship for the subject population. Muslim and Uighur merchants were, in fact, the willing agents, if not the chief architects, of the exploitative economic policies pursued by the Mongols in north China. As conditions deteriorated in the latter years of Ögödei’s reign, Chinese observers certainly held the ubiquitous Inner Asian merchants mainly responsible for their country’s misfortunes. While it is true that these critics overstate the case (particularly those in Mongolian service, who were hardly in a position to openly chastise their overlords, the merchants’ sponsors and protectors), their accusations nonetheless were correct in substance. The complaints they lodged can be conveniently grouped under three headings: extortion, usury, and tax farming.

The trading activity of the merchants was not an object of criticism as

<sup>49</sup> *Juwaynī* (Q) 1, p. 24, and *Juwaynī* (B) 1, p. 33.

<sup>50</sup> This document is preserved in the early Ming compendium *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典 (Ts’un-pen fu-pien wen-yüan-ko shu-mu; rpt. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), ch. 19416, p. 8b.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7a. The *Yüan Dynastic History* notes among Ögödei’s accomplishments that during his reign, “Travellers did not [need] to concern themselves with provisions.” See *YS* 2, p. 37.

such, but the ease and frequency with which they fleeced the Chinese populace are indignantly noted. According to Hsü T'ing, a favorite and usually successful ploy of the merchants was to "declare falsely they have been robbed and [then] demand restitution from the households of the locale."<sup>52</sup> On the surface, at least, the reason this form of extortion was so common seems obvious: the locals, aware that the merchants operated with capital supplied by the court, felt compelled to compensate the traders or face retribution at the hands of the Mongolian military. The situation, however, is more complex and is intimately connected with the Mongols' peculiar attitude toward lost goods. In a nomadic society, herd animals continuously wander off, and in conformity with the rules of mutual aid and reciprocity, custom demanded that neighbors promptly return all strays. In the period of the empire the practice became institutionalized and is described by various travelers among the Mongols. Marco Polo, for instance, relates that when one finds a lost horse, sword, hunting bird, or other item, it is carried to a special officer, a "*bularguci*," who is "the keeper of things who find no master."<sup>53</sup> The fullest explanation of the rationale behind this custom is provided by Huc and Gabet, who had personal experience with the practice while journeying through Mongolia in the 1840s:

By a law among the Tartars, when animals are lost from a caravan, the persons occupying the nearest encampment are bound either to find them *or replace them*. It seems no doubt very strange to European views, because, without their consent or even knowledge, without being even in the smallest degree known to them, you have chosen to pitch your tent near those of a Mongol party, you and your animals, and *your baggage*, are under their responsibility; but so it is. If a thing disappears, the law supposes that your next neighbor is the thief, or at all events an accomplice.<sup>54</sup>

That this nomadic convention was enforced in north China to protect merchants operating there is made abundantly clear in a passage from the

<sup>52</sup> P'eng and Hsü, *Hei-ta shih-lüeh*, p. 494. In the same source, p. 493, P'eng declares that the Muslim traders, "using nighttime pilferage as a pretext, demand restitution from the populace."

<sup>53</sup> Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, trans. A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1938) 1, p. 230. The Mongolian form is *bularyuči*. For a discussion of the term and the functions of the office, see Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1959) 1, pp. 112–14; and Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1, pp. 213–15. Carpini also remarks on this custom. See Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 15.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Gabet and Régis Evariste Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844–6*, trans. William Hazlitt (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1928) 1, pp. 80–81, my italics.

biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai:

At the beginning of the state (i.e., in Činggis Qan's reign) brigands were very numerous and merchants (*shang-ku* 商賈) could not [safely] travel. Therefore, a decree was issued that in all places where [merchants] were robbed and the true thieves were not captured in a year's time, the populace (*min-hu* 民戶) of the circuit in question had to compensate [the merchants] for their [lost] goods.<sup>55</sup>

Thus by Mongolian law the locals were made collectively responsible for all goods lost by traveling merchants, and the latter were quick to realize that by advancing fabricated charges of theft or robbery they could confidently bully and defraud the subject population. After all, if the case came to the notice of a Mongolian prince or commander, whom would he believe — a merchant in the service of the imperial family or a Chinese farmer?

An even more serious problem in Chinese eyes was the merchants' deep involvement in usury and moneylending. Unlike medieval Christian and Islamic law, which formally prohibited the exaction of interest, the Chinese accepted the practice so long as the rates charged were kept within bounds. However, the Muslim and Uighur merchants in the Han territory lent at premiums that were unprecedented and outrageous by any standard. P'eng Ta-ya formulates their rates in the following manner: "On one ingot (*ting* 錠) of principal, turned over (*chan-chuan* 展轉) for ten years, their interest will be 1,024 ingots."<sup>56</sup> From this, an annual schedule of payments is easily derived: at the end of year one the borrower owes two ingots; at the end of year two he owes four; after three years eight, and so on. Their standard demand was therefore 100 percent interest compounded annually.

This does not seem credible, but fortunately several other independent and contemporary sources specify, though in somewhat different language, the very same rate.<sup>57</sup> Still, how could a Chinese peasant or city dweller ever hope to repay a loan outstanding for more than a year or so? The sources offer no guidance on this matter, but it is probable that for the most part the lenders did not desire repayment of the loan, especially the principal; rather they hoped to milk interest payments from the debtors on an indefinite basis, and if, in the end, those so ensnared defaulted on their loans, the merchant could always foreclose and seize the property of his hapless victims.

<sup>55</sup> Su T'ien-chüeh 蘇天爵, *Yüan wen-lei* 元文類 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1967; hereafter *YWL*) 57, pp. 17a-b.

<sup>56</sup> P'eng and Hsü, *Hei-ta shih-lüeh*, p. 493.

<sup>57</sup> *TS* 155, p. 3659, and *YWL* 57, p. 17b.

In the Chinese sources these usurious rates are consistently called "lamb interest" (*yang-kao li* 羊羔利).<sup>58</sup> The term is always defined clearly enough but its origin is never discussed. On balance, it seems unlikely that it derives from Chinese usage, since contemporary Chinese authors usually felt obliged to explain its meaning to their readers. Perhaps the term is a calque translation from Mongolian or Turkic into Chinese and alludes to the growth potential of a young animal or to its ability, once it reaches maturity, to reproduce itself on an *annual* basis. In any event, the term "lamb interest" most probably arose in a pastoral society.<sup>59</sup>

Why Chinese entered into loan arrangements with merchants at such crippling interest rates is directly linked to the Mongols' revenue policies. In the early years of the empire taxes were collected on an ad hoc basis; tithes were levied on newly conquered people, or goods were simply seized as the opportunity and need arose. When Ögödei came to power efforts were made to regularize and equalize the tax burden on the sedentary population. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, named head of the regional administration of north China in 1229, proposed a series of reforms designed both to restrict the tax categories to three (household, land, and commercial) and to establish known rates for each. Introduced on a trial basis in 1234, the package yielded increased revenues and won Ögödei's approval.

Although the reforms provided a measure of relief, substantial problems remained. One perennial source of frustration was the Mongols' penchant for special imposts, which were levied in addition to the regular categories of taxation. We know, for instance, that under Ögödei Chinese urban dwellers frequently had "to borrow silver from Muslims to buy sustenance for passing envoys."<sup>60</sup> Other extraordinary levies, particularly in support of Mongolian military operations, were commonly imposed, and neither Ögödei nor any of his immediate successors ever placed effective curbs on this practice.

In combination, the established categories, whose rates were set high to gain court approval, and the special levies proved to be a crushing burden

<sup>58</sup> See L. S. Yang, *Money and Credit in China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1971), p. 97.

<sup>59</sup> I owe this suggestion to Professor Denis Twitchett of Princeton University. It is interesting to note in this connection that in later centuries nomads who became indebted to merchants typically paid off the interest on their loans and the carrying costs on their purchases in herd animals, principally sheep. At times the rates exacted reached 100 percent compounded annually. For examples, see Henry Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1885) 1, p. 316; N. G. Apollova, *Khoziaistvennoe osvoenie Priirtysh'ia v kontse XVI—pervoi polovine XIX v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), p. 348; and M. Sanjdorj, *Manchu Chinese Colonial Rule in Northern Mongolia*, trans. Urgunge Onon (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), p. 91.

<sup>60</sup> P'eng and Hsü, *Hei-ta shih-lüeh*, p. 489. See also H. Franz Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century," *HJAS* 19 (1956), p. 313.

for both the populace and the Chinese officials charged with revenue collection. In these circumstances many were compelled to turn to the merchants to meet their tax obligations. The situation in 1236 is concisely related in the biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai:

All the time [debts] accumulated and accumulated, reaching a great figure. If local officials took out loans of silver from the Central Asians,<sup>61</sup> then their debt doubled in a year, and the following year it doubled again together with the interest. They call this lamb interest; it accumulates without end.<sup>62</sup>

Public indebtedness to the Central Asians continued to increase throughout the later years of Ögödei's reign as the influence wielded by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, the champion of Chinese interests, steadily declined in the face of the merchants' determined campaign to gain direct control over the revenue system.

The outlines of the struggle between the two factions can be followed in the Chinese sources. The first recorded attempt to displace Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai came in 1237 when a certain A-san A-mi-shih 阿散阿迷失, described only as a Central Asian (Hui-hu), denounced him for misappropriating funds. The accused, however, brought the charges before Ögödei, who decided in his favor and forced A-san to acknowledge his slander.<sup>63</sup> The following year the merchants tried another approach. Using their connections at court, they placed "bids" (*p'u-mai* 撲買) for the right to collect various categories of taxes. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai persuaded the emperor of the dangers inherent in this course of action and for the moment the would-be tax farmers were thwarted.<sup>64</sup>

The Chinese minister had won the opening rounds, but in time the merchants acquired a powerful ally in the person of Činqai (Chen-hai 鎮海), the head of the imperial chancellory. With his backing the taxes of north China were farmed out to the Muslim merchant 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Ao-tu-la-ho-man 奧都剌合蠻) early in 1240. Again Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai protested, but this time to no avail.<sup>65</sup> The following month 'Abd al-Raḥmān's victory was complete when he was put in charge of all the tax bureaus of north China. Moreover, the general revenue quota for China, set at 22,000 ingots in 1234, was now raised to 44,000 ingots.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Hui-hu 回鶻 can mean Uighur or Muslim at this time.

<sup>62</sup> *YWL* 57, p. 17b. <sup>63</sup> *YWL* 57, p. 18b. <sup>64</sup> *YWL* 57, pp. 19a-b.

<sup>65</sup> *YWL* 57, pp. 19b-20a.

<sup>66</sup> *IS* 2, p. 36, and *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* 聖武親征錄, in Wang, *Meng-ku shih-liao*, p. 218.

Under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the Central Asian merchant community reached the apex of its power and influence in the empire. Their newly acquired preeminence was not, however, sustainable in the long run, for the economic regime they imposed was by its very nature self-destructive. In point of fact, a more ruinous and exploitative system is difficult to conceive. The tax farmers bid up the revenue quotas to unbearable levels, in consequence of which the populace, unable to pay, had to borrow silver at usurious rates from merchant-moneylenders. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the monies the merchants lent to the hard-pressed taxpayers came from the imperial treasury and that in the first instance the monies in question had been exacted as taxes from the selfsame population.

Not unexpectedly, conditions in north China deteriorated rapidly. Individuals either sold their property, and sometimes their wives and children, or simply fled, joining the growing ranks of the floating population.<sup>67</sup> Those who remained, of course, now fell further into debt. The situation soon reached crisis proportions, and even Ögödei, by this time much given to drink and dalliance and little concerned with affairs of the realm, was made to realize that the merchants had to be curtailed. In accordance with memorials previously submitted by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Shih T'ien-tse, the governor-general of Hopei, the throne late in 1240 acted to eliminate the public's ever-deepening indebtedness to the merchants.<sup>68</sup> The *Yüan Dynastic History* provides a brief account of the measures:

This year, because officials and the populace borrowed Central Asian gold to pay official [taxes], annually [the sum borrowed] doubled. This is called lamb interest. The harm [it caused] was severe. There was an imperial decree [ordering that] public funds be used for repayment [of the outstanding debts]. All together [this amounted to] 76,000 ingots. Further it was decreed that [in the case of] all loans out for many years [the amount of interest] should only equal the principal and then stop. This was made known as an ordinance.<sup>69</sup>

This decree is interesting in several respects. First, while it constituted a setback for the merchants, they nonetheless received public funds in repayment of their loans and collected a healthy return — up to 100 percent — on their investment. Second, since we know that the general tax quota for 1240 was 44,000 ingots and the total indebtedness of the Chinese taxpayers to the

<sup>67</sup> Wang Yün 王恂, *Ch'iu-ch'ien hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan wen-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集 (SPTK edn.) 48, p. 13b, and *YS* 98, p. 2510.

<sup>68</sup> *YWL* 57, p. 17b, and *YS* 155, p. 3659.      <sup>69</sup> *YS* 2, p. 37.

merchants was 76,000 ingots, we obtain some notion of the large number of those forced to borrow to meet their obligations to the empire.

The merchants suffered a further rebuff in the fall of 1241 when Ögödei placed Maḥmūd Yalavach (Ya-lao-wa-ch'ih 牙老互赤) in charge of the regional administration of north China. Though a Khwārazmian of merchant background, Maḥmūd was no tax farmer. During his years (1229–ca. 1239) as the head of the regional administration of Turkestan, he had pioneered a new tax system which, like the reforms of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in China, endeavored to categorize and restrict the revenue collection in his jurisdiction. Thus his arrival on the scene should be interpreted as a further move to stabilize conditions in the Han territories. However, as Ögödei died a month later, there was little opportunity to effect change. Törege, the deceased *qayan*'s wife, became regent and promptly dismissed Yalavach, who was forced to find sanctuary with a sympathetic Mongolian prince.<sup>70</sup> Further, the regent was well disposed toward the merchants, who quickly resumed their former position at court. °Abd al-Raḥmān, a personal favorite of Törege, received an imperial seal that gave him administrative as well as fiscal control over north China. This development drew protests from Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, whose influence on events was now at an end: Törege politely listened to his complaints, granted him honor, then ignored his advice.<sup>71</sup>

Törege's regency lasted until 1246, when she finally engineered the elevation of her son Güyüg to the imperial throne. His selection, however, angered some of the Činggisids, particularly the line of Jöči, and the new *qayan* was compelled to make several concessions to secure the succession, among them the dismissal of °Abd al-Raḥmān. At Güyüg's order the tax farmer was put to death, and Maḥmūd Yalavach again assumed his former office.<sup>72</sup>

The change of regimes was not, as it might appear, a major defeat for the merchant faction. They no longer exercised immediate administrative and fiscal authority in China, but Güyüg, like his mother and his father's chief adviser, Činqai, whom he continued in office, pursued policies beneficial to their interests. Upon assuming the throne Güyüg announced his determination to surpass his father's record of munificence. He reaffirmed Ögödei's policy of purchasing commercial wares at 10 percent above the asking price

<sup>70</sup> *Juwaynī (Q)* 1, p. 199, and *Juwaynī (B)* 1, p. 243. See also *Rashīd (K)* 1, p. 564, and Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John A. Boyle (New York: Columbia U.P., 1971; hereafter cited as *Rashīd (B)*) 1, p. 177.

<sup>71</sup> *YWL* 57, pp. 21a–b.

<sup>72</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 1, p. 570, and *Rashīd (B)* 1, p. 183.

and on some occasions grandly doubled the prices several times over.<sup>73</sup> In the manner of his predecessors Güyüg made no distinction between private and public funds; the empire was the patrimony of the Činggisids, and the empire's financial resources, not unexpectedly, were still viewed as personal income and utilized accordingly.

Merchants, naturally, flocked to his court.<sup>74</sup> According to Juvaynī, business was so brisk that "at one time [the *qayan*'s indebtedness to] a group of merchants (*bāzargānān*) who had served him reached a sum of 70,000 ingots (*bālīsh*), for which they wrote drafts (*bārat*) upon the provinces."<sup>75</sup> The court's preoccupation with commerce extended to the *qayan*'s deputies, whom Rashīd al-Dīn notes were constantly "negotiating large deals" with merchants.<sup>76</sup> Given Güyüg's extravagance and his inattention to administrative matters, it is not surprising that the imperial treasury at times ran short of ready cash.

Güyüg's demise in 1248 after a brief and ineffectual reign occasioned another succession struggle and another regency, this one headed by his widow, Oγul Qaimish. The extent to which merchants pursued the occupations of moneylending and tax farming is not recorded, but there is every indication that their other undertakings continued to prosper during Oγul Qaimish's tenure. In characterizing her administration of the realm, Juvaynī says derisively that public affairs were reduced to the dispatch of tax collectors, the allocation of funds, and "negotiations with merchants."<sup>77</sup> Elsewhere the same author notes that following Güyüg's death there was a great scramble to cash in on one's position and connections. Princes of the blood, he states, "entered into commercial ventures . . . and individuals high and low sought the protection conferred by *ortoy*-status (*ūrtāqī*)."<sup>78</sup>

From the perspective of the merchants, the period extending from the last half of Ögödei's reign to the end of Oγul Qaimish's regency in 1251 must have seemed a golden age. The imperial court offered them good prices for their wares, provided capital for joint ventures, subsidized their transportation, and guaranteed the security of their persons and property. Trade under these conditions was no doubt extremely lucrative, but even greater profits

<sup>73</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, p. 222, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, p. 267.

<sup>74</sup> Juvaynī states that large numbers of merchants were present at Güyüg's enthronement. *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, p. 206, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, 250.

<sup>75</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, p. 214, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, p. 259.

<sup>76</sup> *Rashīd* (K) 1, p. 598, and *Rashīd* (B) 1, p. 221.

<sup>77</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, p. 219, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, pp. 264–65.

<sup>78</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 3, p. 76, and *Juvaynī* (B) 2, p. 598.

could be derived from usury and tax farming, activities that the court not only condoned but at times actually encouraged and sponsored.

Merchants were not again to enjoy such privilege or latitude. With the rise of Möngke (r. 1251–1259) the freewheeling practices of the previous decades were circumscribed and a concerted effort was made to bring merchants under the control of the central administration.

#### THE MERCHANTS CURTAILED: THE REIGN OF MÖNGKE

Möngke, the eldest son of Tolui, came to power in 1251 following a protracted struggle within the ruling house. The new *qayan* with his allies, the descendants of Jöči, displaced the Ögödeids, who bitterly insisted that the succession belonged exclusively to them. Once the opposition was overcome, Möngke instituted a sweeping purge, in which numerous princes and their retainers died. His victory signaled a change in both the ruling line and the direction of imperial policy.

As a ruler, Möngke differed greatly from his two predecessors. He was as frugal as they were openhanded, and in contrast to their inattention to administrative detail, he assumed an active and direct role in the governance of the realm. His principal political goal was to reinvigorate the long-stalled campaigns of conquest in eastern and western Asia. To achieve this, the *qayan* needed to mobilize the resources of the empire to fuel the military machine. Toward this end he ordered a new census, levied fresh revenues, and recruited additional troops from the subject population. He also attempted to end lax administrative procedures and official corruption, recognizing that such behavior, which had become endemic under Ögödei and Güyüg, deprived the central government of the means to carry out the program of military expansion. And since the merchants were at the center of many of the abuses, Möngke made it his business to scrutinize their various activities with a critical eye.

He began by issuing a general warning that “those high and low in the ranks of the *ortoy* . . . should be restrained in their dealings with the subject population.”<sup>79</sup> For purposes of oversight, the *qayan* selected a certain Bōral \*Qarasun (Po-lan Ho-la-sun 孛蘭合剌孫) to superintend the *ortoy* (*wo-t'o* 斡脫).<sup>80</sup> Unhappily, further data on Bōral and the organization he headed

<sup>79</sup> *Juwaynī* (Q) 3, p. 77, and *Juwaynī* (B) 2, p. 599 and n. 161. See also *Rashīd* (K) 1, p. 597, and *Rashīd* (B) 1, p. 219.

<sup>80</sup> *YS* 3, p. 46.

are lacking, but some idea of the scope of his responsibilities can be inferred from the strictures subsequently placed upon the *ortoys*. First, merchants had to return to the court all tablets of authority (Persian *pāīzah*, Chinese *p'ai-tzu* 牌子) in their possession. This of course stripped them of their official status and one of the means by which they were able to bully and squeeze the populace.<sup>81</sup> Second, their free use of "post horses" (Turkic *ulay*) was rescinded. As Rashīd al-Dīn phrases it, they were "ordered to ride their own animals."<sup>82</sup> Third, merchants and *ortoys* were now entered onto the census rolls. This measure was particularly unwelcome in their eyes; it meant that they were to be taxed on a regular basis, as this imperial decree recorded by Juvaynī makes clear:

Inasmuch as they (the *ortoys*) are constantly occupied with their own gain, each one, in the locale in which he has been entered into the census, should share the contributions (*mu'an*) equally with the [other] subjects and should not assume airs or seek ascendancy.<sup>83</sup>

In the Chinese sources there are two additional references to this decree which confirm the spirit if not the letter of Juvaynī's rendering of the new regulations. The first and longer version comes from Wang Yün 王惲, an influential Chinese official in Mongolian service.<sup>84</sup> Speaking of the early years of Qubilai's reign, he noted that many Muslim merchants in the capital (Peking),<sup>85</sup> all of whom had been registered in the censuses of 1252 and 1263, found ways of avoiding their tax obligations. To demonstrate that this practice was illegal and required corrective action, he invoked a decree of the "Late Emperor," that is, Möngke,<sup>86</sup> which reads in part:

It is proper that the *ortoys*, and the Uighurs and Muslims engaged in trade, should report to the chiliarchs and the centurians of their official places of residence. If it is reported that those with lands and property

<sup>81</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 3, pp. 87–88, and *Juvaynī* (B) 2, pp. 605–6.

<sup>82</sup> *Rashīd* (K) 1, p. 596, and *Rashīd* (B) 1, p. 219.

<sup>83</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 3, p. 88, and *Juvaynī* (B) 2, p. 606.

<sup>84</sup> For a brief biographical sketch, see Herbert Franke, "Wang Yün (1227–1304): A Transmitter of Chinese Values," in Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary, eds., *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1982), pp. 156–62.

<sup>85</sup> On the growth of such communities, see Paul Pelliot, "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols," *JA* 211 (1927), pp. 261–79.

<sup>86</sup> The identification of the "Late Emperor" (*Hsien-ti* 先帝) with Möngke is guaranteed by a passage in the *Tung-chih t'iao-ko* 通制條格 (Hang-chou: Che-chiang ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1986) 2, p. 4, which refers to another decree issued by the "Late Emperor" dated 1252, i.e., the second year of Möngke's reign. The title is certainly a posthumous name, a practice common among the medieval Mongols. For this custom, see John A. Boyle, "On the Titles Given in Juvaynī to Certain Mongolian Princes," *HJAS* 19 (1956) pp. 146–54.

do not go [to the commanders, then] in conformity with regulations contained in prior imperial decrees [they should pay] the household tax (*ch'ai-fa* 差發) in their temporary places of residence whether [said residence] is great or small.<sup>87</sup>

The second reference is contained in an imperial decree dated 1271, which refers to “sundry *ortoy* households” (*chu wo-t'o hu* 諸斡脫戶):

[According] to the respectfully received imperial decree of the Late Emperor (Möngke), people engaged in trade in all locales [must pay] their household tax (*tang-ch'ai* 當差) in their temporary places of residence on an equal footing (*i-t'i* 一體) with the civilian population.<sup>88</sup>

An analysis of the three renditions of the now lost and undoubtedly more comprehensive original brings to light several issues calling for further comment. First, by implication at least, it appears that in the period before Möngke merchants did not shoulder their fair share of the tax load. If so, were they formally exempt or was it merely a matter of successful evasion? Juvaynī affirms that some merchants “were exempt from extraordinary levies (*avārizāt*),”<sup>89</sup> but whether they enjoyed a blanket immunity, such as those the court regularly granted the religious estates, is problematical. To my knowledge there is no direct evidence that they did, and on balance it seems more probable that under Ögödei and Güyüg the obligations of the merchants were conveniently overlooked by their lax and friendly administrations.

Second, while the decrees state explicitly that *ortoy*s and other merchants were now obliged to pay taxes at the same rates imposed upon the general populace, to what degree was the regulation enforced? No definitive answer is possible, but a close comparison of the decrees themselves provides a useful clue. In the text transmitted by Juvaynī it is said that taxes were to be collected at the merchant's permanent place of residence. Wang Yün's version also notes this provision and then goes on to say that if they do not report to the authorities in their home locales, they should be taxed at their temporary residences. The imperial decree of 1271, significantly, specifies only the temporary domicile as the collection site. From these divergencies in the decrees, several inferences can be drawn: while the central government preferred to tax merchants where officially registered, they could not always do so; merchants, constantly on the move, often had to be taxed at their

<sup>87</sup> Wang Yün, *Ch'iu-ch'ien hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan wen-chi* 88, p. 5b.

<sup>88</sup> *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko* 2, p. 12. <sup>89</sup> *Juvaynī (Q)* 3, p. 89, and *Juvaynī (B)* 2, p. 606.

secondary residences; and collection was likely a hit-or-miss proposition, but the authorities, alive to the problem, did make the effort.

Tax farming, the cause of much misery in the preceding years, is no longer mentioned in the sources of this period, but another source of abuse, "lamb interest," is still in evidence despite Möngke's command to his officials that they "be on guard against the blemish of usury (*ribā*) and the excess of greed."<sup>90</sup> The reason for its persistence is that the household tax was set so high in 1252 that the populace had difficulty meeting its obligations and therefore turned again to the Central Asians for loans.<sup>91</sup> The practice, however, never reached its former proportions, and in 1254 the stricture that the accrued interest could not exceed the sum of the original principal was reaffirmed.<sup>92</sup>

Obviously, the new regulations were not always strictly enforced, and the merchants, in pursuit of their own interests, certainly tested the court's resolve. Nonetheless, they were now enrolled in the census registers, were made liable for regular taxation, and experienced formal revocation of some privileges. More important, whatever the shortcomings of implementation, Möngke introduced new ground rules; as a matter of policy the court no longer sanctioned the unbridled and excessive practices of the past. This conclusion finds support in the fact that whenever merchants got out of hand in Qubilai's reign, his advisers were quick to invoke the regulations of the "Late Emperor" as a guide for remedial action.

It should be stressed that Möngke's measures were never intended to break the merchants or destroy their livelihood. The court still needed their services and took steps to ensure their continued presence and good will. The most dramatic action occurred at the onset of the reign when Möngke confronted the problem of the treasury's accumulated indebtedness to the merchants, which had reached staggering proportions during the regimes of Güyüg and Oḡul Qaimish. In their day the practice of paying traders and *ortoys* with "drafts" (*bārat*), presumably on anticipated revenues, was so widespread that according to Juvaynī it produced a debt totaling 500,000 silver ingots. When the holders of these drafts requested a settlement of accounts, Möngke, against the counsel of his ministers, commanded that this obligation be met "from the funds of his realm."<sup>93</sup> Further, the court em-

<sup>90</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 3, p. 87, and *Juvaynī* (B) 2, p. 606.

<sup>91</sup> Yao Sui 姚燾, *Mu an-chi* 牧庵集 (SPTK edn.) 25, p. 5a.

<sup>92</sup> Su T'ien-chüeh, *Yüan-ch'ao ming-ch'en shih-lüeh* 元朝名臣事略 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962) 7, p. 12b.

<sup>93</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 3, pp. 83–85, and *Juvaynī* (B) 2, pp. 603–4. See also *Juvaynī* (Q) 3, p. 79, and *Juvaynī* (B) 2, p. 600.

ployed merchants in various capacities. Rashīd al-Dīn informs us that “one group [of merchants] valued gems, another garments, another fur, and a fourth ready cash.”<sup>94</sup> By these gestures the *qayan* informed the merchants that their standing at court, while altered in some respects, remained secure.

Evidence that commerce continued to flourish is provided in abundance by the Dominican friar William of Rubruck, who journeyed across the length of the empire in the mid-1250s. In the course of his travels he encountered traders throughout the realm, from the Crimea and north Caucasia to Cailac (Qayaliq) in the Ili River valley. These merchants, according to the friar, carried textiles from Persia and China and furs from Siberia to meet the Mongols’ clothing needs. There was a lively trade, too, in wine and mead, which the Tartars imbibed in winter when their supplies of fermented mare’s milk (*kumiss*) ran low.<sup>95</sup>

Traders were equally visible at the imperial capital. Rubruck says that one-third of Qara Qorum was given over to “the Saracens’ quarter where the markets are,” and “many merchants flock thither on account of the court which is always near it and on account of the foreign envoys.”<sup>96</sup> As before, the traders continued to play a role in providing the capital with foodstuffs — dried fruit, nuts, and most particularly grain, which was always in short supply.<sup>97</sup>

The partnership between the merchant community and the imperial court was still intact. What remains to be investigated is the partners themselves and the contractual bases of their joint enterprises.

## THE PARTNERS AND THEIR PARTNERSHIPS

The merchants’ princely partners were by no means limited to members of the ruling house in Mongolia. Činggisids throughout the empire forged close ties with commercial interests, and in the manner of the imperial court offered their associates protection, capital, and a ready market.

Hülegü, the first ruler of the Persian Īl-Khāns (r. 1256–1265), exhibited a most accommodating attitude toward merchants operating in his realm. A

<sup>94</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 1, p. 599, and *Rashīd (B)* 1, p. 222.

<sup>95</sup> Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 90–91, 96, 101, and 137.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184. See also p. 177, where he mentions “the bazaar” of the Saracen quarter. The Mongolian word for “bazaar” is not mentioned in the sources of the thirteenth century but is attested in a dictionary of the latter half of the fifteenth century; there it is given as *uḡar*, a form going back to Middle Persian *vačar*, i.e., bazaar. See Louis Ligeti, “Un vocabulaire mongol d’Istanbul,” *AOASH* 14.1 (1962), p. 71.

<sup>97</sup> Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 174, 184, and 186.

decree (*jarliq*) issued by Abaya (r. 1265–1281) states with approval that his father and predecessor held *ortoy*s in high esteem; encouraged their enterprises, including the conversion of wasteland into cultivated fields; and enjoined his officials to refrain from harassing them in any way.<sup>98</sup> Hülegü's concern for trade and commerce is further evidenced by his action following the fall of Baghdad early in 1258. As soon as the pillaging ended, he appointed a certain 'Alī Bahādur<sup>99</sup> to the governorship (*shahṇagī*) of the city and placed him in direct charge of the *ortoy*s and craftsmen (*ūzān*).<sup>100</sup> The organization of commercial activity held a high priority for the newly established ruler.

The merchants came in droves to the Īl-Khān court, particularly after the fabled wealth of Baghdad passed into Mongolian hands. The influx of booty was so sudden and on such a huge scale that opportunities for speculation were plentiful and were quickly seized. Indeed, Rashīd al-Dīn, in explaining the exhaustion of the imperial coffers in the decades before Ghazan (r. 1295–1304), attributes this depletion in part to rampant corruption:

In the first place, the riches Hülegü Qan brought from Baghdad, the lands of the heretics (the Assassins), Syria, and other regions and deposited in the fortress of Tillah and Shāhā (in Azerbaijan), the treasurers gradually embezzled, and they sold the ingots of pure gold and the precious stones to the merchants (*bāzargānān*), and inasmuch as they knew one another intimately, not a soul breathed a word.<sup>101</sup>

The court's transactions with merchants, though often illegal, were nonetheless extensive, and as another passage from Rashīd al-Dīn shows, the Mongolian elite in the provinces also had regular dealings with commercial agents:

In the time of Hülegü Qan and Abaya Qan the funds for victualing the *ordos* (camps) and *qatuns* (Mongolian princesses) were provided according to Mongolian custom and usage and the funding was neither great nor certain. [In consequence] every time [the armies] brought out

<sup>98</sup> Gerhard Doerfer, "Mongolica aus Ardabil," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 9 (1975), p. 191.

<sup>99</sup> The appointment of 'Alī Bahādur is also recorded in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography* 1, p. 433. In Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's description of the fall of Baghdad, the new governor is called Āsūtū Bahādur. On the identity of 'Alī and Āsūtū Bahādur, see John A. Boyle, "The Death of the Last 'Abbāsid Caliph: A Contemporary Muslim Account," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6 (1961), p. 160 and n. 5.

<sup>100</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 2, p. 714. Karīmī's text reads "*shahṇagī va ū-rā tāqān va ūzān*," which is incorrect. The passage is properly read "*shahṇagī va ūrtāqān va ūzān*." See Raschid-Eldin, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. E. Quatremère (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968), p. 306.

<sup>101</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 2, p. 978.

booty from a hostile country they gave them (the *qatuns*) a little something from this and each one [of the *qatuns*] had several *ortoys* and they would bring [the *qatuns*] a little money in the form of interest or someone would give [them] a present.<sup>102</sup>

This datum is of great interest in that it reveals the sometime dependency of the Mongols on the merchants. In this case, the *qatuns*, in order to maintain a lifestyle appropriate to their station, were expected to augment their inadequate allowances by investing their share of the booty in enterprises conducted by their personal commercial agents. Further, since Rashīd al-Dīn considers this practice an established norm in Hülegü's time, it is reasonable to surmise that the custom began much earlier and that it was widely followed in all parts of the empire. As is discussed below, the problem of obtaining a sufficient number of competent financial agents and advisers was a cause for concern among the Mongolian princes and princesses.

The Golden Horde, which embraced the Qipčaq Steppe, north Caucasia, the Crimea, the Russian principalities, and western Siberia, attracted its share of commerce. Carpini, crossing Russia several years after the conquest, found large numbers of traders from Constantinople and central Europe in Kiev, a city heavily damaged during the invasion.<sup>103</sup> Even greater numbers converged on Sarai, the sprawling tent city on the lower Volga founded by Batu (r. 1241–ca. 1256), the regional *qan*. Sarai contained a merchants' quarter, but since the *qan* continued to favor a nomadic life, a traveling market followed his *ordo* throughout the annual round.<sup>104</sup>

Batu's personal involvement with trade was direct and substantial. According to the *Yüan Dynastic History*, in the summer of 1253 Batu applied to Möngke, his sovereign, for 10,000 silver ingots to purchase pearls. He received only 1,000 ingots, which were to be deducted from future annual grants of money and silk derived from designated territories in north China,<sup>105</sup> and a patronizing lecture on the virtues of frugality.<sup>106</sup> The *qayan*'s cautionary message was certainly appropriate, for we learn from Juvaynī that Batu regularly and willingly offered elevated prices for wares brought to his court.<sup>107</sup> Berke, Batu's brother and ruler of the Golden Horde between

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 1090. The *qatuns*' participation in commerce is also noted by Marco Polo: "And I tell you that Tartar ladies trade, buy, and sell, and do all the work that is needed for their lords and family and for themselves." See Polo, *Description of the World*, p. 169.

<sup>103</sup> Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 71.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 129, Rubruck's testimony. On Sarai, see V. L. Egorov, *Istoricheskaia geografiia Žolotoi Ordı v XIII–XIV vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1985), pp. 114–17.

<sup>105</sup> These lands, first assigned to the imperial princes in 1236, were called *qubi*, "share" or "parcel," in Mongolian.

<sup>106</sup> *YS* 3, p. 47. <sup>107</sup> Juvaynī (*Q*) 1, p. 232, and Juvaynī (*B*) 1, p. 267.

1257 and 1266, manifested a similar interest in commerce. In 1260, when the Polo family reached his *ordo* on the Volga, Berke doubled the price of the jewels displayed by the Venetians.<sup>108</sup> It is known too that he had his own stable of *ortoy*s, some of whom were engaged in trade and commerce in Tabriz, Azerbaijan, when war erupted between the Golden Horde and the Īl-Khāns in 1262.<sup>109</sup>

The reference to *ortoy*s in the Golden Horde raises an interesting question of nomenclature. Given the vast size of the empire and the diverse languages spoken there, it is only to be expected that institutional terminology would vary widely in the sources. In the Golden Horde, with its large Turkic- and Slavic-speaking populations, two forms are found. In the decrees of the *qans*, written in Turkic, one encounters *bāzīrgān ortaq*, a hybrid term for the Persian *bāzargān*, “merchant,” and the Turkic *ortaq*, “partner.”<sup>110</sup> This usage has an exact parallel in the Mongolian couplet, *bedzirget orto’ud*, “merchant partners.”<sup>111</sup> In the Russian sources the term *ortoy* does not appear; its equivalent in all likelihood is *ordobazarets*, literally “camp merchant,” which derives from the Slavic name for the traveling markets (*ordobazar*) attached to the camps of their Tatar overlords.<sup>112</sup> The Russian form, first attested in the fifteenth century, can be compared semantically to the expression “camp trading Muslim” (*wo-lu-tu shang-fan hui-hui-jen* 幹魯朵商販回回人), which is found in a decree of Ögödei dated 1233.<sup>113</sup> As a formal definition for the Persian *bāzargān* (*bazarets* in Slavic garb), the Chinese could hardly improve upon “trading Muslim.”

The trading Muslims and others who served the Činggisids are not on the whole well known. They are often referred to collectively in the sources, but few data are provided on their backgrounds or individual identities. There are, however, occasional clues, which permit a general characterization.

<sup>108</sup> Polo, *Description of the World*, pp. 74–75.

<sup>109</sup> Vaṣṣāf, *Kitāb-i muṣṭafāb-i vaṣṣāf* (lithograph edn.; Bombay: n.p., 1852–1853), p. 50.

<sup>110</sup> V. Radlov, “Iarliki Toktamysa i Temir-Kutluga,” *Žapiski vostochnogo otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva* 3 (1899), pp. 6 and 15. The decree in question, sent by Toqtamış to the Polish King Jagiello, is dated 1393.

<sup>111</sup> Antoine Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol du Houa i i iu de Houng-ou*, ed. Igor de Rachewiltz and Anthony Schönbaum, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 18 (Brussels: Institut Belge des hautes études chinoises, 1977), pp. 9, 25, and 40. This term is found in a document dated 1388.

<sup>112</sup> *Slovar’ russkogo iazyka XI–XVII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987) 13, p. 65, col. 1, discusses both terms. It is interesting to note that Yermak, the Cossack chieftain who led the Russian advance into Siberia, began his career as a despoiler of Tatar *ordobazartsy* in the Lower Volga region. See Terence Armstrong, ed., *Yermak’s Campaigns in Siberia* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1975), pp. 40 and 45.

<sup>113</sup> *Ta-Yüan ma-cheng-chi* 大元馬政記 (Kuang-ts’ang hsüeh-chiung ts’ung-shu edn.), p. 29b.

There were two fundamental classes of merchants at the Mongolian courts: private traders selling wares on their own initiative and *ortoys* operating with princely capital and patronage. In Möngke's day the latter group was further divided into "those who have received ingots from the treasury and have agreed to send in a certain amount to the treasury and those who recently have become *ortoys*."<sup>114</sup> The rationale underlying this division is not explained; perhaps it was simply a matter of distinguishing the old hands of proven reliability and competence from the newcomers brought in on a trial basis, or it may signify that Möngke, for political or economic reasons, wished to separate the *ortoys* associated with his own regime from those who had made their agreements with his predecessors.

The ethnic background of the merchants is sufficiently clear in broad outline, though often difficult to determine in specific cases because of confusion in the Chinese sources of the thirteenth century. These sources employ the terms Hui-hui, properly "Muslim," and Hui-hu, properly "Uighur," in a very loose manner. In some instances individuals with Muslim names like Ja<sup>c</sup>far Khwājah are called Hui-hu. A further complication, of course, is that a Muslim may be, among others, a Turk, an Arab, or a Persian.

While these difficulties preclude precise classification, the range and relative strength of the ethno-religious groups involved are discernible. In 1238, when merchants placed bids for the right to farm the taxes of north China, there were three principal bidders: a Hui-hu, Liu Hu-tu-ma 劉忽篤馬, most probably an Uighur with a Chinese surname; She-lieh-fating 涉獵發丁, that is Sharāf al-Dīn, a Muslim; and Liu T'ing-yü 劉庭玉, a Chinese.<sup>115</sup> That should not be taken as evidence that the three groups were equally represented at court, for the sources overall leave a strong impression that Muslims and Uighurs were the most numerous.

The Uighurs submitted to Činggis Qan in 1209, and from the very inception of the empire they entered Mongolian employ as officials, soldiers, and merchants. The merchants did not come exclusively from the Uighur homeland in the Turfan Depression. Before the Mongolian invasions, the Uighurs, long active in the caravan trade, undoubtedly had established colonies in north China, for several Uighur traders bear Chinese surnames. The tax farmer Liu Hu-tu-ma is one example, and there is a reference to a wealthy Hui-hu merchant named T'ien 田, operating in Hopei and Shan-tung, who went over to the Mongols around 1211.<sup>116</sup> Other members of the

<sup>114</sup> *Juwaynī* (Q) 3, p. 87, and *Juwaynī* (B) 2, p. 605.      <sup>115</sup> *TWL* 57, pp. 19a–b.

<sup>116</sup> Chao, *Meng-la pei-lu*, p. 449.

Uighur trading diaspora surely signed on as Mongolian power spread into the region.

As for the Muslim component, the majority were likely inhabitants of West Turkestan. Certainly the traders and merchants Činggis Qan dispatched to Sultan Muḥammad, when identified, are regularly described as natives of Bukhara or Khwārazm. In the Russian sources the fiscal agents of the Golden Horde, particularly tax farmers and collectors, are called *Besermenin*, a name Carpini explicitly associates with the people of Khwārazm.<sup>117</sup> Many of the Turkestanis came over after the conquest of the region, but numerous others joined the Mongols at an earlier date, as is evident from the size and composition of the caravan despoiled at Ūṭrār in 1218.

The names of merchants provide some clues to their backgrounds, but on the whole they remain both nameless and faceless. Of individual merchants mentioned in the period before 1260, the lives of only two can be traced in any detail. While neither is called *ortoy* in the sources, both had commercial ties to the Mongolian ruling strata, and their respective careers raise issues of general interest.

The first, Umek,<sup>118</sup> also called Asil, is described in the Armenian sources as a rich merchant whom the Mongols captured in 1242 when they took the city of Karin (Theodosiopolis on the upper Euphrates). Subsequently released, probably in consequence of judicious bribery, he established his residence in Tbilisi, where he formed a close friendship with the Georgian king David Narin. According to a contemporary, Kirakos of Ganjak, Umek "was honored with a license of the Qayan (that is, Güyüg) and with the respect of all [the Mongolian] nobility. He paid a generous tribute to Aryun [Aqa] and his associates and the [latter] tendered him great honor."<sup>119</sup> He died in 1266 or 1267, still a wealthy and influential figure. No doubt this pattern was repeated many times. Traders taken by the Mongols in the course of military operations often bought their freedom and made the best of the new circumstances by rendering commercial service to the conquerors.<sup>120</sup> In Umek's case, this apparently included a bit of revenue

<sup>117</sup> Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 28–29 and 59. The word itself is just a Turkic form of "Muslim." For further details, see T. I. Tepliashina, "Etnonim Besermiane," in V. A. Nikonov, ed., *Etnonimiy* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), pp. 177–88.

<sup>118</sup> Umek means "zest" or "relish" in Armenian.

<sup>119</sup> Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *Istoriia Armenii*, trans. L. A. Khanlarian (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), p. 221. See also G. A. Galstian, trans., *Armianskie istochniki o mongolakh* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1962), pp. 26, 28, and 36. Further comment on Umek/Asil can be found in A. G. Margarian, "K voprosu o lichnosti i deiatel'nosti 'nekoego Shadina,'" in *Kavkaz i Vizantiia* (Erevan: Izdatel'stvo A. N. Armianskoi SSR, 1981) 3, pp. 64–72.

<sup>120</sup> Examples of merchants purchasing their freedom are numerous. See Ibn Kathir, *Al-bidayah wa al-nihayah* (Beirut: Maktabah al-ma'arif, 1966) 13, p. 202; *Juwaynī* (Q) 1, pp. 81–82; and *Juwaynī* (B) 1, pp. 104–5.

collection; the “generous tribute” he paid to Aryun Aqa, Güyüg’s chief fiscal officer in Iran and Transcaucasia, was presumably generated by tax farming, which was widespread at that time.

The commercial career of Simeon, a Syriac physician, is equally instructive. A native of Ka<sup>l</sup>ah Rhomaita (Rum Qal<sup>a</sup>), also in the upper Euphrates, Simeon traveled to Ögödei’s court sometime late in the 1230s. Utilizing his medical skills, he ingratiated himself with the *qayan* and then prevailed upon his patron to issue fresh orders to protect the recently submitted population of Armenia and Georgia from further Mongolian harassment. Owing to his influence at court, Simeon received the title Rabban Ata, “Teacher-Father.”<sup>121</sup> Upon his return to Transcaucasia he oversaw the enforcement of Ögödei’s decree, built churches, and converted many Mongols to Christianity. At this juncture he took up a new profession, that of merchant. His success is detailed by Kirakos:

All the Tatar troops respected him as if he were their sovereign. In his absence they planned nothing and did nothing. His trading people, furnished with a *tamya*, that is, an official stamp, and a license, traveled freely in every land; no one dared approach the people who invoked his name. All Tatar military commanders sent him gifts from their war booty.<sup>122</sup>

His new career is confirmed by other sources. Simon de Saint Quentin, who met Simeon in 1247 while on a papal mission, describes him as a merchant (*mercatur*) and a usurer (*usurarius*).<sup>123</sup> When Hülegü arrived on the scene in the mid-1250s, Simeon entered the Īl-Khāns’ service and continued to prosper until his death in a political purge in 1290.<sup>124</sup>

Simeon’s career shows that some persons, appreciating the new possibilities open to them, became merchants after their initial contact with the Mongols. The sources indeed indicate that not all of those aspiring to be merchants to the crown possessed the appropriate backgrounds. Juvaynī, for one, complains that in Güyüg’s time “individuals high and low” desired *ortoy*

<sup>121</sup> Rabban is Syriac for “teacher,” and ata is Turkic for “father.”

<sup>122</sup> Kirakos, *Istoriia Armenii*, pp. 174–75. For a French translation, see Ed. Dulaurier, “Les Mongols d’après les historiens arméniens,” *JA* 11 (1855), pp. 253–55.

<sup>123</sup> Simon de Saint Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Jean Richard (Paris: Librairie orientaliste, 1965), p. 30.

<sup>124</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 437, and Galstian, *Armianskie istochniki*, p. 41. For further data on this figure, see J. M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les mongols (Il-khanat de Perse, XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup>)*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 362, subside 44 (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1975), pp. 6–7; Paul Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* (Paris: Librairie Auguste Picard, 1923) 2, pp. 29–66; and Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1971), pp. 13–14 and 18.

status.<sup>125</sup> And Rashīd al-Dīn reports that because of the Mongols' readiness to supply investment capital, many unexpected faces thronged to court. He cites the example of a Jewish "botcher" (*pārah-dūz*) — a humble patcher of clothes — who applied for and received "funds for weapons" (*vūjuh-i masās*)<sup>126</sup> from Hülegü's treasurer.<sup>127</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn is highly critical of the practice of providing these "merchant armorers" (*bāzargānān-i masāschīān*) with government monies to buy weapons that they in turn sold back to the court at a handsome profit, but he is equally incensed that such base people, botchers and other petty tradesmen, were rising above their station in entering the lucrative arms-procurement business.

As the empire grew in size and the imperial family grew in number, there was a measure of competition for commercial agents. Sorqaytani Beki, widow of Tolui and mother of Möngke, Qubilai, and Hülegü, once pestered Ögödei for a certain *ortoy* in his employ; the *qayan* initially refused but eventually gave in.<sup>128</sup> While personages of her stature could seek out experienced and tested agents, others had to settle for less. Speaking of the period before Ghazan, Rashīd al-Dīn notes that "it had become the custom that the people of the provinces gave their sons to the princesses, princes, and commanders for domestic and commercial service (*īnchuyī va ūrtāqī*) and they obtained in return some small trifle (*chīzī*)."<sup>129</sup> Plainly, not all the *ortoys* acquired in this fashion were solidly grounded in the commercial arts.

Reviewing the evidence as a whole, it appears that the bulk of the merchants in the empire's employ were Turkestani Muslims and Uighurs, with the balance composed of various ethnic and communal groups — Persians, Armenians, Jews, and Syriac Christians. The first generation of merchants to serve consisted mostly, if not exclusively, of professionals. Later, individuals without commercial experience and from all strata of society pushed their way into the ranks of the *ortoys*. In the eyes of such well-connected men as Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn these newcomers were upstarts, socially and professionally out of place. But the Mongolian Empire, as yet unencumbered by rigid social norms and often eager to recruit despised outsiders whose very lack of standing encouraged loyalty to the regime, afforded many "base people" an opportunity for upward mobility.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>125</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 3, p. 76, and *Juvaynī* (B) 2, p. 598.

<sup>126</sup> The term *masās* goes back to the Mongolian *mesē*, pl. *meses*, "sword" or "weapon." See Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1, pp. 499–500.

<sup>127</sup> *Rashīd* (K) 2, p. 1080.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* 1, p. 580, and *Rashīd* (B) 1, p. 168.

<sup>129</sup> *Rashīd* (K) 2, p. 1045.

<sup>130</sup> In the Yüan realm petty clerks often rose to prominence in the bureaucracy at the expense of the Chinese scholar-officials. See Paul Heng-chao Ch'en, *Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols: The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1979), pp. 88–89.

The contractual bases of the joint ventures undertaken by the merchants and their Mongolian patrons are not precisely stipulated in the contemporary sources. What is known of their dealings indicates, however, that some type of formalized partnership often underlay their relationship. The terminological evidence certainly points in this direction. In the various Turkic-Arabic lexicons of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, *ortoy* is uniformly defined as a “partner” (*sharīk*) or “partnership” (*shirka*, *sharika*).<sup>131</sup> Further, the *Codex Cumanicus* gives *socius* (partner) as the Latin equivalent of *ortoy*.<sup>132</sup>

Granted that a partnership was involved, what form did it take? The most likely candidate is the Islamic *qirāḍ*/*muḍāraba* or its European analogue, the *commenda*. In both, an investor entrusts capital to his chosen agent for a commercial venture, and at the conclusion of the contract the agent returns the capital with an agreed-upon share of the profits. Any loss of capital is borne solely by the investor, so long as the agent acts in a responsible manner. If a loss does occur, the manager of the capital receives no compensation for his time and labor. The principal difference between the two forms is that a *commenda* can be formed with merchandise or money, whereas in the *qirāḍ* only money can be used. The basic purpose of both was to bring together capital and managerial skill. The institution was a flexible instrument, well suited for long-distance trade, inasmuch as the agent-manager had wide latitude in making essential decisions on the basis of local economic conditions and commercial practices. Finally, it eliminated formal interest, prohibited by both Islam and Latin Christianity.<sup>133</sup>

The *ortoy*, as pictured in the sources of the era, has certain features in common with the *commenda*/*qirāḍ*. It will be recalled that at the time Činggis Qan formed the caravan later seized at Ütrār, he instructed his family to select individuals from their retinues and to give them “capital” (*sar-māyah*) with which they could conduct trade in Khwārazm.<sup>134</sup> And the Sung envoys who visited the court in the mid-1230s note not only that the

<sup>131</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects* (*Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*), ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff in collaboration with James Kelly, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 7 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U., Office of the University Publisher, 1985) 3, p. 43; B. Atalay, ed., *Eltühfet-üz-zekiyye fil-lüget-it-Türkiyye* (Istanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1945), f. 211a10; and M. Th. Houtsma, ed., *Ein Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1894), p. 32. See also Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1972), p. 205.

<sup>132</sup> Geza Kuun, ed., *Codex Cumanicus* (Budapest: Editio Scient. Akad. Hung., 1880), p. 114.

<sup>133</sup> This discussion is based on Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1955), pp. 157–211; Abraham L. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1970), pp. 170–249; and John H. Pryor, “The Origins of the Commenda Contract,” *Speculum* 52 (January 1972), pp. 5–37. See also the comments of Elizabeth Endicott-West in this issue.

<sup>134</sup> *Juwaynī* (Q) 1, p. 60, and *Juwaynī* (B) 1, pp. 78–79.

Mongols handed over their silver to the Muslims but also that the latter used this capital for trade or usury.<sup>135</sup> These data are suggestive, but are hardly decisive in establishing Mongolian familiarity with the *commenda/qiraḍ*. More persuasive is a passage in the *Yüan Dynastic History*, dated 1284:

The [Yüan] government itself, providing ships and capital (*pen* 本), selected individuals to go abroad to trade for sundry goods. As for the profits so obtained, the government, calculating on the basis of ten parts, took as its [share] seven [parts], whereas the traders received three [parts].<sup>136</sup>

While such an arrangement constitutes a *qiraḍ*, or *commenda* contract,<sup>137</sup> the agents in question are called “traders” (*i-jen* 易人), not *ortoys*. Still, it demonstrates that the institution was known to and used by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, and it is likely that some of the *ortoys* of the period before 1260 were formed on this contractual basis, especially in light of the fact that the Mongols’ merchant partners were often professional Muslim traders for whom the *qiraḍ* was a common device for acquiring capital.

This is not to say, however, that the *ortoy* can always be equated with the *qiraḍ/commenda*. Many *ortoys* may well have been formed on this basis, but other evidence suggests that the Mongols’ commercial associates obtained operating capital in straight loan agreements. According to Juvaynī, Ögödei once told his treasurer that many came to court saying “we shall become *ortoy* and take ingots in order to give interest.”<sup>138</sup> Elsewhere the same author relates that a certain Sayyid from the region of Bukhara “received ingots from the *qayan* (Ögödei) for an *ortoy* and when the time for a payment came due he said that he had [already] sent in the interest.”<sup>139</sup> The term for interest used here, *sūd*, also means “profit” or “gain,” and the passages in question could be translated “to give profit” and “to send in profit.” In such a case, the basis of the *ortoy* would be a partnership, not a loan. There are, however, good grounds for rendering *sūd* as “interest” in these instances. First, in the passage concerning the Sayyid, mention is made of a payment schedule,

<sup>135</sup> P’eng and Hsü, *Hei-ta shih-lüeh*, p. 493.

<sup>136</sup> *YS* 94, p. 2402, and H. Franz Schurmann, *The Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1967), p. 231.

<sup>137</sup> See K. Sato, “On the Form of Maritime Trade and Commerce in the Near East and the Far East from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries of the Christian Era,” in *Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia* (Taipei: n.p., 1962), pp. 335–37. See also Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit*, pp. 201–2, which discusses the formal definition of *qiraḍ* in Islamic law.

<sup>138</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, p. 176, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, p. 220.

<sup>139</sup> *Juvaynī* (Q) 1, pp. 179–80, and *Juvaynī* (B) 1, p. 224.

which sounds more like a loan arrangement than a *qirad/commenda* in which the agent is only obliged to hand over the investor's share of the profits in a lump sum at the conclusion of the contract. No periodic payments or progress reports are required. Second, in his reworking of Juvaynī's account of the Sayyid's dealings with Ögödei, Rashīd al-Dīn<sup>140</sup> replaces the Persian *sūd* with *asiγ*, a Turkic word also meaning "profit" or "interest."<sup>141</sup> In its latter meaning, *asiγ* is frequently encountered in Uighur civil documents of the Yüan era, and we know, too, that the term passed into Mongolian, where it is attested in the sense of "interest" in a loan contract of the early fourteenth century.<sup>142</sup> Finally, there is the testimony of the Chinese sources, which report that early in Qubilai's reign the imperial treasurer granted *ortoy* (*wo-t'o*) loans at advantageous rates — 0.8 percent (*pa-li* 八釐) interest per month.<sup>143</sup> Taken together these data affirm that on some occasions at least *ortoy*s took out loans from the imperial court.

The term *ortoy*, therefore, cannot be equated unequivocally with a specific type of commercial agreement. As it is used in the sources of the period, the term is best defined as a merchant operating with capital supplied by a Mongolian prince or government official. The precise character of the contract between the two was not crucial; it was rather the existence of the contract itself that conferred *ortoy* status upon a merchant.

In whatever form it took, the Mongols' provision of capital to merchants raises a further question of terminology, one that turns on the Mongolian word *sauya*. In its narrowest sense it means "a share of the chase" or "a share of the booty." This usage can be seen in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, which employs the term twice; in both instances young boys taken in raids are handed over to Hü'elün, Činggis Qan's mother, as *sauya*.<sup>144</sup> And since *sauya*, in a more liquid form, was the Mongols' initial source of capital, contemporary authors understandably tend to associate booty with commercial investment. Hsü T'ing, for example, states that whenever he saw "a Tatar, there would only be *sauya*; there is no one [among them] who knows how to trade. From the Tatar Emperor (Ögödei) on down, they give their silver to the Muslims."<sup>145</sup> A similar connection is made in Rashīd al-Dīn's discussion of the victualing of the *qatun*'s *ordos*: "Every time [the Mongols] brought out

<sup>140</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 1, p. 497, and *Rashīd (B)* p. 87.

<sup>141</sup> *Drevnetiurskii slovar'* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1969), p. 60.

<sup>142</sup> W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* (Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag, 1972), doc. 18, p. 25, and doc. 34, pp. 51-52; and Francis W. Cleaves, "An Early Mongolian Loan Contract from Qara Qoto," *HJAS* 18 (1955), p. 24.

<sup>143</sup> Yao Sui, *Mu an-chi*, ch. 13, p. 9a. See also Yang, *Money and Credit*, p. 97.

<sup>144</sup> *SH*, sect. 114, p. 48, and sect. 135, p. 64. <sup>145</sup> P'eng and Hsü, *Hei-ta shih-lüeh*, p. 494.

booty from a hostile land they gave them (the *qatuns*) a little something from this and each one [of the *qatuns*] had several *ortoy*s and they would bring [the *qatuns*] a little money.”<sup>146</sup>

The term *sauya* also could mean “present” or “gift,”<sup>147</sup> and this meaning in turn influenced the commercial language of the day. When the Mongols transferred their booty to merchants, the presentation of the “investment” was often termed a “gift.” Conversely, the term was also used to denote the return on an investment. In his correspondence Rashīd al-Dīn reveals that he made over large sums to “trustworthy merchants” (*tujjār-i amīn*), and when he gives an accounting of his profits he does so under the following rubric: “A listing of presents (*saughat*) sent from the hands of the merchants in the port of Basra.” The presents included jewels, textiles, 3,000 *man* of teak, and 1,000 *man* of ebony.<sup>148</sup> No doubt Rashīd al-Dīn was the recipient of many actual gifts from those desirous of currying favor, but in this case profit or gain is plainly meant.

Given this usage, it is not surprising that references to the exchange of “presents” between Mongols and merchants frequently cloak serious business transactions. When, for instance, Kirakos says that “all the Tatar military commanders sent [Simeon Rabban Ata] gifts from their war booty,”<sup>149</sup> he is probably telling us that the officers were investing their *sauya* in joint ventures with this powerful merchant. More explicitly, Marco Polo relates that when his father and uncle “gave” jewels to Berke in 1260, the *qan* was so pleased that

like a gentle lord he made give them for them other things which were well worth more than twice as much as the jewels were worth, and also very great and rich *gifts*; the which things he sent them in several directions to sell, and they were very well sold in those parts.<sup>150</sup>

Here there can be little doubt that the ruler’s “gifts” were an investment and that while trading “in those parts” the elder Polos acted as his commercial

<sup>146</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 2, p. 1090.

<sup>147</sup> Paul Pelliot, “Sao-houa, Sauya, Sauyat, Saguat,” *TP* 32 (1936), pp. 230–37. Both Carpini and Rubruck note that Mongolian officials constantly pestered them for “gifts.” If the requests failed, the officials resorted to trickery to obtain the desired commodities. See Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 28, 39, 53, 54, 106, 107, 108.

<sup>148</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātibāt-i-Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ (Lahore: University of Punjab, 1947), pp. 237 and 182. In the Il-Khān period a *man* was approximately 3 kg.

<sup>149</sup> Kirakos, *Istoriia Armenii*, p. 175, and Dulaurier, “Les Mongols d’après les historiens arméniens,” p. 255.

<sup>150</sup> Polo, *Description of the World*, pp. 74–75, my italics.

agents.<sup>151</sup> In other words, the Venetians and the *qan* of the Golden Horde together made an *ortoy*.

## MERCHANT INFLUENCE ON THE EMPIRE

Mongolian imperial expansion, a misfortune for many, brought substantial benefits to the merchants throughout Eurasia. True, in the short run military operations disrupted trade and on occasion even resulted in the destruction of caravans.<sup>152</sup> On the whole, however, travel was safer and traders could confidently move valuable merchandise over greater distances. With protection costs reduced by Činggis Qan's guarantee of their person and property, and with transportation expenses partially subvented by the court, merchants reaped a bountiful harvest and commercial exchange flourished.

In the absence of account books and treasury records, the magnitude of their profits cannot be measured, but there is every reason to believe they were considerable. And while Juvaynī's assertion that the imperial court's indebtedness to the merchants had reached 500,000 ingots by the end of Oyul Qaimish's regency may be an exaggeration, it is nonetheless significant and symbolic. The sources leave no doubt that the court invested heavily in joint enterprises and regularly paid elevated prices for wares. For the astute and ruthless entrepreneur, the opportunities for quick gain were numerous — trade, tax farming, usury, and extortion. All were extremely lucrative and at times were condoned, or at least tolerated, by the imperial government.

What became of the profits so obtained poses an intriguing problem. It is possible that the silver entrusted to the *ortoys* in China may have flowed westward, since many of the merchants originally came from Turkestan and, moreover, the price of silver was high in the eastern Islamic lands at this time. Further research into this complex and important topic is needed before solutions can be offered with any degree of confidence.<sup>153</sup>

For their part, the Mongols derived various benefits from their associa-

<sup>151</sup> Leonardo Olschki, *Marco Polo's Asia* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1960), pp. 77–80, commented long ago that these gentlemanly exchanges were in reality business transactions.

<sup>152</sup> Hansgeerd Göchenjan and James R. Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm: Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1985), p. 77, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 402.

<sup>153</sup> To my knowledge, the first to suggest such possibilities was Robert P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Muslim East down to the Mongol Epoch," *HJAS* 2 (1937), pp. 327–38.

tions with the merchant community. To begin with, the Činggisids, like all nomadic conquerors, levied taxes on transit trade and other forms of commercial activity. This tax, called *tamya* in Turkic and Mongolian, was introduced in the early years of Ögödei's reign as part of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's package of revenue reforms. The rate initially was set at one-thirtieth of the value of the goods.<sup>154</sup> The court certainly imposed the *tamya* on private merchants, but whether it applied to those working for the court is unclear. I suspect that *ortoys*, capitalized by the Mongols, were formally exempted, since by exacting such a tax the imperial family would in effect be taxing itself. The question of immunity aside, the *tamya* constituted an important revenue source, and by Möngke's reign it was collected aggressively, especially in the west Asian domains.<sup>155</sup>

The Mongols' interest in trade, however, went far beyond the control of routes and the imposition of commercial taxes. They did indeed milk the transit trade, but in addition they were conscious and active promoters of commerce. The great wealth of the Mongolian notables,<sup>156</sup> generated by the conquests, was regularly recycled through investments with their commercial agents. For the latter, the court's largess became a major mechanism of capital formation. In itself this was not without precedent, but in comparison with their predecessors the Mongols, as was often the case, operated on a much grander scale.

The return realized on these investments was, for the most part, expended in lavish consumption. One reason merchants prospered in the early empire is that the Mongolian elite desired and demanded the best of two worlds. They preferred, whenever possible, to remain in the steppe, pursuing a nomadic life, but they were determined at the same time to enjoy luxuries and products available only in the sedentary world. This attitude is reflected in the willingness of the Mongolian princesses to pay such high prices for imported Turkestani flour. The Mongols' penchant for consumerism was recognized by Juvaynī, a contemporary, who contrasts the poverty and want of their homeland in the pre-imperial period with the vast amounts of merchandise (*biṣṭā'āt*) flowing into Mongolia from east and west in his own day.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>154</sup> YWL 57, pp. 12b–13a, and Schurmann, *Economic Structure*, pp. 213–14. The tax was first proposed in 1230 and was in place by 1234, if not before.

<sup>155</sup> M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*; 1<sup>re</sup> partie, *Histoire ancienne, jusqu'à en 1469 de JC* (St. Petersburg: Académie des Sciences, 1850), p. 556, and Kirakos, *Istoriia Armenii*, p. 221.

<sup>156</sup> Carpini in Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 8, notes that "the emperor, the nobles and other important men own large quantities of gold and silver, silk, precious stones and gems."

<sup>157</sup> Juvaynī (*Q*) 1, pp. 15–16, and Juvaynī (*B*) 1, pp. 21–22.

The political ramifications of the alliance of Mongols and merchants were also considerable. Their close and continuous association helped shape the contours of the Mongols' foreign and domestic politics in the formative stages of the empire.

Before the Khwārazm campaign, the Mongols evinced no claims of universal sovereignty. To this point, Činggis Qan seemed content with establishing himself as the paramount ruler in the eastern steppe and north China. In this he was following a centuries-old pattern of interstate relations in East Asia, which saw a succession of Inner Asian dynasties — the T'o-pa Wei, Qitans, and Jürchens — fashion successful frontier polities that were sufficiently powerful to force advantageous tributary relationships upon their Chinese neighbors to the south. The incident at Ūṛār deflected the Mongols from the traditional course; the ensuing confrontation not only redirected their military efforts but also widened their political horizons and transformed their political notions.

Speaking of the caravan seized at Ūṛār, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai states categorically that "this was the only reason for the Western Campaign."<sup>158</sup> His assertion is fully corroborated by the Islamic sources, even those openly hostile to the Mongols. Moreover, the diplomatic negotiations preceding the affair are couched in terms of trade and friendship; in the Mongolian overtures no arbitrary demands are made or claims of universal sovereignty advanced. And while Činggis Qan tries to assume a position of seniority in his exchanges with Sultan Muḥammad, this was typical of the diplomacy of the period. In the aftermath of the campaign, however, Mongolian diplomatic practice, in both tone and substance, exhibits a markedly different set of political goals and assumptions. Now all foreign states were expected to submit, without hesitation, to the Mongols' empire-in-the-making. All who refused or procrastinated were deemed to be in violation of the Mongols' heavenly mandate for universal dominion and were punished accordingly.<sup>159</sup> These ideological precepts, long a part of steppe political culture, were made real in Mongolian eyes by the spectacular victories in the West; once embraced, they conditioned the Mongolians' perception of and policies toward the outside world through the remainder of the thirteenth century.

As the Mongolian state expanded and new lands were acquired, the merchants assumed a role in the imperial administration. Činggis Qan fully understood that the "customs and laws of the city" were alien to the nomads,

<sup>158</sup> De Rachewiltz, "The *Hsi-yu lu*," p. 21, translation, and p. 115, Chinese text.

<sup>159</sup> See Igor de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chinggis Khan's Empire," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 7 (1973), pp. 21–36.

and he sought help in governing his realm from a variety of sources.<sup>160</sup> Native elites were extensively recruited, but the Mongols, suspicious of their local connections and narrow interests, preferred to staff the lower levels of the imperial administration with a mixture of homegrown and foreign-born officials. For this task, the merchant community was well suited.

As a group, professional merchants were literate, spoke foreign languages, knew how to keep accounts and manage finances, possessed geographical and economic information, and often viewed their new masters as benefactors. Such talents and knowledge were readily transferable to the administrative sphere, and merchants served the empire in great numbers and in many capacities. They functioned as commercial agents (their most visible role), diplomatic envoys, spies, tax collectors, and civil officials. On one occasion when a local dynasty seated in Shabānkārah (in western Iran) failed to produce a suitable heir, the Mongols merely handed over the administration of this small principality to “*ortoys* and merchants (*bāzargānān*).”<sup>161</sup>

The preferential treatment accorded merchants thus was not linked exclusively to their commercial activity. They rendered valuable administrative service and, like the religious hierarchies whom the Mongols co-opted in systematic fashion, possessed communication networks and wielded social and ideological influence, all of which the conquerors found most useful in controlling and exploiting their domains.

The merchants’ administrative employment, of course, helped solidify and elevate their position at court. The rise of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān represents the apex of the merchants’ political influence, and the policies he pursued while in power engendered an economic and social crisis in north China. The combination of tax farming and moneylending at usurious rates created such turmoil that Ögödei had to yield to his Chinese advisers and issue directives to curb these practices. His measures, however, were limited and temporary, and in Möngke’s time a more ambitious program of controls was introduced. The merchants’ status waxed and waned, but imperial finance and high politics were continuously colored by their presence.

How did the merchants view Mongolian expansion? On the surface at least, the severe damage to the economies of north China and Khurāsān that accompanied the conquest of these hitherto productive lands would seem to be sufficient reason to turn the commercial community against the Mongols. Yet despite these destructive acts, not all merchants reacted negatively to the

<sup>160</sup> Činggis Qan’s concerns on this score are related in *SH*, sect. 263, pp. 203–4.

<sup>161</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 1, pp. 664–65, and *Rashīd (B)* p. 307. This event is dated to the mid-1280s.

new and aggressive regime. Bartold, noting that the majority of the slain at Ūṛār were Muslims, argued that thereafter the Turkestani merchants “went over to the side of Činggis Qan and helped him in the conquest of the Islamic lands.”<sup>162</sup> The same holds true for the Chinese frontier. In explaining the Mongols’ initial incursion into Chin territory in 1211, the Sung envoy, Chao Hung, states:

Further, there was an Uighur (Hui-hu) by the name of T’ien 田<sup>163</sup> who was [possessed] of abundant wealth. He traded in large sums and came and went in Shantung and Hopei. He related in great detail [to the Tatars] the abundance of the people’s goods [in those parts]. Together with the border guards<sup>164</sup> he persuaded the Tatars to ready their armies, enter [Shantung and Hopei], and plunder [the Chin].<sup>165</sup>

Chao’s explanation cannot be taken at face value because the origins of the invasion are more complicated than presented, but it does tell something about merchant views on the emerging empire. Some merchants no doubt fled for safety, while others joined up for want of choice; but some, like T’ien, clearly encouraged further expansion.

The favorable attitude of part of the merchant community was reciprocated by the Mongols. This is mirrored in the pro-merchant policies of the early rulers and expressed most explicitly in a maxim (*bilig*) of Činggis Qan preserved in Rashīd al-Dīn’s history:

Just as the *ortoys*, who come with garments of gold brocade expecting to make a profit, become very knowledgeable about these goods and wares, so ought the military commanders train their sons to shoot arrows, ride and wrestle well, and so instill in them these arts of war that they will become as daring and brave as the *ortoys* are vigorous and knowledgeable [in pursuit] of their own line of work.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>162</sup> V. V. Bartol’d, “Mesto prikaspiiskikh oblastei v istorii musul’manskogo mira,” in his *Sochineniia* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1963) 2.1, p. 699. For similar comments, see Ratchnevsky, *Činggis-khan*, pp. 153 and 162.

<sup>163</sup> This individual has been identified with Činqai, the famous minister of Ögödei and Güyüg, who also bore the surname T’ien. On this complicated issue, see N. Ts. Munkuev, trans. and ed., *Men-da bei-lu: Polnoe opisanie Mongolo-Tatar* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), pp. 176–77, n. 367, and Waley, *Travels of an Alchemist*, pp. 36–38.

<sup>164</sup> “Border guards” translates the Chinese term *chiu* 戍. They were military units of mixed ethnic origin employed by the Liao and Chin dynasties to protect their northern frontiers. See the discussion of Munkuev, *Men-da bei-lu*, pp. 119–22, n. 77, and Igor de Rachewiltz, trans. and ed., “The Secret History of the Mongols,” *Papers on Far Eastern History* 30 (1984), pp. 105–7.

<sup>165</sup> P’eng and Hsü, *Meng-ta pei-lu*, p. 449.

<sup>166</sup> *Rashīd (K)* 1, p. 437.

THOMAS T. ALLSEN

Here we have the founder of the empire holding up commercial men as models for the behavior of his closest supporters, the nomadic military elite. No wonder many merchants felt comfortable in the Mongolian camp.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Juvaynī* (B) °Atā-Malik Juvaynī, *The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. John A. Boyle  
*Juvaynī* (Q) Juvaynī, *Ta'rikh-i jahān-gushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī  
*Jūzjānī* (H) Minhāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i naṣīrī*, ed. °Abd al-Ḥayy Habībī  
*Jūzjānī* (R) Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i naṣīrī*, trans. H. G. Raverty  
*Rashīd* (B) Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John A. Boyle  
*Rashīd* (K) Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*, ed. B. Karīmī  
*SH* Francis W. Cleaves, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols*  
*YS* *Yüan shih* 元史  
*YWL* Su T'ien-chüeh 蘇天爵, *Yüan wen-lei* 元文類

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Author(s): James D. Ryan

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# *Christian Wives of Mongol Khans: Tartar Queens and*

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## *Missionary Expectations in Asia*

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JAMES D. RYAN

In the late thirteenth century the openness and religious toleration of the Mongol Empire created unique conditions which encouraged European missionaries to venture into Asia. The Franciscans and Dominicans who answered the call to evangelize in territories under Tartar dominion enjoyed such success by the early fourteenth century that the papacy created archbishoprics and suffragan sees in Central Asia and China, and entertained dreams of new Christian communities aligned with the Roman Church. This paper focuses on a special set of circumstances which briefly encouraged those expectations. Western missionaries to the Mongols found influential Christian women, the mothers and consorts of rulers, at the courts of several khans. Because these Mongol queens played powerful political roles, their prayers and example might encourage the conversion of their people and those subject to them. Faithful wives of pagan rulers, in times long gone, had played a dynamic part in the conversion of husbands or sons, and of their realms, thus contributing to the spread of Christianity in Europe. Once again, at the close of the thirteenth century, hopes were voiced that pious women might perform a similar task in Asia.

In European tradition, holy women, wives or mothers of pagan kings, loomed large because they had brought their husbands and sons to embrace the Christian faith through prayer, example and guidance. The Burgundian princess, Clothild, was exalted for her work in the conversion of the Franks; she was revered as a saint in Carolingian France because she helped move Clovis to take baptism at the hand of St Rémy.<sup>1</sup> According to the editors of a recent translation of her *vita*, “Clothild set a pattern for a chain of Catholic female missionaries to the courts of pagan and Arian kings they married.”<sup>2</sup> The words of St Paul, “The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife” (1 Corinthians 7:14), were taken literally as describing women’s function in the spread of Christianity: they were to urge their unconverted husbands toward the baptismal font. A 564 letter of Bishop Nicetius of Trier to Queen Clotsinda, Christian wife of the pagan Lombard king, Alboin, held up the example of Clothild for imitation: “You have heard how [she] led the Lord Clovis to the Catholic Law. . . . I beg that you will not be idle; clamor without ceasing. . . . You have heard the saying: ‘The unfaithful husband shall be saved by the faithful wife’.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours observed “the Queen without ceasing urged the king to confess the true God, and forsake his idols.” *History of the Franks*, ii, 21, trans. O. M. Dalton (Oxford, 1927), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, eds. and trans. J. A. McNamara, J. E. Halborg and G. Whatley (Durham and London, 1992), p. 38. Her *vita* is found on pp. 39–50.

<sup>3</sup> *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750, The Conversion of Western Europe*, ed. J. N. Hillgarth (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 80.

The good influence of Christian women was also evident in the conversion of Vladimir I, sainted prince of Kiev, who introduced Christianity into Russia. Vladimir profited both from the promptings of a holy mother, Olga, and from having taken a Christian princess as his bride; by the terms of his 988–989 treaty with the emperor Basil II, Vladimir received the emperor's sister as wife, accepted baptism and pledged support for Christian missionaries in Russia.<sup>4</sup>

Although the role of pious women in proselytization had a long and well founded tradition, it was not immediately apparent to westerners who made early contact with the khans that Mongol wives might be similar agents of conversion. In the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243–54) several diplomatic probes were dispatched to Asia, beginning in 1245, after Mongol incursions into Russia and Hungary.<sup>5</sup> The best known of these ambassadors was the Franciscan friar John of Plano Carpini, who travelled to Mongolia in 1245 and through whom letters were exchanged between Innocent and the Khan Güyük (1246–48), but at least four Dominican-led embassies were also launched on papal or royal initiative between 1245 and 1251.<sup>6</sup> This early ambassadorial contact was followed by the 1253–55 mission journey of William of Rubruck, who stated in his *Itinerarium* that he was primarily moved by desires to preach salvation and to comfort Mongol-held Christian captives.<sup>7</sup> Neither diplomatic initiatives nor the missionary venture of Rubruck resulted in sustained contact, largely because the khans haughtily demanded immediate obeisance from the pope and western kings as they rejected invitations to receive baptism.

These European travellers did write accounts of their contact with the Tartars, giving the west its first reliable reports on the Mongols. These included information on the organization of their empire and the unusual importance of women in Mongol political affairs.<sup>8</sup> Plano Carpini, for example, describing the *orda* (camp) of Chinggis's son, Jochi – who had died in 1227 – noted: “It is ruled by one of his wives, for it is the custom among the Tartars that the courts of princes or nobles are not destroyed but women are always appointed to control them and they are given their share of the offerings just as their lord

<sup>4</sup> Princess Olga had been converted about 955. See G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 60–5.

<sup>5</sup> Good introductions to the Mongols and their assaults on Europe include J. Chambers, *The Devil's Horseman: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (London, 1979); J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London, 1971); and R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, trans. N. Walford (New Brunswick, 1970). In transliterating Mongol names, which vary widely in translations, the style adopted by D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1986) is followed whenever possible.

<sup>6</sup> For a good overview for medieval mission activity see K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (7 Vols., New York, 1937–45), ii, *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty* (New York, 1938). For western diplomatic and missionary contact with the Mongols, see J. Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Rome, 1977); I. de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford, 1971); and J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 57–140. Collections of surviving primary sources for these missionary encounters include: *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e Dell'Oriente Francese*, ed. G. Golubovich, i, ii (Quaracchi, 1906 and 1913); *Sinica Franciscana*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, i (Quaracchi, 1929); *Mission to Asia*, ed. C. Dawson (originally published as *The Mongol Mission*, London, 1955, reissued by Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, Toronto, 1980); and *Cathay and the Way Thither*, eds. H. Yule and H. Cordier, 2nd ed., 4 vols (London, 1913–16).

<sup>7</sup> *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, trans. P. Jackson, with introduction and notes by P. Jackson and D. Morgan (Hakluyt Society, ser II, no 173, London, 1990) [hereafter *Mission of Rubruck*], introduction, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Chinese, Muslim and European observers all commented on the position of women in Mongol Society. See M. Rossabi, “Kublai Khan and the women in his family” in *Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift für Herbert Franke*, ed. W. Bauer (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 153–80.

was in the habit of giving them.”<sup>9</sup> Rubruck also testified to the important position enjoyed by Mongol khatuns (queens). His description of an audience with Khan Möngke (1251–9) clearly indicated the influential position enjoyed by Christian noble women in the Mongol court: “He [Möngke] was seated on a couch, . . . snub-nosed, a man of medium build, and aged about forty-five. Beside him sat a young wife, and a full-grown daughter of his, a very ugly girl named Cirina, was seated on the couch behind them with other children. The dwelling had belonged to a Christian wife to whom he had been very attached and who had borne him this daughter. And although he had brought in the young wife as well, nevertheless the daughter was the mistress of the entire establishment that had belonged to her mother.”<sup>10</sup> These reports also noted the general religious tolerance of the Mongols and the influence of Christian sects, especially Nestorianism, among them. Nevertheless, no mission was organized to evangelize Tartar lands until later in the century. It was European merchants and soldiers of fortune who first moved among the Tartars and took advantage of their relative openness to outsiders. When the Papacy finally began to sponsor missionaries in Mongol lands a generation later it was largely in response to contact from the various Mongol courts, by then eager to open friendly relations with the west.

This change in Mongol attitude began about the time Qubilai (1260–94) succeeded his brother Möngke as Great Khan. A decade later the Polo brothers delivered Qubilai’s request to the papacy, that “a hundred men of learning, thoroughly acquainted with the . . . Christian religion [and] . . . the . . . arts” be sent to him,<sup>11</sup> but that was only one of many such messages. The most persistent contact came through the court of the Ilkhāns, established in Persia and eastern Anatolia about 1261 by Qubilai’s brother, Hülegü (†1265). After Hülegü destroyed both the Assassins (1257) and the Caliphate of Baghdad (1258) Mongol power had seemed invincible, but when the Mamlūks defeated Hülegü’s forces at ‘Ayn Jālūt in Syria (1260), this image was shattered and the Ilkhān became eager for an alliance with western Crusaders.<sup>12</sup> When Hülegü, following his letter of 1262 to Louis IX of France, sent an embassy to Europe in 1263–64 to propose a joint Tartar-Christian campaign against the Mamlūks, he initiated intermittent contacts with western courts and the papacy which lasted through the century.<sup>13</sup> Because Hülegü and succeeding Ilkhāns sought the cooperation of the Franks against Egypt, they prudently abandoned the superior manner of earlier khans, and wooed the west with a series of attractive inducements. First they offered military cooperation, then military subsidies, and ultimately promised to turn the Holy Land over to the Franks. A particular dramatic gesture occurred during the

<sup>9</sup> *Mission to Asia*, ed. Dawson, p. 60. Jochi was the father of Batu, founder of the khanate of the Golden Horde (Qipchaq khanate).

<sup>10</sup> *Mission of Rubruck*, p. 178.

<sup>11</sup> *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. M. Komroff, (Revised from Marsden’s translation, New York, 1926), p. 8. For the historicity of Polo’s book see A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, 2 vols (London, 1938); and L. Olschki, *Marco Polo’s Asia: An Introduction to his “Description of the World” Called “Il Milione”*, trans. J. A. Scott (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960).

<sup>12</sup> Although the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt: Mamlūk success or Mongol failure?” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XLIV (1984), pp. 307–45), this defeat was a turning point in the Ilkhān’s approach to the West.

<sup>13</sup> The embassy arrived at the papal curia shortly after the death of Alexander IV (1254–61), probably delivering Hülegü’s letters to Urban IV (1261–64); see Grousset, *Empire of the Steppes*, pp. 353–67 and 397–8 and de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, pp. 150–3. This was the first of at least eight embassies from Persia between the years 1263 and 1292.

Second Council of Lyons, when a large entourage arrived from Persia in July 1274.<sup>14</sup> They brought greetings from Hülegü's successor, Abaqa (1265–82), and another proposal for a confederation against Islam which would put Jerusalem, both city and kingdom, in the possession of the Christians.<sup>15</sup> As a token of Abaqa's earnestness, some of the Mongol envoys, one of whom was a Tartar, were solemnly baptized during a plenary session.<sup>16</sup> When they returned home the next spring they carried a letter from Gregory X (1271–76) urging Abaqa to convert and promising a future papal embassy.<sup>17</sup> That legation, which would have brought word of the projected crusade, was apparently never sent; conditions in Europe made its rulers increasingly reluctant to resume crusade activities. Because of their hesitation Ilkhān Arghun (1284–91) added new inducements. With Outremer in imminent danger, he proposed specific military cooperation to the king of France; Philip IV (1285–1314) was to rely on Arghun to provide twenty to thirty thousand horses, as a gift if necessary, plus cattle and grain to feed the French host.<sup>18</sup> He also promised to be baptized in Jerusalem, after its liberation from the Mamlūks.<sup>19</sup>

These offers were conveyed in the context of ever expanding diplomatic contacts, over the last four decades of the thirteenth century, between the court of the Ilkhāns and western rulers, including the papacy. There was also a concomitant expansion of missionary activity in Mesopotamia, spearheaded by the Dominicans, some of whom doubled as envoys and evangelists.<sup>20</sup> Although registers of the era are far from complete, enough papal correspondence has survived to indicate Rome's continuing interest in the mission to Mongol Persia, and hopes for conversion of its leaders.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, it was not until the reign of Nicholas IV (1288–1292) that a major, papal-sponsored, missionary effort to the Mongols was undertaken, including at least two embassies to Persia and one to Qubilai's court in Cathay. The deep involvement of this first Franciscan pope can be explained in part by his personal commitment to mission activity, which loomed so large in the rule of his order.<sup>22</sup> Nicholas was also inspired, however, by an envoy from the Orient, Rabban Sauma, who gave him first-hand information about the position of Christians in the

<sup>14</sup> For the Second Council of Lyons see 1274 – *Année charnière – Mutations et continuités* (Paris, 1977), transactions of an international colloquium; and A. Franchi, *Il Concilio II di Lione (1274) secondo la Ordinatio Concilii Lugdunensis* (Rome, 1965).

<sup>15</sup> The Latin text of relevant parts of Abaqa's letter is given in K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, I (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 115; A facsimile is reproduced in G. Borghezio, "Un Episodio della relazione tra la Santa Sede e i Mongoli (1274)," *Roma: Rivista di studi e di vita romana*, XIV (1936), p. 369–72.

<sup>16</sup> July 16, 1274. Dressed in red, "according to the Latin manner", they were lavied by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, the future Innocent V. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, I, p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno 1198, XXII* (1870) ad ann 1274, nos 21–23, pp. 329–30.

<sup>18</sup> A. Geneose, Buscarello of Gisulfo, delivered these letters to the French king in 1289, see J. B. Chabot, "Notes sur les relations du roi Argun avec l'Occident," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, ser. II, X (1894), pp. 566–638 [hereafter "Relations"], pp. 608 seq.

<sup>19</sup> This promise was made in 1287–8, during the embassy of Rabban Sauma.

<sup>20</sup> The most famous of these is David of Ashby, O.P., chaplain to the papal legate Thomas Agni of Lentini (Bishop of Bethlehem, 1255–67; Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1272–77). Apparently sent to Persia by Thomas Agni, Ashby became a prominent figure in the Ilkhanate; he and some confreres accompanied the Mongol delegation to the Second Council of Lyons. See Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient*, pp. 100–1; and Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, I, p. 116.

<sup>21</sup> Documents from Urban IV (a papal brief *Exultavit cor meum*, 1264) and Nicholas III (1277–80) survive. See Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient*, pp. 100 and 103, and works cited therein.

<sup>22</sup> A. Franchi, *Nicholaus Papa IV 1288–1292 (Girolamo d'Ascoli)* (Ascoli Piceno, 1990) has filled the long-standing need for a biography of this important but neglected pope. R. E. Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, 1975) amply documents the intense commitment of the Franciscans to mission activity.

Ilkhanate, and in the Īlkhān's family.<sup>23</sup> It was probably this information which later motivated Nicholas to pen such warm, pastoral greetings to the Īlkhān's wives and other members of his household.

Rabban Sauma, who was both a Nestorian monk and a Uighur Turk, had settled in upper Mesopotamia while on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He had travelled west with Mark, a Christian Önggüt Turk, who became Catholicus Mar Yaballaha III in 1281, when he was appointed patriarch of the Nestorians. Mark was chosen to facilitate communication between the Nestorian high clergy and their new overlords, since "the kings who held the reins of power were Mongols, and there was no one besides him who knew their manner, customs and language."<sup>24</sup> When the Īlkhān later asked that a religious figure be selected as his envoy to the west, Yaballaha chose Sauma, his polyglot travelling companion of old, who thus became ambassador to the pope for both Īlkhān Arghun and Catholicus Mar Yaballaha. The diary that Sauma kept, preserved as part of the Syriac *History of Mar Yaballaha*, presents an unusual perspective on medieval Europe, seen through the eyes of a perceptive eastern traveller. Because he arrived in Italy during a papal interregnum, the rabban was quizzed by twelve cardinals then resident in Rome concerning his religion and the apostolic tradition of his church.<sup>25</sup> Sauma responded that his people had been taught by the apostle Thomas, and described the state of the eastern church in these promising terms: "Know my fathers, that many of our fathers went to the lands of the Mongols and Turks and Chinese and taught them. And today there are many Mongol Christians. Indeed, some of the children of the King and Queen are baptized and confess Christ. And they have churches in the camp. And they honour the Christians greatly, and there are also many believers among them. And the King, since he is assiduous in affection for the Catholics and is desirous to conquer Palestine and the lands of Syria, desires your help because of the captivity of Jerusalem. For this purpose he has chosen and sent me. And since I am a Christian, my word should be credible with you."<sup>26</sup> Following a trip to the courts of France and England, Sauma returned during the following Lenten season (1288), to hand over letters and presents to the newly elected Nicholas IV. The pope, who had already interviewed Sauma while a cardinal, received him warmly and even invited him to participate in the liturgy. Sauma claimed to have celebrated mass for the pope and cardinals, and "when they saw, they rejoiced and said: 'the language is different, but the rite is the same'."<sup>27</sup> Subsequently, Nicholas granted the Nestorian absolution and allowed him to take communion from his own hand on Palm Sunday.<sup>28</sup>

Sauma was able to give Nicholas IV specific information about the prominence of Christian women in the Ilkhanate, but Christian wives had held exalted positions in the

<sup>23</sup> The journal of Sauma is known in detail from an account probably written by the monk himself, preserved as part of a Syriac biography of Catholicus Yaballaha, his patron. The most recent critical translation is F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, "Rabban Saumas Reise nach dem Westen, 1287–88," *Geschichte der Hunnen*, (Berlin, 1961), iii pp. 190–217. Still useful are J. B. Chabot, "Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III et du moine Rabban Çäuma," *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, I and II (1893–94); A. C. Moule, *Christians in China Before 1550* (New York, 1926), who translates extracts as a narrative on pp. 94–127; J. A. Montgomery, *History of Yaballaha III* (London, 1930), a partial translation; and W. Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan* (London, 1928).

<sup>24</sup> Moule, *Christians in China*, p. 103.

<sup>25</sup> Montgomery, *History of Yaballaha*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68–9 and 89. Chabot, "Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III," points out that Sauma's account certainly contains exaggerations. Although Sauma's assertion that the pope and cardinals endorsed his rite as "the same" as their own may be questioned, there is little reason to doubt the substance of the material included here.

Mongol empire since its beginnings. Chinggis, the first Mongol Khan (†1227), owed his early success in large part to the support of Toghril, the Wang-Khan of the Kerait tribe, which had converted to Nestorian Christianity about the beginning of the eleventh century; this ruler was thought by some to have been the legendary Prester John.<sup>29</sup> When Chinggis subsequently crushed the Keraites, he took wives from among their high-born Christian women. One of these was Sorqoqtani Begi, niece of the deposed Wang-Khan, who became chief wife of Chinggis's youngest son, Tolui (†1232/3), and was mother of the Great Khans Möngke and Qubilai, as well as of the first Ilkhān, Hülegü.<sup>30</sup> Chinggis also gave Tolui the Wang-Khan's grand-daughter, Doquz Khatun, who later became Hülegü's chief wife.<sup>31</sup> His successor, Abaqa, also had Christian wives, both Nestorian Christians and an Orthodox Catholic, Maria Palaeologina, a natural daughter of Michael, the Byzantine emperor.<sup>32</sup> Abaqa's son Arghun, who also wed Nestorians, later had one of his sons baptized in his effort to win Christian support. That prince was dubbed Nicholas, in honour of the pope.<sup>33</sup>

In addition, although all Mongols were constrained by the *yasa* to show religious toleration, Sauma could report that Christians in Persia had enjoyed special favour through the intercession of the Ilkhāns' wives. The *yasa*, the Mongol law widely believed to have been initiated by Chinggis, mandated that "the pure, the innocent, the just, the learned and the wise of every people shall be respected and honored."<sup>34</sup> The policy in Persia went far beyond this, however. The Jacobite prelate and historian, Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, commented concerning Ilkhanid rule: "Since the Mongols noted among the Christians sincerity and charity they held the Christians in early stages of their rule in high esteem."<sup>35</sup> Doquz Khatun's role in this was made explicit by the Muslim historian, Rashīd al-Dīn, who reported that she "strongly supported the Christians, so that under her protection [they] had great influence. In order to please her, Hülegü supported and promoted this community, so it was able to build new churches everywhere. Near [her] tent, there was always set up a chapel, where bells were rung."<sup>36</sup> She died shortly before the accession of Abaqa, but he allowed her niece, another Kerait and a concubine of Hülegü, to continue the policies Doquz Khatun had established.<sup>37</sup> Under the influence of these women both the Nestorian and Jacobite churches flourished, and western missionaries had a free hand.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For the role of the Keraites in the creation of the Mongol empire see, among others, R. Grousset, *The Conqueror of the World*, trans. M. McKellar and D. Sinor (New York, 1966), pp. 27–32.

<sup>30</sup> *Secret History of the Mongols*, F. W. Cleaves (trans.), i (Cambridge, Mass, 1982), p. 114. See also B. Spuler, *History of the Mongols Based on Eastern and Western Accounts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trs H. and S. Drummond (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 21–2.

<sup>31</sup> According to Rashīd ad-Dīn (*Ta'rikh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, translated in Spuler, *History of the Mongols*, p. 121), because Tolui had never consummated his marriage to Doquz Khatun her relationship with Hülegü went beyond customary Mongol levirate, whereby a son was obliged to accept his father's wives as his own.

<sup>32</sup> Maria Palaeologina even brought a Greek bishop with her to Tabriz. See Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient*, p. 102.

<sup>33</sup> This was Öljeitü (ruled 1304–16), who later converted to Islam. See Morgan, *The Mongols*, pp. 160–2 and 170–1.

<sup>34</sup> Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris, 1890) reproduced in part in Spuler, *History of the Mongols*, p. 40. This is listed as the second *yasa*.

<sup>35</sup> *Idem*. The chronicle also notes "But, later their affections turned to hatred; they could no longer approve the behaviour of the Christians when many of them changed over to the Muslim faith."

<sup>36</sup> Rashīd-al-Dīn, *Ta'rikh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, in Spuler, *History of the Mongols*, p. 121.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>38</sup> A. Atiya, *History of Eastern Christianity* (London, 1967) provides a good introduction to the eastern Churches.

After such facts had been brought to his attention, Nicholas IV both recognized the influence of the Christian queens and encouraged them to urge the Īlkhān toward baptism. In one of the letters that Sauma carried east from the papal court in 1288, addressed to the Īlkhān, the pope plainly informed Arghun that he planned to stir up the queen and any others who might help persuade him to convert. They would remind him, Nicholas said, that since we are all subject to death and no one knows his hour, Arghun should quickly offer himself for baptism, to receive the reward of eternal happiness which exceeds even the joy to which a prince is accustomed.<sup>39</sup> This theme is repeated in the letter sent to Christian women at the Īlkhān's court, *Habet carissima filia*. One copy was addressed to Nukdan, the queen-mother, who had been one of Abaqa's Christian wives.<sup>40</sup> The pope (calling her a shining example) congratulated her on her faith, but reminded her that one must also excite others to convert. Another copy was addressed to "Elegag, a[n other] Tartar Queen."<sup>41</sup> These pastoral exhortations for assistance in the task of spreading the faith reiterate the traditional role of pious queens in evangelization, and the recurrence of this theme in papal letters demonstrates the persistence of this idea into the high middle ages.

Messages for Tartar queens were again included among letters drafted for the Īlkhān's court in the summer of 1291. These were carried east by two Franciscan envoys, William of Chieri and Matthew of Chieti, who were charged both to negotiate cooperation in a proposed crusade and to proselytize in Persia. Revitalizing the crusade was a major preoccupation for the papal court that summer, for the last remnants of western holdings in the Holy Land were under siege.<sup>42</sup> As these missionaries were preparing to depart, word was received that the port of Acre had fallen to the Mamlūks.<sup>43</sup> This news occasioned deep shock at the papal court, clearly evident in the tone of messages to western and eastern rulers which announced the catastrophe and urged cooperation with papal efforts to reestablish crusaders in the Levant.<sup>44</sup> Despite anxiety over Acre's demise, most of the letters the Franciscans carried to Persia are devoid of political content or calls to war. They

For Ilkhanid governmental policies *vis-à-vis* Christians and their religious toleration, see J. M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Mongols* (Louvain, 1975); Morgan, *The Mongols*, pp. 158–63; and Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient*, pp. 98 *seq.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ad summi praesulatus in Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem juris canonici orientalis*. *Fontes*, series III [hereafter *Fontes*], vol. V, t. 2, eds. F. M. Delorme and A. I. Tautu (Rome, 1954) no. 66, and *Registres de Nicholas IV*, ed. E. Langlois (Paris, 1905) [hereafter *Reg Nich IV*], no. 570 (April 2, 1288). The text of this letter is also reproduced in L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (16 Vols., Rome, 1731–6) [hereafter *An Min*], v, pp. 189–91.

<sup>40</sup> *Fontes*, vol. V, t. 2, no. 68; *An Min*, v, p. 191; and *Reg Nich IV*, no. 575, April 2, 1288, addressed to "Tuctan, the illustrious Tartar Queen, most dear daughter in Christ." Nukdan Khatun was widow of Abaga and mother of Karkatuchani, Arghun's successor.

<sup>41</sup> *Reg Nich IV*, no. 576. According to G. Soranzo, *Il Papato, L'Europa Christiana e i Tartari* (Milan, 1930), p. 268, "Elegag" was a consort or wife of Arghun. Chabot, "Relations," pp. 584–5, identifies her as Olgaitu, the daughter of Arghun and his Christian wife, Uruk khatun.

<sup>42</sup> For the political context within which this mission unfolded see J. D. Ryan, "Nicholas IV and the evolution of the eastern missionary effort," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, XIX (1981), pp. 79–95.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91. Acre was largely destroyed and its defenders slaughtered on May 18, but word did not reach the papal court until August 22–23, 1291.

<sup>44</sup> Representative of the letters to western kings is *Reg Nich IV*, no. 6778, that informed Philip of France of Acre's fall and urged that galleys be quickly sent to defend the Holy Land. Six eastern rulers (the kings of Armenia, Georgia, Iberia, the emperors of Trebizond and Constantinople and Īlkhān Arghun) were sent *Praecurrentis fame relatus* (*Fontes*, vol. V, t. 2, no. 113; and *Reg Nich IV*, nos. 6809–14, which lists the separate copies). The bull laments Acre's fall and promotes future crusade activity. All copies are dated August 23, 1291.

include a purely pastoral letter to Arghun,<sup>45</sup> and five letters to other members of his household. One of these, to prince "Nicholas", the future Öljeitü, is full of avuncular advice and urgings to remain strong in the faith.<sup>46</sup> Another letter (*Gaudemus in Domino*) was addressed in separate copies to two queens, one of whom can be identified as Uruk-Khatun, Arghun's third wife and young Nicholas's mother.<sup>47</sup> The pope complimented both women on having accepted Christianity, and urged them to uphold it and to encourage other princes to embrace the true faith. Nicholas IV also sent a letter (*Pastoralis officii*) to two of these young princes, "Saron and Cassian," urging their conversion.<sup>48</sup>

The corpus of papal correspondence yields few other examples of letters addressed to Tartar queens, but similar messages were sent to the court of Özbek (1313–41), Khan of Qipchaq, the Golden Horde, at a time when there was still reason to hope for missionary success in that region. Özbek, a Muslim, had wrested power from the sons of his pro-Christian uncle, the former, and perhaps baptized, Khan Toqta (1291–1312).<sup>49</sup> Despite Özbek's personal religious convictions, he consistently followed the *yasa* in his toleration of western missionaries; by a *yarliq* (royal grant of privileges and immunities) he had renewed the Franciscans' authorization to preach in his realm on March 20, 1314.<sup>50</sup> The Franciscans were very active in the Golden Horde in this period. One of their number, Jerome of Catalonia, had been consecrated a bishop in 1310 and dispatched to the east in the next year. Although intended for China, he settled in the Crimea, and about 1318 became bishop of a newly established see of Kaffa with jurisdiction over most of the Qipchaq Khanate: from Varna in Hungary east to Sarai on the Volga, and from the Black Sea north to the Russian lands.<sup>51</sup> He may have played a part in securing Özbek's *yarliq*. It is certain that during these years the Franciscan convent at Sarai, Özbek's capital, was refurbished and their mission expanded. Not only did Özbek himself seem well disposed to the western clerics, until 1323 his presumptive heir was a younger son of Toqta, Abusqa, at whose court the Franciscans were especially welcome.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Solita benignitate recepimus*, *Reg Nich IV*, no. 6722 (August 21, 1291), apparently written the day before the news concerning Acre arrived at the papal court.

<sup>46</sup> *Exultat cor nostrum*, *Fontes*, vol. V, t. 2, no. 112; and *Reg Nich IV*, no. 6833 (August 21, 1291). The text can also be found in Chabot, "Relations," pp. 625–6.

<sup>47</sup> *Reg Nich IV*, nos. 6815–6 (in separate copies, both dated August 13, 1291), to "Anichohamini" (Uruk khatun) and "Dathanaticum." The text can be found in Chabot, "Relations," pp. 623–4.

<sup>48</sup> *Reg Nich IV*, nos. 6817–8 (August 23); Chabot reproduces the text, "Relations," p. 627. These are shadowy figures, perhaps sons of Arghun's ninth wife, Kutluk Ikadgi. It is impossible to determine why they were singled out.

<sup>49</sup> Franciscans reported from Qipchaq that a king of the Tartars, "Coktoganus," probably indicating Toqta, had received baptism, as had his mother, wife, two sons, and several Mongol chiefs. See Gulobovich, ii, pp. 170–1; and Richard, p. 157.

<sup>50</sup> M. Bihl and A. C. Moule, "Tria nova documenta de missionibus F. M. Tartariae Aquilonaris," in *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, XVII (1924), pp. 65 seq.; and Richard, *La Papauté*, pp. 92–3. Franciscans in Qipchaq had received such a *yarliq* at least as early as the reign of Möngke Temür (1267–80).

<sup>51</sup> Jerome of Catalonia was consecrated at Avignon on December 20, 1310 and sent east in the next year. *Regestrum Clementis Papae V*, vol. vi (Rome, 1890), no. 7480 and *An Min*, vi, p. 184. The title *episcopus Caffensis* can be found as early as 1317, see G. Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, i (Verona, 1973), pp. 441–2. John XXII elevated the church of St Agnes in Kaffa into a cathedral, creating that vast diocese on Feb. 26, 1318, see *Fontes*, vol. VII, 2, *Joannis XXII*, ed. A. L. Tautu (Vatican City, 1952) no. 8. John XXII's attention may have been focused on Qipchaq because Jerome of Catalonia's career at Kaffa was very stormy. There he had troubles with Dominicans, Armenians, and other Eastern churches. See Richard, *La Papauté*, pp. 157–9, and the sources cited therein.

<sup>52</sup> Richard, *La Papauté*, pp. 159–60.

Reports from Qipchaq convinced two popes that conversions had been made or were imminent among leaders in the Golden Horde, and may have encouraged the papacy to expect Qipchaq wives to play a part in the conversion of their husbands and sons. Although there is no record that John XXII (1316–34) wrote to any of the khatuns, in 1321 that pope invited Abusqa to imitate his wife in receiving baptism, and the following year congratulated the then heir-apparent to the khanate on his conversion.<sup>53</sup> In addition, John XXII addressed a letter to Khan Özbek in 1323, thanking him for protecting Christians and requesting further help and protection.<sup>54</sup> Western hopes were still alive during the pontificate of Benedict XII (1334–42), who sent letters to Özbek on several occasions. When the embassy to China headed by John of Marignolli departed in 1338, for example, the sheaf of letters it carried, addressed to various Tartar courts and nobles, included several for Özbek and his family. Two were addressed to that khan: *Exultanti precepimus*, thanking him for having granted Franciscans land for building a church,<sup>55</sup> and a copy of *Dundum ad notitiam*, a more general letter recommending the ambassadors and thanking Özbek for prior favours shown to missionaries.<sup>56</sup> Greetings were also sent to Özbek's eldest son and heir, Tinibeg, wishing him well and urging him toward acceptance of the Christian faith.<sup>57</sup> A fourth papal letter was addressed to Brother Elia of Hungary, OFM, who had become the counsellor for Tinibeg.<sup>58</sup>

Because the position of the Christian missionaries in the Khanate of the Golden Horde seemed to be steadily improving, Benedict XII was again encouraged to address a letter to a Mongol queen. The occasion was an embassy from Özbek to Avignon in 1340, with the same brother Elia among the ambassadors. They reported, *inter alia*, that a plot had been hatched against the khan, in the twilight of his reign, which Özbek had thwarted. In his reply to Özbek Benedict rejoiced that few Christians were implicated and, suggesting divine providence could be seen in the timely discovery of the scheme, urged the khan to respond to this sign of God's favour by receiving baptism.<sup>59</sup> The pope also dispatched letters to Tinibeg, Özbek's heir, and to the khan's chief wife, T'ai-Dula. Both letters paint a flowery picture of the spiritual advantages that follow upon conversion, and both mention Elia of Hungary, but they are very different documents. That addressed to Tinibeg urges Christian virtue, submission to the Roman Church and the wisdom of Brother Elia.<sup>60</sup> That sent to "Taydola" is less specific in urging the advantages of Christianity, and seems clearly addressed to a non-Christian, potential convert.<sup>61</sup> The papal court was unusually well informed about conditions in Qipchaq at this point, no doubt through the agency of Elia, who was sped back to the Golden Horde to deliver these letters. As it turned out, however, the fair promise of Christian influence at the khan's court came to little. Although Tinibeg

<sup>53</sup> The first was *Considera, quaesumus fili*, November 22, 1321, *Fontes*, VII, 53 and *Bullarium franciscanum*, ed. K. Eubel, v (Rome, 1898), no. 450. The second, *Ingentem nec mirum*, February 28, 1322, granted the Mongol prince an indulgence. *Fontes*, VII, 56.

<sup>54</sup> *Laetanter audivimus*, September 27, 1323, in *Fontes*, VII, 74.

<sup>55</sup> *An Min*, vii, p. 213, see also J. Muldoon, "The Avignon Papacy and the frontiers of Christendom: the evidence of Vatican Register 62," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, XVII (1979), pp. 125–95, 178. For Marignolli's travels see *Recollections of Travel in the East, in Cathay and the Way Thither*, iii, pp. 177–269.

<sup>56</sup> *An Min*, vii, p. 217. *Dundum ad notitiam* was also addressed to Cangshi, khan of Chaghatai.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218, *Laetatur in Domino*.

<sup>58</sup> *Idem*, *Fide dignorum*.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227–8, *Letanter et benigne*. See also Muldoon, "The Avignon Papacy," p. 179.

<sup>60</sup> *Venientem nuper*, in *An Min*, vii, p. 229.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 229–30, *Pridem ad nostram*.

(1341–1342) briefly succeeded his father in the next year, and may have been inclined toward Christianity, he was assassinated and overthrown by a brother, Janibeg (1342–57), a militant Muslim under whom persecution of Christians was fostered.

The 1340 letters to members of the khan's family, including his chief wife, are not analogous to those sent by Nicholas IV, who had greeted khatuns known to be Christian. Although Khatun T'ai-Dula is thought to have been sympathetic to the cause of Christians in the east,<sup>62</sup> if Benedict's intention in 1340 had been the same as that of Nicholas IV in 1289 and 1291, such a letter might better have been addressed to Özbek's third wife, a Christian who also enjoyed great authority in the khanate. As it happens we have a detailed description of Özbek's court from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa a Muslim traveller who journeyed from his native Tangier to China and back between 1325 and 1355, recording his adventures in a garrulous narrative.<sup>63</sup> When he visited the khanate of the Golden Horde in the spring of 1334, he noted, as did most foreign commentators, the "remarkable" position of women in Mongol society: "namely the respect in which women are held by them, indeed they are higher in dignity than the men."<sup>64</sup> Özbek had four wives, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa described each as having her own *entourage*, including hundreds of servants and retainers, as well as a large troop of armed guards solely in her service.<sup>65</sup> He visited and commented upon each of the four wives in turn. The chief wife and favourite, T'ai-Dula, was a Muslim, as were two of the others.<sup>66</sup> The third wife, however, "Bayalun, ... [wa]s the daughter of the king of Constantinople [Andronicus II]. When we visited [her] she was seated on an inlaid couch with silver legs [with] about a hundred slave girls [before her] ... and pages ... behind."<sup>67</sup> Some months later (June, 1334) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled in her company to Constantinople and described her *entourage*. It included "two hundred slave girls, ... and about four hundred wagons with about two thousand horses ... three hundred oxen and two hundred camels."<sup>68</sup> An "emir ... with five thousand of his troops, travelled along with her, [as did] the khatun's own troops numbering about five hundred."<sup>69</sup> She was travelling light, however, because as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa explains, "She left most of her slave girls and most of her baggage [in Özbek's camp], since she had set out with the intention [only] of paying a visit and of giving birth to her child."<sup>70</sup>

The passages from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa once more underline the high position enjoyed by Mongol queens. Women drawn from other cultures to be Mongol khatuns, such as the Greek Christian princess who was Özbek's third wife, had difficult adjustments to make, but adaptation to their husbands' culture endowed them with great influence, and made them powerful potential patrons for missionaries. The situation Ibn Baṭṭūṭa described was not unique to the Golden Horde in the 1330s; Mongol queens traditionally enjoyed a position of authority within their society unrivalled in the western Byzantine, Chinese or Arab worlds, as writers from each of these cultures have testified. It would therefore seem

<sup>62</sup> According to P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or, Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot*, II, ed. L. Hambis (Paris, 1950), pp. 101–2, T'ai-Dula had shown favour to the Russian clergy. See also Richard, *La Papauté*, p. 156.

<sup>63</sup> Four volumes of *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb and C. F. Beckingham, have been published by the Hakluyt Society, with one more in preparation. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's adventures in Qipchaq are in volume ii (Cambridge, 1962).

<sup>64</sup> *Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, ii, p. 377. <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 383–5.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 389–90. Gibb renders her name, from Arabic, as "Taidoghli."

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 393–4.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

<sup>69</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.

natural if the western church had come to view those of them who were Christian as resources in the struggle to Christianize the realms their spouses governed. In fact, however, only the papacy of Nicholas IV provides clear evidence that this possibility was grasped.

In that one papal reign the potential importance of such Christian women was briefly recognized, their presence inspiring hope that their influence would promote the spread of the Roman Church in Asia. But why only briefly? Why was this potential resource for proselytization not resorted to more generally? A full answer to these questions, which requires a far larger canvas, would focus in greater detail on the aspirations of the missionaries and the popes who endorsed their efforts. It would demonstrate that many of the mission dreams of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries proved unrealistic. The failure to pursue the support of Christian women at the Tartar courts is illustrative of the shortsightedness of that era's missionaries, who were unwilling or unable to work with Greek, Nestorian or other schismatic Christians in the east. Western missionaries made such little headway because they laboured under self-imposed limitations. They were willing to be martyrs for their faith but were unable to see co-religionists as allies, a failing which helped doom their efforts. The Mongols of Qipchaq and Persia, whose openness allowed the mission to Asia to briefly flourish, ultimately converted to the Islamic faith of the majority of their subjects. Slowly the window of toleration they had opened was closed, and both the mission and the rekindled tradition, that "the unbelieving husband [might be] sanctified by the believing wife," became almost forgotten footnotes in the history of evangelization.



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# On the History of Mongolian Shamanism in Anthropological Perspective

Klaus Hesse

## I

In a book published in 1846, “The Black Faith, or Shamanism among the Mongols,” the Buryat-Mongol scholar Dorži Banzarov gives an account of the shamanism of his clan of Djelme Uriankhan and the Mongolian people in their glorious past. With reference to the Yellow Faith (Buddhism, Lamaism) and Christianity which both suppressed shamanism, one of his major concerns was to show that Mongolian shamanism was a self reliant, elaborate and by far not primitive belief system, and still a living tradition among his people. He himself relied in his studies on his own knowledge of the traditions of his people and on a small amount of written shamanistic sources (Banzarov 1846 [1955]).

Barely seven generations after Banzarov’s account an extensive corpus of Mongolian shamanist texts and recordings of hymns, invocations, and prayers of the white, black, and yellow shamans to the ancestral spirits, as well as shamanistic divination books, and texts about shamanistic folk medicine and other subjects, are available to science. Furthermore, there are a few scattered collections of shamanistic paraphernalia, and of shaman genealogies from

North and Inner Mongolia, and several monographs on the religious beliefs of the peoples of Inner Mongolia, mostly by European scholars and missionaries. Besides this, there are records of a number of Mongolian groups of the Trans-Baikal area of southern Siberia, whose ancestors had fled from Khalkha Mongolia into the territory of the Buryats during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, and who have preserved their traditions (Partanen 1941/42).

Certain resemblances between the shamanisms of the Buryats, Tuwans, and other peoples on the northern fringes of Mongolia have been shown by Dioszegi (1961, 1962, 1963), Sanžeev ([Sandschejew] 1930, 1927/1928), Poppe (1925, 1932), Vladimircov (1927), Rinchen (1958a, 1958b), Žamcarano (1909), and others. These materials, the Mongolian sources with shamanistic contents from the 17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century, the ethnographic material, together with the Mongol chronicles from the 13<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, and 17<sup>th</sup> century and the Buddhist literature in Mongolian language are, to the extent that the linguistically difficult shamanistic texts are further translated, source material which gives new hints of the structure, contents, and the history of Mongolian shamanism, its development, transformation, and desolution.

Mongolian shamanism reaches far back into history. The sources of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the time of the formation of the Mongol empire (earlier sources and archaeological and pictographic material of early Mongol history and proto-history will not be taken up), give only a few direct and systematic accounts of the religious ideas and shamanistic traditions. Far more extensive and richer in content are the texts and collections of so called folk-religious beliefs from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onward, which also can be used to gain a deeper understanding of the

**Klaus Hesse, M. A., Dr. phil (F. U. Berlin 1981/82);** Lehrbeauftragter F. U. Berlin. – Publications include: *Abstammung, Weiderecht und Abgabe. Zum Problem der konsanguinal-politischen Organisation der Mongolen des 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1982); *Der Austausch als stabilisierender Faktor der politischen Herrschaft in der Geschichte der Mongolei. Das Beispiel der Hsiung-nu* (Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher 4.1984); *Zur Selbstkonzeption der sozialen Stratifikation der Mongolen in der Genealogie der Geheimen Geschichte* (Mongqol-un ni’uca tobča’an) (Central Asiatic Journal 29/3–4.1985).

scattered references from the records of earlier centuries. These folk-religious texts can be assigned largely to Yellow Shamanism, i. e., the amalgamation of lamaistic and shamanistic beliefs and practices, but these texts hint clearly, even in spite of lamaistic influences, on an older shamanist tradition which Heissig (1953 and 1970, *passim*), Bawden in his various articles on Mongol religion, and others have inferred from them. Several early Buddhist missionaries in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century widely used old shamanist scriptures<sup>1</sup> in formulating a Mongolian lamaist canon and religious texts, but the shamanist texts themselves mostly fell victim to the lamaist autodafés. For the past there are hardly any comprehensive descriptions on Mongolian shamanist ritual.

Here my task is to give some principles of Mongolian shamanism and its history down to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## II

Mongolian shamanism can be defined in general as a belief system, a world view, anthropology, folk medicine, a religio-magic cult of nature, and especially as a particular form of ancestral cult, whose functionaries and protagonists were the shamans and shamanesses who communicated with the spirits, celebrated the sacrifices, exorcized and spelled evil spirits, and cured sickness and diseases. They were also diviners and weather magicians, as well as bards, mimics, and poets. The shamans – male and female – called the spirits for blessing, support, and protection against evil and to that extent they had important functions in the clan-life, in the communal hunts, and in times of war; they asked for prosperity and health of the members of their social units and their herds, cared for the sacred fire of the clan, and so on. The Mongolian terminology for the shamans and their activities is manifold and philologically not completely resolved. Usually the term for shaman is *böge* and for the shamaness *idugan*. The

great Mongolian specialist B. Y. Rinchen for instance renders *böge* and *idugan* as small (white and black) shaman and shamaness and the great (white and black) shaman and shamaness as *jigarín* and *abjiya* (1959a: VII–X, 72, 81, 86, 98–100, and *passim*; see also Mostaert 1968). In this context, further terms and local specificities and variations in the terminology will not be referred to.

If the traditional world view and the belief system of the Mongols before the final domination of Lamaism is called shamanism, this does not imply that the white and black, great and small, male and female shamans have been the sole religious practitioners. They were specialists in the communication with the spiritual abode and had their own capacities, but they did not perform every ritual or worship; this was also the concern of the leaders and elders of the social units and their wives. The nobles and important elders and the shamans had their own particular charisma. The shamanistic beliefs themselves were common to all.

Mongolian shamanism had a close correlation to the social and societal organization. Mongolian society was not simple but complex. The formative principle of society rested on patrilinear descent from a common ancestor and the hierarchical order of descent lines and agnatic relations; the social units regarded themselves of common descent. Next to the nomadic village, the clan (*oboq*) was the central social organization, organized on the above principles. The clan was the basic social, political, and territorial unit and a ritual community. The cult, the ancestor-veneration, and the religious beliefs were communal; the clan had shamans and shaman descent lines which had a particular position and function.

The principle of patrilinear descent is denoted in Mongolian as *yasun* (bone). The terminus *yasun* also refers to the social estates in society, which were organized by descent into *čagan yasun* (white bone) or nobility and *qara yasun* (black bone) or commoners. There also was a stratum of specific dependents and slaves. In the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century (A. D.) the Mongols had developed a political society and a state; the clans and the clan- and tribal confederations became parts and agencies of principalities and

<sup>1</sup> Rinchen 1959a: VII–X; Heissig 1953: *passim*; Bawden 1958a: 28 and *passim*; see also especially Heissig 1970: 300 and 302.

the Mongolian empire, with a *qaqan* of the Chingisides as the personification of the state. The principles of the clan and social and societal organization itself were continuous more or less down to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Parallel to the hierarchical order of society there was a spiritual hierarchy with concentrically widening – respectively narrowing – conceptions.

Mongolian shamanism had 99 *tnгри* – 55 white or benevolent and 44 black or terrifying; besides this there was, for example, also the conception of 77 earthmothers (*natigai/načigay*) (Heissig 1970: 352 and passim; among others see also Partanen 1941/42: 8, 9). The highest entity was *köke möngke tngri*, the Eternal Blue Sky, or *Chormusta tngri*. These 99 *tnгри* or deities were common to all Mongol clans and they were only called upon by the leaders, great nobles, and great shamans on special occasions.

Besides the white and black *tnгри* there was a large number of minor genii, the spirits of the ancestors who were also divided in white and black and in separate, hierarchically differentiated groups or classes of spirits, correlating with the souls of the respective ancestors these spirits were representing. These ancestors had special idols (*ongon*) which were subject to veneration and had a special position in the shamanistic ritual (Bawden 1970: 239–247; for the Mongolian terminology see Mostaert 1968: index).

The highest group of these ancestor spirits of the clans were the souls of defunct chiefs. Introduced after their death by a special solemn shamanistic rite to the communion of clan ancestors and thus having become the benevolent lord-spirits of the clan and his territory, they played a very important part in the clan-cult, for the community as a whole. According to Rinchen everybody could appeal to the Lord-Spirits of the clan, worship and sacrifice to them by the intermediary of the shamans, and in extraordinary cases everyone could invite the great shamans (*jigarin* or *abjiya*) to make an appeal to the Lord-Spirits and attend their invigorating reply or spiritual help which could increase the material or spiritual welfare of the members of the clan, or cure plagues and severe sickness.<sup>2</sup> Further, the souls of the great shamans and shamanesses (*jigarin* and *abjiya*)

became the Protector-Spirits, the simple or small shamans and shamanesses (*böge* and *idu-gan*) the Guardian-Spirits of a locality of the clan territory. The souls of famous long deceased shamans, whose fame was still remembered, became the spirits of mountains, rivers, valleys, forests, and so on (Heissig 1953: 504, 505; 1970: 313–316; Partanen 1941/42: 13).

These spirits dwelled in the localities of their former habitation and burial grounds and in the vicinity of these places, especially on mountain tops and passes and other special places, special stone-heaps (*obuga*) were erected for the offerings to the spirits of these dead shamans. *Obugas* were also located on the boundaries of the clan territories (Bawden 1958a; Pollard-Urquhart 1937; Heissig 1970: 413 f.; Kervyn 1947: 27, 28).

The souls of the great and simple shamans became also members of the ancestral communion of the spirits after a special introductory rite performed by the shamans together with the members of the clan or a section of it. These three classes of higher spirits – the Lord-Spirits, Protector-Spirits, and Guardian-Spirits – had, according to Rinchen (n. d.), a central position in the cult of the ancestors of the Mongols and they were called “the three accepting the sacrifices” (*tayilga-yin ban*) (see Hesse 1982: 284).

Next to these there are three classes of spirits who were not introduced by shamanist rites into the communion of ancestral spirits. In the first group or class of these spirits were the spirits of the White’s or nobles of the clans, in the second the spirits of the Black’s or commoners of the clans, and in the lowest order were the evil spirits of the slaves and non-human goblins. These three classes of spirits were called “the three accepting the supplications” (*jalbaril-un gurban*) because, as Rinchen explains, “in urgent need one could supplicate them and later as thanksgiving make a libation” or a small offering. These spirits were either benevolent or malevolent and terrifying and they could, as those spirits of the black sha-

<sup>2</sup> Rinchen n. d. – A copy of this manuscript is in the possession of Prof. Lawrence Krader. He had the kindness to allow me an inspect in the manuscript. Parts are published in Hesse 1982: 283 f.

mans, cause calamity, misery, sickness, and death (Hesse 1982: 284). Corresponding to the order of the *tnгри*, the spirits of the ancestors were also divided into white and black, great and small or simple whereby the differentiation into great and small also implies one into white and black. The white shamans venerated the white spirits, the black the black spirits exclusively, and the white shamans who called upon or venerated the black spirits lost their right in venerating and calling the white spirits; the black shamans did not dare to call upon the white spirits because of their fear of the revenging and terrifying black spirits (Hesse 1982: 284). The assignment of the souls and spirits to the respective category of spirits was determined by the social condition of the defunct; the assignment of the shamans as white or black was according to the capacity and assignment of their ancestral spirit or spirit of the shaman's descent line.

The respective categories of *tnгри* and the locally and temporal variable spirits had different effects and functions and the spirits could be called upon by everybody, in contrast to the *tnгри*. The shamans had the capacity of direct communication with the spirits in the shamanist ritual, made special offerings and sacrifices, and performed spiritual activities and encounters with the spirits of the clan and intruding and foreign spirits, for the benefit of their units and their members.

The functions and capacities of the great and small shamans can be distinguished. The great shamans acted on behalf of the benevolence of the overarching social units, the clans, and wider consanguineal-political units and they called upon the *tnгри*, Lord-, and Protector-Spirits for the benefice and welfare of the social units and their herds and performed the respective sacrifices, hymns, and prayers to the higher and highest spirits. The great (black) shamans also called upon the black and terrifying *tnгри* and high spirits against evil from outside and for securing victory in war (see Hesse 1982: 153–155; Sagaster 1976: passim; Heissig 1970: 392 f.). They had a high and honored position in society and the thesis has been brought forward, that the nobles and leaders of the Mongols in the process of state formation from

the 10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century have been shamans (e. g., Vladimirzov 1948: 60–62, 67–71). In the Secret History of the Mongols there are hints supporting this view, but not all important leaders and nobles, as can be also seen from the Secret History and other contemporary sources, have been shamans. There was no necessary coincidence, in the time of Chingis Khan, e. g., the functions of the shamans, the military leaders, and the nobility were quite clearly separated.

The small or simple shamans had other functions than the great shamans. They stood in contact with the minor spirits, with the spirits of the simple shamans and shamanesses and those of the minor categories of spirits. Their field of activity and capacity was apparently more connected with the daily and practical conditions of the people and less with those of the cult and affairs of the larger social units and their ancestral cult. The ancestral cult itself was also and mainly performed by the leaders, elders, and the nobility in behalf of the social unit, partly together with the shamans. The activities of the simple, small shamans consisted largely of the manipulation of and the fight with the minor spirits who were thought as the cause of sickness and calamity of the individual. Their task was to serve the physical and psychic needs and wants of the members of the small social units, the families, and nomadic villages; they beseeched and called upon the spirits to act on their behalf to perform the expected task of healing, divination, of small weather magic, etc., to avert mishap, sickness, and evil from the individuals, their families, and herds (Heissig 1953: 509 f.). In extraordinary cases these tasks were also performed by the great shamans with their greater power and mastership of the spirits, and the functional differentiation of the two kinds of shamans was in this regard not fully accomplished.

The functional differentiation between the spirits of the different classes or orders which has been referred to is also not fully drawn. Both spirit categories, the white as well as the black and the great as well as the small, could help the members of the clan, the villages, and families by sending them animals during the hunt, protect their herds, defend against revenge, or terrify malefactors and enemies, but

the minor spirits were never the object of worship and sacrifices by all members of the clan.

The great spirits were regarded as higher and stronger, and they were, as already mentioned, more in charge of the clan as a whole. But the black spirits (great and minor) and their terrifying aspects were ambivalent and they could not only turn against the outside but also against the members of their units on behalf of black shamans. Thus, the spirits were not only benevolent but also dangerous for the people and their herds, and the souls and spirits of minor shamans and minor spirit categories, especially if the defunct owner of the spirit-turned soul had had a miserable and unhappy life, could turn, as a kind of revenge, against the members of his unit and cause, according to shamanist belief, mishap, sickness, and death (Heissig 1953: 509 f.; Bawden 1961 and 1962, *passim*). In the shamanist world view, sickness and unnatural death are caused by intruding spirits who eat up or carry off the second soul of a human being. A man is thought of having three souls, a 'bone-soul,' a 'body-soul,' and a soul that emanates out of the second after death. The manipulation and fight against intruding spirits and the rescue of a soul is the main purpose of shamanist healing in the state of trance or ecstasy.

The communal aspect of the spiritual order and of the clan-life can be detected, for example, from the sharing and distribution of the sacrifices to the spirits, even though the clans were internally divided into nobility, commoners, dependents, and house-slaves, as well as in rich and poor. Most explicit in this respect is again Rinchen, who states: "They [the spirits of all categories, including the lower spirits] could receive their share of smell and odor from all the offerings to the local spirits or of the chieftain in the same manner as they had received at the time of life their portion of food at the celebrations of weddings and other family feasts of the clansmen, such as the annual sacrifices to the Ancestor-Spirits of the clan when people burnt the offering parts of the meat and ate the rest, which was the share of the Ancestral-Spirits to all the participants of the sacrificial feast" (n. d.: 5). The sacrifices to the *tnгри* and the world of the *tnгри* was of a

different order though in theory and practice all spirits were in the last instance subject to the commands of the *tnгри*.

Since the Lord-Spirits were the souls of deceased chiefs and the central ancestral spirits of the clan and its descent lines or lineages, special reference was given to the Lord-Spirits, and they were venerated on special occasions in the yearly ceremonial cycle and at the great gatherings at the beginning of winter. The chiefs had in their camps special standards – *tuq* – which were at once the symbol of the clan or respective consanguineal-political unit and the habitation or receptaculum of the Lord-Spirits. According to the division into white and black Lord-Spirits the chiefs had white and black standards (*tuq*) which were the receptaculum for the respective Lord-Spirit (*sülde*).<sup>3</sup> The black standard (*qara tug* or *qara sülde*) was the standard of war and was carried in front of the troops in times of war to support the victory, to give intrepidity to the warriors, and to terrify the enemy. After the (victorious) war an important prisoner was sacrificed to the *qara sülde* (see note 3 and Serruys 1945: 155). A special symbol of victory was to implant the *tuq/sülde* in the holy hearth-fire of the defeated chief (Ssanang Ssetsen; see Schmidt [ed.] 1829: 211). The white *tuq/sülde* was the symbol of the well-being and welfare of the clan and its descent as well as that of the White's or noble lineage(s) of the clan or chieftainship.

### III

With the formation of the state in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century and the unification and transformation of the Mongol clans and clan-confederations into dependent political-administrative and military bodies or agencies of the state under the sovereignty of Chingis Khan and his golden descent line (*altan uruq*), the spiritual order of Mongolian shamanism was also transformed, unified, and further hierarchized.

With the formation of the Mongolian em-

<sup>3</sup> Vladimirov 1948: 187, 235; Rinchen n. d.: 155; Sagaster 1976 is the most extensive source for this topic.

pire and the enthronement of Chingis Khan the Lord- and Guardian-Spirits of the Borjigin clan (the clan of Chingis Khan) became the Ancestor- and Guardian-Spirits of the *Mongqol ulus*, the Mongol state or empire. The white bone (*čagan yasun*) of the *oboq* Borjigin, with Chingis Khan as its leader, became the white bone of all the white bones of all Mongolian clans, i. e., the white bone of the Borjigid – the *altan uruq* – became the overarching noble descent line of the empire and around this line the higher and minor Whites of the clans or units of 1000 (*minggan*) or 10 000 (*tüman*) were grouped factually and genealogically. The great ancestor of Chingis Khan, the legendary grey wolf – *Börtä Čino* – was the unifying ancestor. This transformation has further correspondences in the spiritual system and cult of the empire. As already stated, the Lord-Spirits and Guardian-Spirits of the Borjigin clan became the central ancestors, i. e., Lord- and Guardian-Spirits of the *Mongqol ulus*. After his death Chingis Khan was immediately deified and he became a high *tnгри* and the central Lord-Spirit of the *altan uruq*, the Borjigin clan and the Mongol state. To these central and highest spirits all the spirits of the clans and wider consanguineal-political units submitted, i. e., all the higher spirits of the clans, the 'spirits accepting the sacrifice' changed their position of superior and independent genii into spirits subordinated to the corresponding highest spirit of the Nation, and the Lord-Spirits of the clans changed into helpers of the central Lord-Spirit, and all the other spirits surrendered their might to the corresponding great spirits. They were subordinated to the highest spirits of the *altan uruq*, and *oboq* Borjigin, as the clans and the nobility, was in the service of the emperor and the *altan uruq* (for further details see Hesse 1982: 155, 156, 248 f.).

The cult of the Borjigin clan, the ancestral cult, the cult of the fire, etc., were also extended to the whole empire after the enthronement of Chingis Khan and generalized for the Mongol empire. The 'Mother of Fire' (*gal-un eke*) of the family of Chingis Khan, e. g., became the Queen Mother of the Fire of the Nation (*gal-un qatun eke*), just as the *otčigin* (Prince of Fire), and the symbols of the Borjigin clan became the

unifying symbols of the nation. Around the deified Chingis Khan and the insignia of his clan and the insignia of his sovereignty a central cult of empire was created, the centre of this cult was the Chingis Khan sanctuary, the eight white tents (*nayiman čagan ordu*) of the emperor.<sup>4</sup> During the Mongol empire the great shamans had important functions in the camps (*ordu*) of the high nobility, the princes, at the court in Karakorum, and at the Chingis Khan sanctuary. They acted as diviners, counsellors, conjurers of the great spirits, weather magicians, and healers, and they had important functions in the cult of the ancestors, especially of the imperial ancestors. The cult of the imperial ancestors promoted the erection of special temples (*süme*) for the ancestors, either in stone or felt. In these great and smaller imperial and clan temples of the ancestors there were, according to Rinchen and other sources (see note 3 and Serruys 1945: 155), not only the diverse images, symbols, and arms of the ancestors, but also, with the establishment of the Uighur script in Mongolia and the development of an own script (*Pag's-pa*), books on the proper performance of rites; worship and offerings to the ancestors were prepared and manuscripts on the order of solemn ceremonies were stored in the temples and places of the nobility along with shamanist texts on chiromancy, scapulimancy, dream-books, prayers, and hymns, and hagiographia of eminent shamans. In spite of the beginnings of a written tradition of Mongolian shamanism, the oral traditions and the poetic capacities of the shamans were of central importance.

There are definite traces of the development of the great shamans in the service of the nobility and their ancestor worship into a regular priesthood. Chingis Khan introduced the office of a *bäki* of the realm.<sup>5</sup> *Bäki* has been

<sup>4</sup> See Rinchen (Rintschen) 1959b: 9–22; Sagaster 1976: passim; the Mongol chronicles from the 16th century onward refer frequently to the Chingis Khan sanctuary and its importance. (It was the place of enthronement of the Mongol Qağans.)

<sup>5</sup> Secret History of the Mongols § 216. Since there are various editions of the *Mongol-un ni'uča tobči'an* (Secret History of the Mongols) available, I only make reference to the paragraph and not to a page of a used edition.

rendered as a kind of chiefpriest (Barthold 1928: 391, 392); his functions cannot be detected from the sources. That the shamans in the service of the *altan uruq* had an important position is clearly stated in the various sources from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Thus, on the one hand the establishment of shamanism as a state religion is visible, on the other hand with the conquests of the Chingisides a large number of non-Mongol religious elements, especially Buddhist, Taoist as well as other religious influences are reported. In the realm of the great khans and the constituting realms of the Chingisides there was great religious tolerance and religious pluralism; at the court in Karakorum, e. g., besides the shamans, the representatives of all world religions were present and they tried to proselytize, with varying success, among the ruling class. The shamanism of the old Mongols as a state religion did not seem to be rich and successful enough, especially after the conquests of China and the establishment of the Chingiside rule in the West. Especially during the time of the Qaqs of the Yuan Dynasty Buddhism was much propagated and was shortly established as state religion; the Chingis Khan cult itself was integrated into Buddhist faith and retained its particular and outstanding importance. The extent of significant Buddhist influences on the shamanism of the people in the Mongolian steppes in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century are hardly detectable, the religious situation in the western realms of the Chingisides was of minor importance for Mongolia.

#### IV

With the downfall of the Yuan Dynasty (1368), the successive dissolution of the Mongolian states in west Asia and Russia, and the following disturbances and wars in Mongolia most of the literary and artistic monuments were destroyed or got lost and the Mongolian art came more or less to a stand-still or vanished. The cultural dissolution was *pari passu* connected with the economic and political decline of Mongolia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The 16<sup>th</sup> century was marked by two particular events: (1) the

re-organization and re-formation of the Mongolian state under Dayan Qagan and the fragmentation of Mongolia into quasi separate principalities or *qanats* under the sons and grandchildren of Dayan Qagan, and (2) the rapid spread of Buddhism (Lamaism). The introduction of Buddhism in this era is a highly complex subject and is especially connected with the formation of the Mongolian *qanats*, the search for a new 'Herrschaftsideologie' (ideology of political authority, ruling ideology) and the religious-integrative needs of the Mongolian nobility, the particular role of China towards the steppe-people, and the interests of the 'Yellow Church' in Tibet to enlarge its religious, economic, and political spheres of influence. In the Mongolian chronicles of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century the propagation of Buddhism was brought in connection with miraculous healings of Mongol princes and other miracles performed by the Buddhist priesthood that had come to Mongolia or was invited by the nobility (see, e. g., Schmidt [ed.] 1829: Chap. IX; also Bawden 1961: 35–41; Serruys 1963: 181–216). As a matter of fact, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century the high Mongolian nobility converted en masse to Buddhism, and Buddhism was propagated as state religion by the Chingisides, just as their great ancestor Qubilai Qagan had introduced Buddhism as state religion in the Yuan Dynasty in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The conversion of the people and the propagation of Buddhism was performed by the lamaist clergy together with the Mongolian nobility, and after a short time the Buddhist clergy was also recruited from the Mongol nobility and not only from Tibet.

This propagation and conversion was militant. The Buddhist literature gives reference of the burning of large amounts of shamanist idols and manuscripts, of the defeat, destruction, torture, forceful conversion, and persuasion of shamans in North and Inner Mongolia (Heissig 1953: *passim*, 1970: Chap. IV). Also the over-arching organization of the shamans, for which is evidence in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was crushed (Heissig 1953: 512). Heissig argues for a church-like organization of Mongol shamanism down to the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> century (1970: 300). For the enforcement of their religion among the people the

lamaist clergy declared, that the white genii of shamanism and the great ancestors had adopted the new religion and integrated them as Buddhist patron-genii and saints; Chingis Khan was declared as an incarnation of the Buddhist deity *Vajrapani*; the shamanistic Chingis Khan cult of the Chingisides itself was not touched.<sup>6</sup> The great shamans were urged to adopt together with their spirits the new religion, and their spirits were converted into lamaist deities and genii which could be called upon by everybody. Especially the white, great and the noble and influential shamans were the target of conversion and they were integrated into the Yellow Church without hesitation – they became the Yellow Shamans, they had special functions in the monasteries, and acted on behalf of the monasteries.

The Buddhist monasteries which had developed rapidly had at their disposal large tracts of land, great herds, and many 'pupils' (*šabınar*), common herdsmen who were in the service of the monasteries and the high clergy. For the welfare of their herds and bondsmen, the monasteries, for example, engaged yellow shamans to call upon every year the local spirits, explaining that the local protector and guardian-spirits could not understand the language of the lamaist clergy and their mantras properly. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century a large literature developed which can be assigned thematically and in content to Yellow Shamanism; shamanistic hymns, prayers, etc., were brought in accordance with the Buddhist faith. These texts are in Mongolian or Tibetan language, or in Mongolian language with Tibetan transcription. E. g., the monks and Yellow Shamans believed that a Mongolian text in Tibetan transcription was eight times more blessed than the same text in Mongolian (Uighurian) script (Rinchen n. d.: 8).

The massive introduction of shamanistic

elements into lamaist mantras, conjuring, healing, and divination, as well as the incorporation of large numbers of shamanist spirits and ancestor spirits into the lamaist pantheon and the activities of the Yellow Shamans did much for the rapid spread and the firm establishment of Lamaism in Mongolia. By 1900, e. g., approximately 30 % of the population was in the service of the monasteries.

The black shamans and those shamans which clung to their old faith were partly massively persecuted and their cult objects and paraphernalia, which were essential for practicing their craft, were destroyed or burnt. They were exiled or killed or they fled or screened themselves by venerating their spirits, especially the black spirits in the disguise of the terrifying spirits and deities of Lamaism. But the resistance and the persistence of shamanism among the local communities and their shamans, and their importance for the communities remained strong, especially in the remoter areas at the fringes of Mongolia. In these areas the small and especially black shamanism continued, partly in secrecy, partly in coexistence with the monasteries when their influence could not be broken. In several parts of Mongolia a coexistence and functional division of labor between the different kinds of shamanism, the lamaist clergy, tao'ist sorcerers, Bon-po's, and special diviners can be detected even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup>

The residues of small and black shamanism are traceable in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century in North Mongolia and in several parts of Inner Mongolia and the prayers and hymns of these black shamans to their spirits which were collected in the 20<sup>th</sup> century show the hatred and enmity of the shamans and their communities against the Yellow Church, the monasteries, and the clergy who were responsible for their suppression.

A hymn to a black, revenging spirit collected in North Mongolia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century clearly expresses this:

<sup>6</sup> Potanin (Lüdtke 1927/28: 88 f.), e. g., describes the various rituals and festivals and states, that they were performed by the lamas. But from the description itself, the shamanist influences can be detected without much difficulties. Rinchen holds the view, and I follow this view, that in *content* the Chingis Khan cult is essentially shamanistic. The lamas of Potanin may be viewed as yellow shamans.

<sup>7</sup> Schram 1957; Schröder 1952 and 1953; Heissig 1944; see also Dioszegi 1961, 1962, 1963; Sanžeev [Sand-schejew] 1930, 1927 and 1928; Žamcarano 1909; Vladimir-zov 1927; Rinchen 1958a, 1958b; Poppe 1925, 1932.

Oh thou, who thou comest to eat 90 monks  
and returnest to eat 100 000 monks.  
Oh thou, who thou comest riding the frenzied wolves  
and feedest the fire with the Kanjur and Tanjur  
(Rinchen n. d.: 8; a variant in Dioszegi 1961: 201).

Dioszegi collected 1960 in the Chovsugul area of North Mongolia an oath of the shamans remembered among the Darkhat:

I do not know what the sacred books say.  
I do not know the sacred books,  
they may be but coloured paper.  
I do not know the lamas,  
they are surely just falsely professed,  
shorn-headed, black quarrelsome fellows.  
I should prefer to have my leg sinews cut up  
if I had to revere the Bogdo Gegen;<sup>8</sup>  
I should prefer to be cut up seventy times  
if I had to revere the Dalai Lama;  
I should prefer to be cut thirteen times  
if, respecting the pious lama, I had to bow  
with folded hands!  
(Dioszegi 1961: 201).

And to give a last example; the curse of a female shaman from the same area (her son was taken to a monastery by the age of five years):

I want you to lose your all!  
I want you to lose everything you have in this world!  
Have no place on earth!  
Let them tear up the collar of your cloak!  
Let them cut your bald head in two!  
Let them burry your talisman in the soil!  
Let them hang your writing tablet on a tree!  
Let the ravens tear out your tongue, you cur!  
'Buddha, Buddha' – you keep saying,  
though it's but paint and canvas!  
'Lama, Lama' – you keep saying,

though they are but shorn-headed wranglers!  
'Sacred book, sacred book' – you keep saying,  
though it's but ink and paper!  
'Religion, religion' – you keep saying,  
though it's but clay and oil paint!  
(Dioszegi 1961: 202).

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**Abstract.** – *Mongol shamanism is here reconsidered in diachronic perspective from the viewpoint of shamanist world-view, the social functions of shamanism, and its interrelatedness with the social and societal organization of the Mongols. Special emphasis is laid on the conceptions of white and black, and great and small shamanism and their transformations in the process of state formation and the re-introduction of Buddhism (Lamaism) in the 16th century. With the partly violent introduction of Buddhism and the prosecution of the shamans the great time of shamanism came to an end in Mongolia. Great and especially white shamanism was transformed into yellow shamanism which played a significant part in Mongol folk religion. Black and small shamanism persisted among the local communities, especially at the fringes of Lamaist influence, and this shamanism continued in secrecy, in resistance to, and partly in co-existence with Lamaism down to the 20th century. [Mongolia, History, Shamanism, Religion, Social Organization]*

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<sup>8</sup> The lamaist pontiff at Urga, also the head of the Mongolian theocracy in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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